

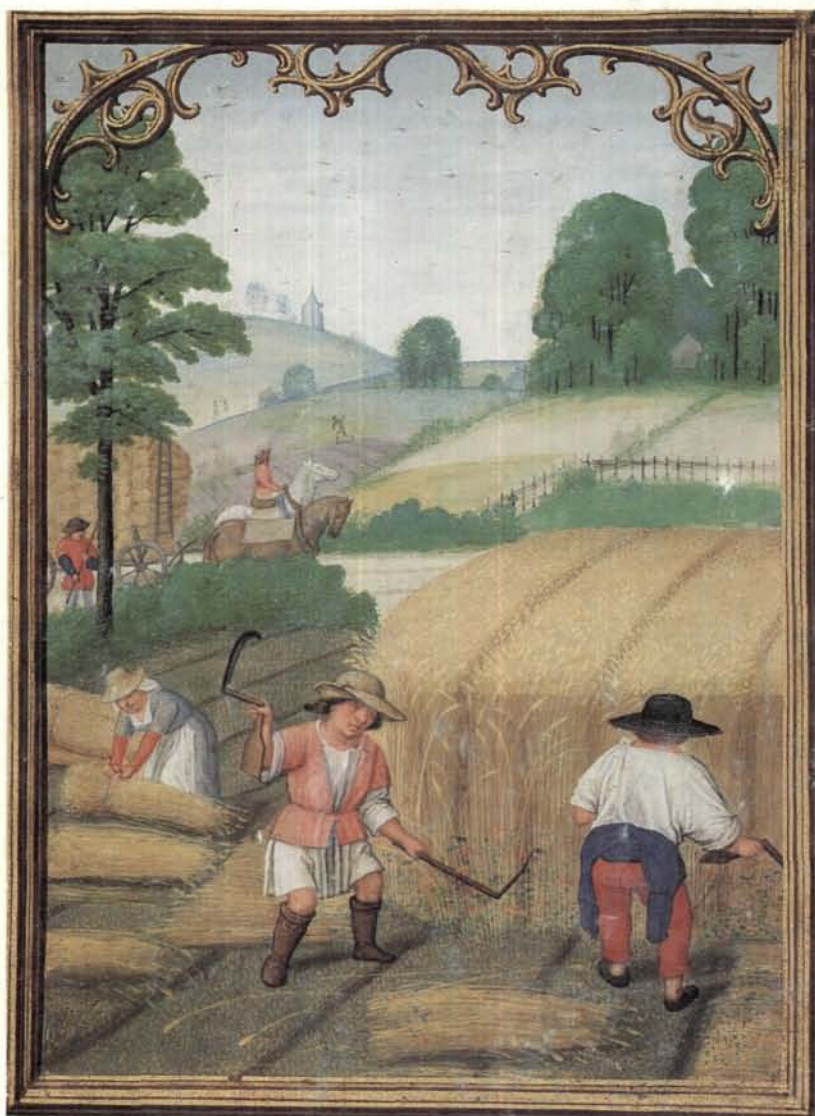
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# The American Historical Review

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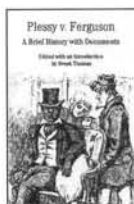
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*Randy B. Norell*

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## In This Issue

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This issue contains four articles and a review essay. The articles examine a wide variety of issues, times, and places. The subjects range from early modern artistic depictions of peasants and the formation of ethnic identities in colonial Puerto Rico to the role of clock consciousness in the American slave South and the place of English liberalism in late nineteenth-century Poland. The review essay assesses a broad range of theoretical and monographic work to explain the growing importance of narratives in historical scholarship. A full array of book reviews completes the issue.

### Articles

**Liana Vardi** traces changes in European representations of the harvest from 1400 to 1789. She argues that artists and writers helped constitute social relations by presenting different views of the laboring classes. Pictures of the harvest in the sixteenth century showed harvesters hard at work, wielding sharp tools. Poets, inspired by Virgil's *Georgics*, also fastened on the image of a busy, sweat-drenched harvest. In the seventeenth century, however, artists began to recoil from such images. They gradually replaced them with metaphorical representations or placed harvest work within other summer occupations, especially amusements. Some even emptied the countryside of people altogether. But the denial of harvest work could not be sustained, and eighteenth-century art and literature reintroduced the harvester, albeit as a binder and gatherer shorn of sharp and dangerous tools. Vardi explains these changes by contending that sixteenth-century representations of the harvest as a vigorous peasant activity came to seem threatening to viewers and readers in a later era of social unrest and economic restructuring. By the seventeenth century, she argues, poets and painters thought it necessary to reintroduce the urban dweller into the harvest and to show peasants less as workers than as kindred participants in leisure. As a result, the countryside was depicted as a place of repose and meditation, not work. The tension over working peasants eased in the eighteenth century, when representations reconceived them as unthreatening gatherers of the harvest, borrowing an image created in the seventeenth

century but developed to full effect only a hundred years later. Vardi's essay demonstrates the importance of examining and contextualizing shifts in artistic genre and technique in our reconstructions of the past.

**Francisco A. Scarano** explores the social, cultural, and political determinants of ethnic and proto-national identity in Spanish America during the late colonial period and the wars for independence. He does so by examining the cultural history of the Caribbean colony of Puerto Rico, where a proto-national identity found expression in terms of a mythologized peasant, the *jíbaro*. Scarano's intricate analysis of the adoption and development of the *jíbaro* throws light on early Latin American and Caribbean nationalism and helps us rethink the manner in which forces unleashed by colonial capitalism sparked the expression of new ethnic identities. Employing insights drawn from literary, social, and cultural history, he illustrates the ways in which an understanding of certain texts—political satires, in this case—can open up larger vistas on how new ethnicities are constructed. While Scarano argues that we must look at the immediate political circumstances that help explain the construction of new ethnicities, he also urges us to examine how such identities are the products of long eras of development. Scarano's essay not only helps us understand nascent nationalisms and the construction of identities in a colonial society, it is as well a compelling example of the benefits of integrating recent theoretical approaches into historical analysis.

**Mark M. Smith** argues that antebellum American masters and bondpeople were among the most clock-conscious people of the nineteenth century. He situates his findings in a rich body of recent scholarship on the evolution of time consciousness in the pre-twentieth-century northern United States, Britain, South Africa, and Australia. Smith contends that while British, Australian, and South African capitalists succeeded in instilling a consciousness of the clock among nineteenth-century urban and industrial workers, they failed to convert indigenous rural people to the regime of the clock. Inhabitants of the rural American North, by contrast, readily embraced clock consciousness primarily because workers' economic and cultural evaluation of clock time was similar to that of their managers. Only southern American slaveholders, Smith maintains, were as successful in their efforts to impose obedience to the clock on rural workers. While the Old South's consciousness of the clock was, like elsewhere, a product of merchant time, railroad time, urban time, and aural time obedience, Smith explains that masters found they did not need to embrace industrial, free wage labor capitalism in order to promote a clock consciousness among their antebellum bondpeople. Smith concludes his argument by contending that the antebellum plantation whip coupled with the aural power of the clock-regulated plantation bell proved more effective in achieving masters' and slaves' obedience to clock time than had free wage labor and industrialism in

trying to convert rural workers to the clock in nineteenth-century Britain, South Africa, and Australia. His argument about how clock time emerged differently in different historical contexts provides a compelling example of the insights to be gleaned from comparative analysis.

**Brian A. Porter** reconstructs the ideological challenges that Polish intellectuals faced after the last of the great nineteenth-century insurrections against Russian occupation failed disastrously in 1863. Defeat, he argues, forced the intellectuals to reconsider what it meant to be a Pole in a world where revolt seemed impossible and independence was, at best, a distant dream. He explains that they responded to this quandary by appropriating the rhetoric of West European—particularly English—liberalism. The “scientific” and “sociological” vocabulary of Herbert Spencer helped Poles imagine a “social” nation that could exist as an ethnic community bound together by traits like language and folkways. Nevertheless, Porter insists, these adaptations did not mean that Poland’s liberals, often termed Warsaw Positivists, had surrendered their ambitions for a separate state. Quite the contrary, by trying to place Poland within a liberal historiography and an Orientalist geography that identified Russia as the “Asiatic” other, they were able to envision a future in which Poland’s supposed “cultural superiority” would ensure victory in the “struggle for survival.” Porter’s compelling study of Warsaw Positivism encourages the examination of the many ways in which the nation can be located within historical time and thus compels us to question the linear narrative of “modernization” and “nation-building” that remains so dominant in discussions of nationalism.

### *Review Essay*

**Sarah Maza** examines the methodological trend toward storytelling among historians. In a compelling and accessible analysis, she argues that while this trend has become quite conspicuous during the last decade, it has not received much critical attention. She illustrates the growing use of stories by assessing the work of prominent European historians such as Natalie Zemon Davis, Lynn Hunt, Judith Walkowitz, and Gabrielle Spiegel, the authors of widely read books whose focus is a story or a set of stories used to illuminate socio-cultural context and, in some cases, to account for cultural change. These stories, which Maza calls “cultural narratives,” are usually drawn from the literary corpus in the widest sense (both “high” and popular literature, journalism, and drama) or from the judicial world (pleas, petitions, depositions, and court records as long as they are in storied form). And she notes that similar work has been done in most other historical fields. With examples drawn primarily from the work of Europeanists but applicable to other fields as well, Maza explains the origins

and nature of the narrative trend by relating it to three recent methodological traditions: historians' recourse to cultural anthropology, the rise of feminist scholarship, and the dialogue between historians and literary scholars now conducted in the context of the interdisciplinary mode known as "Cultural Studies." In developing this explanation, Maza places the trend toward storytelling in a rich and revealing context.



FIGURE 1: An example of medieval miniatures, showing a single harvester. *August, Gradual and Sacramentary*, German, thirteenth century, M711, f.5v, courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City.



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## Imagining the Harvest in Early Modern Europe

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LIANA VARDI

IN THE MINDS OF MANY, peasant identity is indelibly linked to the past. Not only is food production the oldest profession, but peasants, especially in Latinate versions of the term, are associated with a region, a *pays*. In the nationalist revivals of the nineteenth century, peasants thus came to embody the nation, its traditions and mores, unsullied by modern concepts. What the Right seized on with glee, the Left rejected as reactionary. Karl Marx never wavered from his conclusion that peasants, attached to their plots of land, were a counterrevolutionary force. They could not accept the march of history. Both Right and Left agreed, then, on the timeless conservatism of the peasantry. Whereas other groups in society had a history, peasants were historical emblems.<sup>1</sup>

Treating peasants as repositories of traditional culture was a recent invention. Until the eighteenth century, Europeans viewed peasants as the very antithesis of culture. For medieval social theorists, peasants were bestial and servile by nature. Although Christian theology argued that the poor would inherit the earth, the approach toward them was the same: worthy or unworthy, the peasants' lot was to labor humbly and ceaselessly and find their reward in heaven. Steeped in these views, medieval culture contained peasants within the imaginary of serfdom, tying them to their betters.<sup>2</sup> Yet peasants were too important a segment in society to be dismissed consistently. As this essay will argue, views of peasants, inherited from the Middle Ages, were largely superseded in the early modern period. It was difficult to depict peasants as servile in an age that legally recognized their independence and no longer saw them as mere appendages to the manor. By the sixteenth century, moreover, cultural paradigms that sought to redefine the nature of man, stressing life in the world, also came to celebrate the peasants' daily activities. Peasants were shown in command of the fields and as members of

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<sup>1</sup> Latin, *pagus*, or district; Old French, *pais*, region. The consensus about the nature of peasants has been challenged lately by a more sympathetic historiography, one that has sought to restore them agency, especially in defense of their rights.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent synthesis, see Del Sweeney, ed., *Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation* (Philadelphia, 1995).

independent and lively communities. Sixteenth-century art and poetry turned the countryside over to the peasants, while elites retreated to imaginary pastoral landscapes.

Whereas the peasants' cultural takeover of the land was particularly marked in the Renaissance, there was a strong reaction against their presence in the seventeenth century. Poets and painters restored the countryside to the aristocracy by depicting estates without laborers, by focusing, especially in the visual arts, on cultivated nature without people. The working peasant had become a threatening figure, the countryside a place of yearning and unease. An overall obsession with social order reinforced this process.<sup>3</sup> Decades of war intensified a personal search for safety and repose, which the countryside provided in theory but not in practice. Anxieties about peasant society pervade seventeenth-century depictions of the countryside. Eighteenth-century culture, on the other hand, reintegrated the peasant within the rural landscape. This enterprise necessitated the inclusion of the peasant within the ideals of virtue and civility.<sup>4</sup> The peasant community, composed of virtuous householders, was then believed to live in harmony with the elites, dedicated to a common pursuit of happiness.

This essay questions the standard interpretation of the place of peasants in European culture. Aristocratic cultures, we are told, abhorred the sight of manual labor and displays of crassness or vulgarity.<sup>5</sup> Peasants, deemed unsuitable subjects for the noble arts, were left out of high culture. At best, peasants appeared in art and literature only sporadically. Even then, their appearance was ritualized and circumscribed.<sup>6</sup> Peasants supposedly could be the subjects of broad farce but not of tragedy. They could figure as beasts of burden, tilling the fields, as emblems of Christian resignation, or embody sins of gluttony and sloth in depictions of the deadly sins. Any substantial departures from such a limited repertory, such as the evident importance of peasants in Spanish Golden Age theater or of peasant genre scenes in seventeenth-century Holland, are either set aside—as in the case of Spain—or else neatly fitted within the aristocratic framework.<sup>7</sup> Thus Protestant bourgeois Holland gave rise to genres that were disdained elsewhere, until they were taken up in post-Civil War England. The more common approach, in any case, is to treat each national phenomenon separately, viewing it essentially as an internal development.<sup>8</sup>

There is a related reading of the peasants' place in early modern European culture. Since contemporaries viewed peasants as ugly and unsuitable subjects for high art, once peasants were beautified, they necessarily ceased to be real. They

<sup>3</sup> Theodore K. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1975).

<sup>4</sup> Peasant movements during the French Revolution destroyed the growing consensus about the gentle, docile nature of country folk.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (New York, 1978), 207.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Freedman provides an excellent overview of medieval approaches to peasants in "Sainteté et sauvagerie, deux images du paysan au Moyen Age," *Annales: E.S.C.* (May–June 1992): 539–60. See also Freedman, "The German and Catalan Peasant Revolts," *AHR* 98 (February 1993): 39–54.

<sup>7</sup> A recent example is Dian Fox, *Refiguring the Hero: From Peasant to Noble in Lope de Vega and Calderón* (University Park, Pa., 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Nowhere is this truer than for the Dutch Republic. See, for example, Simon Schama, *An Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987).

became something other than themselves and could therefore be treated simply as metaphors.<sup>9</sup> This interpretation neatly applies to any dignified representation of the peasant. The most compelling example is the eighteenth-century Rococo, with its pretty rustic couples, which no one ever accepts as an actual depiction of residents of the French countryside. Yet, as I will argue, this genteel portrayal was connected to a highly significant drive to validate the peasant estate.

My approach will be broadly comparative, trying to capture what I perceive to be European-wide trends, and I will discuss the transfer of cultural images from one country to another. Despite my use of broad frameworks, I want to stress that I believe in the force of the images themselves, be they visual or written. Poets and painters, whether they mimicked ancient models or aimed at universal truths about the human condition, still chose at times to embody them in peasants. Viewers could interpret these images as they wished, aided by an arsenal of traditional and contemporary guides. Yet the image itself remained potent. No matter what allegorical messages the images contained, they must have reminded viewers forcibly of the real peasants around them. Moreover, at times, the images became more powerful than the discourse within which they were meant to be contained. This brought about crises in the representation of peasants. As I will demonstrate, the principal loss in this system of representation was the harvest, which had been one of the standard themes of European culture.

I have chosen to focus on the harvest theme for several reasons. As the culmination of the agricultural year, bringing in a good crop was the central concern of peasants, farmers, and landowners. Throughout the early modern period, even in the eighteenth century, wealth was based essentially on landownership, and taxes were raised principally on agricultural produce. Governments and individuals alike had a heavy stake in the outcome of the harvest, which consisted mainly of cereals, for bread was the basic food. Given its importance, the harvest had a permanent place in the representation of country life. Another reason for looking closely at depictions of the harvest is that representing this activity necessarily involved choices about what should be portrayed. Plowing was done with either horses or oxen, but it was a task that a man usually performed alone, and its depiction rarely varies, even if the setting of the field changes. In contrast, before mechanization in the late nineteenth century, the grain harvest required a huge amount of labor. The crop ripened all at once and had to be brought in very quickly before the plants dried and the grain fell to the ground. Peasants would therefore be on the fields from morning 'til night, extra hands would be hired for the season, and bands of harvesters would move from field to field. They cut the crop with sickles or scythes (although scythes were used primarily for haymaking), others gathered the fallen stalks into sheaves, and eventually the crop was carted back to the farm. These tasks were sometimes but not always gendered, with men doing more of the cutting and women more of the bundling and raking.

This process could never be fully rendered pictorially. There were simply too many people out in the fields. In the Middle Ages, when the natural world and its

<sup>9</sup> This is one of the positions taken by Noël Salomon, *Recherches sur le thème paysan dans la "comedia" au temps de Lope de Vega* (Bordeaux, 1965).

tasks were pared down to symbols, the harvest was depicted in vignettes showing a single harvester holding a single tool. During the Renaissance, painters amalgamated all the phases of the harvest into a single frame. Later, artists focused on one part of the harvest and left out the rest. In every period, therefore, the artist faced a choice about what to put in and what to leave out: about how to portray not so much the reality—because no artist intended that—as the spirit of the harvest. Although poets were more at liberty to suggest the massive use of labor that the harvest required, they, too, made peculiar choices about the ways they depicted this event.

Scenes of harvest, though part of the traditional painterly and poetic repertoires, are not a major art form. Some periods are richer than others; as I will argue, the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries are relatively abundant, while the second half of the seventeenth century has left us many fewer such scenes. Altogether, however, except perhaps for the nineteenth century, this is a minor corpus, one, moreover, where geniuses like Pieter Bruegel overpower their far feebler imitators. It would not be surprising, therefore, to learn that pictures of the seasons lie forgotten in attics or museum storage rooms or are fading on the walls of country houses and inns. In a similar vein, execrable poems on the seasons may well have been left out of modern-day editions and prove impossible to resurrect. Nonetheless, hundreds of prints and poems have been catalogued, and these allow for clear themes to emerge.<sup>10</sup>

LATE MEDIEVAL ICONOGRAPHY included peasants in several settings. The first was as background figures in religious paintings depicting the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, and various parables.<sup>11</sup> Peasants also illustrated Old Testament scenes, most notably the Book of Ruth, which typically included a scene of reaping. Although one can imagine thousands of possible biblical illustrations, the repertoire was in fact limited, and artists tended to work within an accepted canon of suitable representations. This was also true of the cycles of the seasons. The months had been illustrated since antiquity, and this motif was taken over by medieval Christianity. The ancients linked the cycle of the seasons to religious feasts; Christianity detached it from its pagan roots and focused instead on human

<sup>10</sup> Art books and exhibition catalogs are an excellent source, but, since this project required that I locate broad trends, I also looked through the published compilations of prints and woodcuts (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, F. W. H. Hollstein), as well as non-illustrated guides such as A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil's *Le peintre-graveur français*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1835–50). This allowed me to collect a body of harvest scenes, while at the same time gauging their relative importance within the overall work of the artist. As for the poetry and drama, I began with twentieth-century compilations, used references in scholarly works, which the renewal of interest, especially in rustic poetry, made both fruitful and suggestive. Given the vastness of the potential sources, I am immensely grateful to those literary scholars who pointed me in the right direction, and, with their help, my collection of plays and poems continues to grow.

<sup>11</sup> Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, *Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World* (London, 1973); Walter S. Gibson, "Mirror of the Earth": *The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Otto Pacht, "Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 13–47.

activities, especially agriculture.<sup>12</sup> Man's lot, since Adam's curse, was to live by the sweat of his brow.

Medieval artists carved emblems of the months on church capitals and illustrated calendars in Books of Hours. Whereas early medieval versions had included a large variety of rural activities, from weeding to shoveling dung, Carolingian calendars fixed the themes more rigidly. The images were cleaned up and simplified. They focused more closely on the grain fields and vines that produced bread and wine, the twin symbols of the Mass.

Historians of technology have pored over these pictures looking for evidence of changing techniques.<sup>13</sup> The most significant development, until the invention of harvesting machinery in the nineteenth century, was the increase in the use of scythes for harvesting grains. Yet even this did not become a normal procedure for wheat until the late eighteenth century, because mowing with scythes was rougher on the plant and led to the loss of grain. But the degree of accuracy in the depiction is not my concern here. I am interested rather in the image of reaping itself, be it with sickle, scythe, or reaping hook, as the symbol for harvest *work*. Artists who wished to depict nature's abundance had other options, such as an image of the goddess Ceres.

Medieval illustrations were usually miniatures, focused on a single, stylized figure and a rudimentary version of a field (Figure 1). Sometimes, the image was more complex, embodying a clear social hierarchy.<sup>14</sup> The peasants were squat and ungainly, bent over their tools, in submissive poses. More often, social hierarchy was simply taken for granted, and the lord or his steward walked amid busy laborers (Figure 2). In the duc de Berry's famous Book of Hours, scenes of peasant labor alternate with aristocratic pastimes: feasting, hunting, and Maying. The peasants work in the shadow of various oversized castles (Figure 3). The calendar genre was conceived as depictions of seasonal work and seasonal amusements, each performed by the appropriate class.<sup>15</sup>

Peasant work was significant in medieval pictures for yet another reason. The paintings symbolized man's troubled relationship to nature.<sup>16</sup> One way to conceptualize this relationship was in the form of a garden, representing paradise. This garden was enclosed, separated from the wilderness without, the wilderness to

<sup>12</sup> Georges Comet, *Le paysan et son outil: Essai d'histoire technique des céréales (France, VIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Rome, 1992); Perrine Mane, *Calendriers et techniques agricoles (France-Italie, XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1983); James Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1938).

<sup>13</sup> Comet, *Le paysan et son outil*; Michael Roberts, "Sickles and Scythes: Women's Work and Men's Work at Harvest Time," *History Workshop* (1979): 3–28.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Camille, "Labouring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter," *Art History* 10 (1987): 423–54.

<sup>15</sup> For the argument that the calendar genre left out social relations, see Bridget Ann Henisch, "In Due Season: Farm Work in the Medieval Calendar Tradition," in Sweeney, *Agriculture in the Middle Ages*, 322. Harvesting peasants also appeared in illustrations to medical encyclopedias and in late medieval secularized renderings of moral dicta, for example, Ambrogio Lorenzetti's good and bad government frescoes, painted in Sienna (1338–1339). Gisèle Lambert, "De l'espace sacré à l'esprit profane: L'apparition du paysage," in *Paysages, paysans: L'art et la terre en Europe du Moyen Age au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1994): 37–42.

<sup>16</sup> This is the treatment in Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, Dora Nussey, trans. (New York, 1958), 64–65; and in Pearsall and Salter, *Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World*.





FIGURE 2: Social hierarchy depicted at harvest time. Pietro di Crescenzi, *Livre des profits ruraux*, Bruges, ca. 1470, M232, f.201v, courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library.

which man had been condemned after the Fall and which he could tame only by his labor. While the garden represented the ideal state, scenes of agricultural labor expressed man's fallen condition as well as his potential redemption through work. When artists wanted to convey this message, scenes of nature and of the countryside concentrated on working peasants.

The Renaissance, of course, extended the range of profane subjects. Artists, like philosophers, explored the relationship between man and nature and attempted to capture the essence of nature itself. The idyllic view represented by the medieval garden developed into a full-blown pastoral style, celebrating man in harmony with nature: mankind did not have to work but could simply enjoy nature's fruits. In this vision, leisure and play dominated, and idealized mythic figures pranced or lounged about. Although the message was timeless, contemporary figures were sometimes



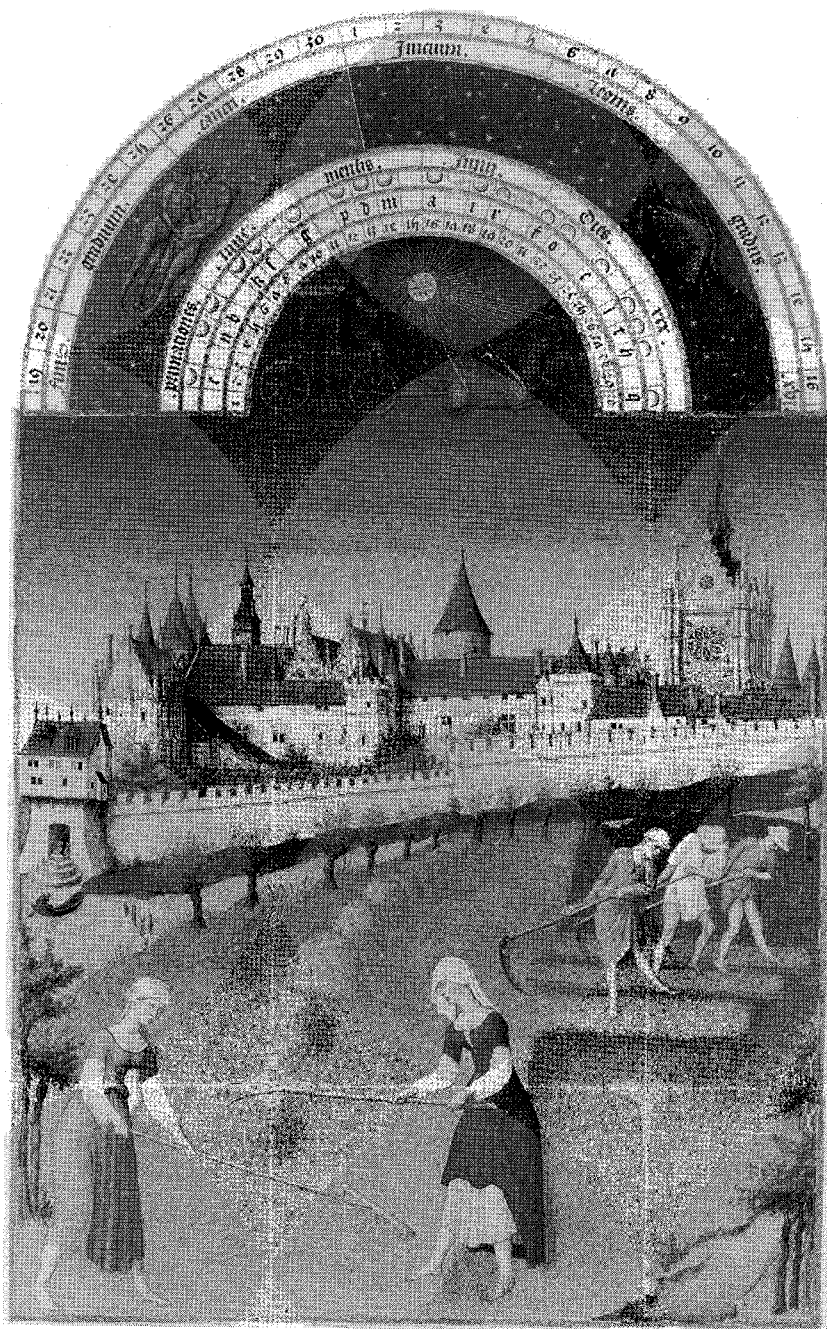


FIGURE 3: Scenes of peasant labor in the shadow of aristocratic castles. Paul de Limbourg, *Juin* (1414–15), *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly.

merged within the setting, reassuring the viewer that he or she belonged in this universal scheme.<sup>17</sup> The overall effect was cerebral and elevated, embodying what many in this period conceived of as the proper function of art.

<sup>17</sup> This process is summarized in Robert C. Cafritz, Lawrence Gowing, and David Rosand, *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape* (Washington, D.C., 1988). See also Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf,

Yet this ideal version did not totally replace a grittier approach to the countryside. In some ways, interest in real agricultural work actually increased in the sixteenth century. This new interest derived partly from the medieval tradition of viewing work as an aspect of man's redemption. It also grew from the renewed influence of classical learning and in particular Virgil's *Georgics*.<sup>18</sup> Unlike Virgil's *Eclogues*, which along with writings of Theocritus, Horace, and Ovid evoked pastoral landscapes and pastoral poetry, the *Georgics* focused on agricultural work.<sup>19</sup> In fact, they come close to being an agricultural manual in verse. For Virgil, work is man's lot and, if performed with true forbearance, will produce a simple, fruitful, and peaceful life.<sup>20</sup>

Classical literature in the sixteenth century joined the biblical imagery that had dominated medieval representations of the countryside. Agricultural work thus penetrated the learned sixteenth-century panorama, armed with the twin stamps of classical virtue and Christian salvation. Inspired by Virgil, poets depicted seasonal tasks, including harvest work, as part of their repertoire. The setting, moreover, was always recognizably modern, invoking contemporary practices. Artists, on the other hand, placed the harvest in both modern and classical surroundings. One current of art breathed new life into the old calendar tradition by moving the laborer to a naturalistic village environment. Simon Bening's cycle of the months illustrates this trend (see cover illustration).<sup>21</sup> The second approach, informed by the Renaissance revival of classical art forms, portrayed the harvester as an Olympian athlete, a Hercules laboring under a Greek sky. This idealized version, mostly confined to allegories, nonetheless reinforced the association of peasants with energetic exertions.

By the sixteenth century, pictures of rural occupations moved from illuminated manuscripts to full-sized panels, canvases, and prints.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps no painter was more influential than Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525–1569) in effecting this transition. Bruegel transposed religious scenes to Flemish villages and turned the peasants' daily routines into moral exempla.<sup>23</sup> He also energized harvest scenes.

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*Ideal Landscape: Annibale Carracci, Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain*, Nancy Adler, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1990).

<sup>18</sup> The Middle Ages had viewed Virgil essentially as the author of the *Aeneid*. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Willard R. Trask, trans. (1953; rpt. edn., Princeton, N.J., 1983), 36. See also R. D. Williams and T. S. Pattie, *Virgil: His Poetry through the Ages* (London, 1982); L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil: A Critical Survey* (Cambridge, 1969).

<sup>19</sup> Even in the *Eclogues* and Theocritus's *Idylls*, however, despite their emphasis on leisure, real work always lurks close to the surface, in images of sowing, plowing, and the real tasks of herding. Thus Virgilian poetry in general stimulated interest in images of work. See Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987).

<sup>20</sup> "Yes," the narrator tells us, "unremitting labour and harsh necessity's hand will master anything." And, "Oh, too lucky for words, if only he knew his luck,/ Is the countryman who far from the clash of armaments/ Lives, and rewarding earth is lavish of all he needs!" *The Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil*, C. Day Lewis, trans. (New York, 1964), *Georgics*, Book 1, ll. 145–46, Book 2, ll. 458–60.

<sup>21</sup> Simon Bening, *August: Mowing Wheat, Binding Sheaves*, Da Costa Hours, Bruges, ca. 1515, M399, f.9v, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. Bening and his workshop produced a number of such illustrations. See his "August" in a Book of Hours at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (Cim 23638), and at the Pierpont Morgan Library, M307 and M451.

<sup>22</sup> In fact, most of the pictures that I will be discussing survived in the form of prints, meaning that they had a wide circulation and a broad appeal.

<sup>23</sup> He did not invent the genre, for others (such as Hieronymus Bosch, fellow Netherlander) had



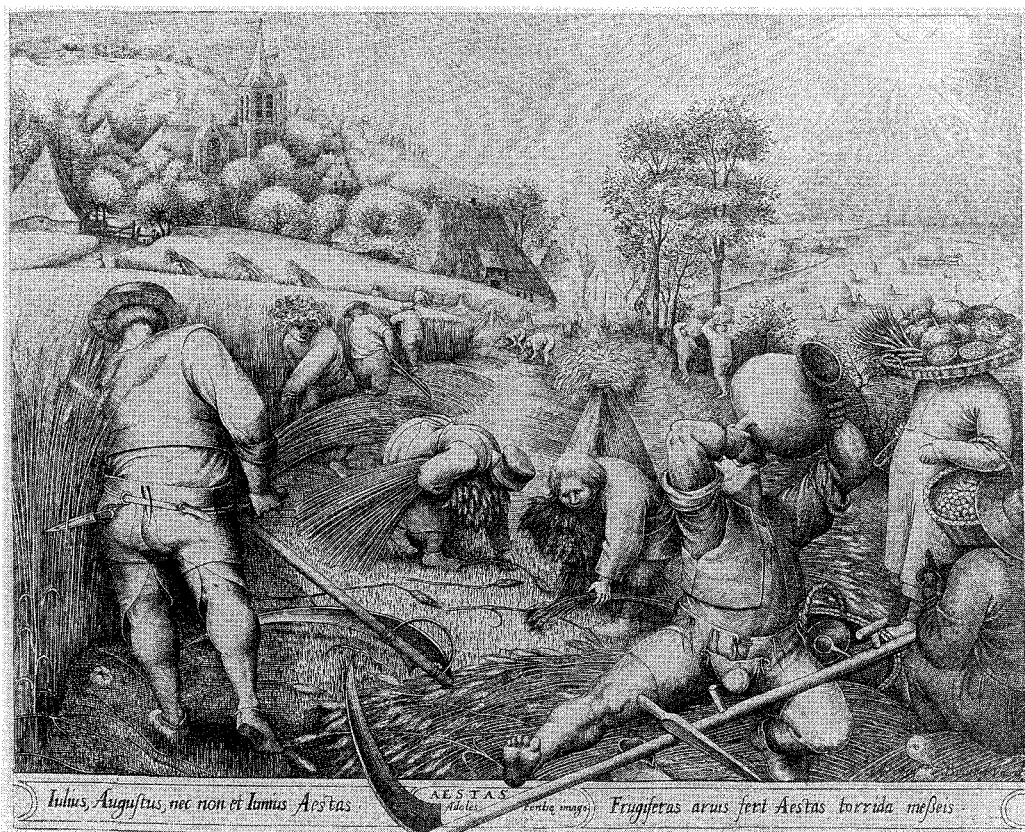


FIGURE 4: The influential Pieter Bruegel the Elder depicts the muscular strength of the peasants and implies the energetic labor needed for the harvest. *Summer* (1568), courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

Whatever his intentions,<sup>24</sup> we are left with images of vigorous, muscular peasants, working hard, drinking hard, or collapsing from fatigue.<sup>25</sup> The artist emphasized the impressive effort involved with a technique of arrested movement. No image expresses the resulting sense of energy more powerfully than Bruegel's print *Summer* (Figure 4). The first object that catches the eye is the huge scythe that the harvester has put down in order to refresh himself; it juts out of the frame. Around him, men and women are mowing, gathering, carrying—convincing us that abstract concepts (work, heat) have been brought to life, even if not fully realistically.

His harvest scene housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art presents a larger and more encompassing vision (Figure 5). It depicts the stages of the harvest from the reaping to the carting and even includes, in tiny background detail, summertime village recreations. The foreground scene contrasts work and rest by closely

already tied vices and virtues to ordinary folk. Bruegel, however, toned down Bosch's fantastic elements and created recognizable human scenes.

<sup>24</sup> A continuing engagement with Bruegel's paintings rests on their ambiguity. They can be treated as humorous or censorious, but they are so vibrant that the message slides into a celebration of peasant life.

<sup>25</sup> Bruegel's most recent analyst views him essentially in rhetorical terms. Margaret A. Sullivan, *Bruegel's Peasants: Art and Audience in the Northern Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1994).



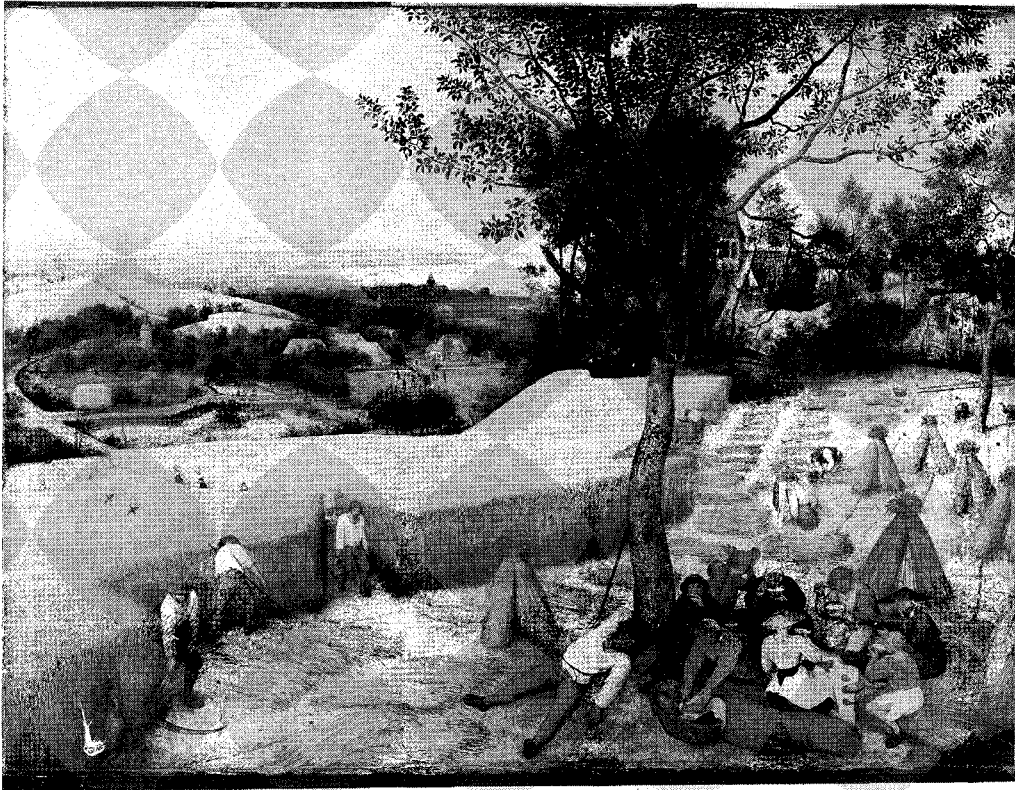


FIGURE 5: Several stages of the work, including rest, are displayed in Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Harvesters* (1565), courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

intertwining the two. Those eating are not enjoying a summer picnic but, like the sleeper, are taking a break from their exertions. Meanwhile, others are reaping and gathering. Significantly, the men mowing are positioned in ways that exhibit their scythes and the strength needed to wield this heavy tool.

Bruegel's versions of harvest work remained the most vibrant among similar undertakings by contemporaries and imitators over the next fifty years. Sixteenth-century representations of summer continued to focus on harvest work, with peasants engrossed in their tasks, pointedly swinging sharp tools. Maarten de Vos's print *Summer*, from the late sixteenth century, depicted a community at work, energetically cutting, bundling, and even drinking in a pose borrowed from Bruegel (Figure 6).<sup>26</sup> I. A. Wierix's print of a Maerten van Cleve harvest (circa 1580) focuses directly on the bundling and cutting, as a harvester brandishes a short-handled scythe (Figure 7). This style still obtained in France around the middle of the seventeenth century, when the court painter Jacques Stella produced harvesting scenes of a vigorous nature, with the lively motions reminiscent of Bruegel and of his own Flemish background (Figure 8).

Realism about peasant labor, of course, did not require that peasants be placed

<sup>26</sup> Sixteenth-century prints overflowed with detail. William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (1953; Cambridge, Mass., 1969). Other examples of vigorous harvests include Adriaen Collaert's (1560–1618) medallions of the months, Jacob Grimmer's *Summer* at the Dayton Art Institute, Johann Thomas de Bry's *August* in Vienna, and Frans Boels's *Summer* in Stockholm.





FIGURE 6: Flemish imitators of Bruegel continue the vigorous depiction of harvest work. Maarten de Vos (1532–1603), *Summer* (n.d.), courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

within recognizable modern landscapes. Humanist fashion encouraged some artists to present peasants in archaic costumes and settings. The mode originated in Italy, but it was applied to harvesters in Mannerist paintings in Flanders, Holland, and France. Perhaps the most striking version is an allegory engraved by Philips Galle, after Maerten van Heemskerck, *Summer* (1563). In this highly gendered picture, two women tend sheep on the right, while naked men and youths mow, rake, reap, bundle, and prominently sharpen their scythes (Figure 9). The allegorical figure is not the usual representation of Ceres, the goddess of the harvest, but a muscular male clutching wheat stalks.<sup>27</sup> Harvest work is here an excuse to display human anatomy and rippling muscles.

The classical treatment was not always so athletic. In France, around 1550, Etienne Delaune engraved a series on the labors of the months that combined fanciful characters with hard-working peasants. Once again we are in ancient Greece rather than the Ile de France, but the work represented is real. Men and

<sup>27</sup> At approximately the same time, Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* counseled a robust young woman for the representation of Summer (p. 502) and either a half-naked man holding a sheaf and sickle (p. 348) or a half-naked peasant holding his reaping and threshing instruments (p. 346) as symbols for the month of July (agricultural version): "Because the most important aspect of this month is the grain harvest ..." The first version of *Iconologia* appeared in 1593; illustrated versions followed (Padua, 1611) (1644 edn., rpt., New York, 1976).







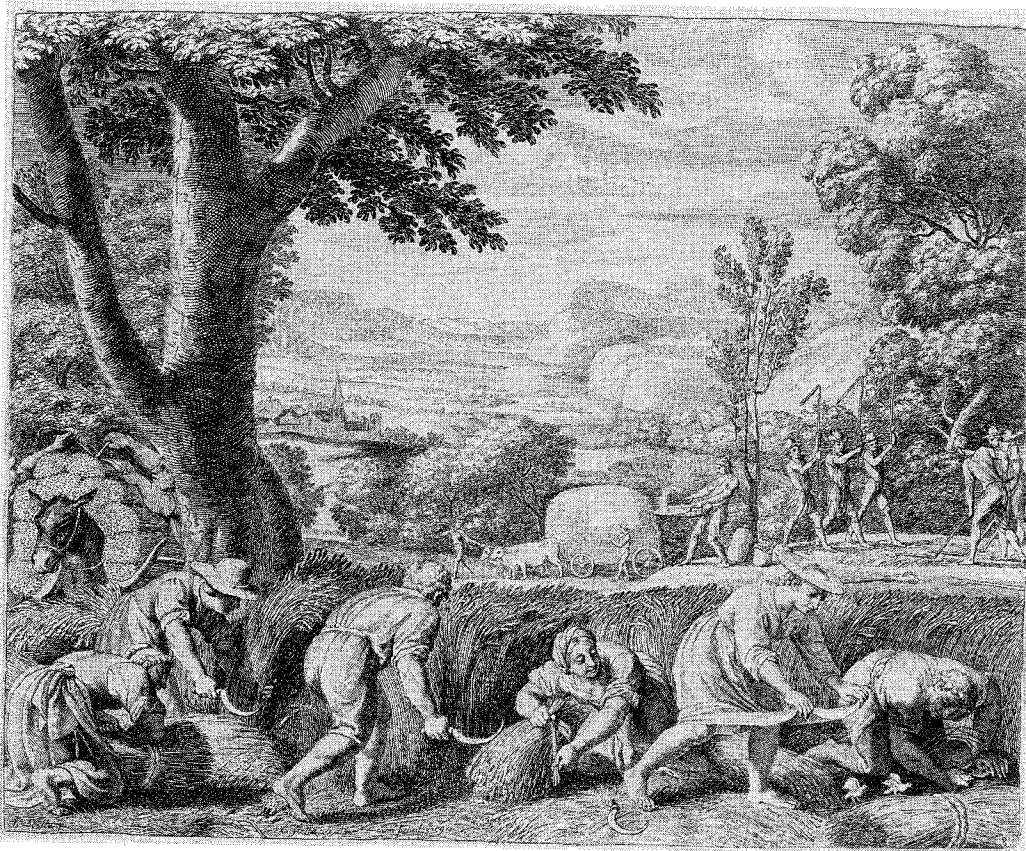


FIGURE 8: French court painter Jacques Stella continues the Bruegel tradition of vigorous figures in harvest scenes with *Reapers*, from the collection *Les pastorales* (Paris, 1661), courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

lunch break overshadows the harvesting scene behind it (Figure 11). Yet the picture leaves no doubt that it is the representation of a working community.

National variations were thus of some significance in the sixteenth century; Italian artists included a wider range of seasonal tasks, and their peasants were on the whole handsomer than those portrayed by northern artists. But, whatever their origin, depictions always showed that harvests involved a substantial number of laborers. People crowded around the fields, either working or resting, but never disconnected from the business at hand. These, of course, were not the only possible images for summer. The season was sometimes rendered in purely allegorical fashion or as aristocratic recreation. When the representation consisted of seasonal work, however, the harvest remained central to the depiction, and harvest work consisted primarily of cutting.

POETRY AND PLAYS LINKED TASK AND TOOL even more dramatically. Thomas Nashe's play *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, performed in 1592, openly identified harvest with harvest tools and brought them out on stage.





FIGURE 9: An allegory of Summer in which muscular, almost naked, peasant men and women appear in an antique setting. Philips Galle after Maerten van Heemskerck, *Aestas* (Summer), 1563, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Harvest, by west, and by north, by south and southeast,  
Show thyself like a beast.  
Goodman Harvest, yeoman, come in and say what you can.  
Room for the scythe and the sickles there!  
[Enter Harvest with a scythe on his neck, and all his reapers with sickles . . . ]<sup>30</sup>

In Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, "reapers, properly habited" perform a dance and are addressed as "You sunburned sickle-men, of August weary."<sup>31</sup> Although we can only imagine their costumes now, contemporary court ballets were sometimes more explicit in stage direction. In *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* by Samuel Daniel, a masque presented at Hampton Court near London in January 1604, Ceres is described "in straw colour and silver embroidery with ears of corn and a dressing of the same, present[ing] a sickle."<sup>32</sup> In a late sixteenth-century French "mascarade rustique," the nature of harvesting is made clear.

<sup>30</sup> Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works* (Harmondsworth, 1985), 171.

<sup>31</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, act 4, scene 1, ll. 134–40.

<sup>32</sup> *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allrdayce Nicoll* (Cambridge, 1967), 28.





FIGURE 10: Hard-working peasants in antique costume. Etienne Delaune, *Augustus*, ca. 1550, Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Arts, Prints and Photographs, courtesy of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

They say that in this land the soil is very fertile,  
And that your harvest lasts a long time;  
If the wheat in your fields needs cutting,  
We are ready to use our sickles.<sup>33</sup>

Lyric poets expressed the same sentiments, especially in France, where the georgic blossomed in the sixteenth century.<sup>34</sup> The poems made remarkable use of three images: physical exertion, sharp tools, and numerous harvesters. Jacques Peletier's 1547 poem *L'été* (Summer) describes a troop of harvesters ("la gaye troupe") and focuses on a man mowing, his sharpened scythe ("sa faux acérée"), and the powerful strokes with which he cuts the stalks.<sup>35</sup> Pierre de Ronsard's *Ode de la venue de l'été* also uses the term troop ("la diligente troupe") to refer to the harvesters and describes the sickles that bring down the crop. Scythes are sharpened

<sup>33</sup> *Mascarade rustique* (before 1600), in Paul Lacroix, *Ballets et mascarades de cour de Henri III à Louis XIV (1581–1652)*, Vol. 1 (Geneva, 1868), 138.

<sup>34</sup> See poets such as Jacques Peletier, Philibert Guide, Germain Forget, Rémi Belleau, Claude Gauchet, Pierre de Brach, and Pierre de Ronsard, inspired in part by Luigi Alamanni's modern adaptation of the *Georgics* in *La coltivazione* (1543). The poem was written while Alamanni resided in France and was dedicated to Francis I. *La coltivazione di Luigi Alamanni et Le api di Giovanni Ricellai* (Milan, 1804). Henri Hauvette, *Luigi Alamanni (1495–1556) sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1903), chap. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Jacques Peletier, *L'été*, in Françoise Joukovsky, *La Renaissance bucolique: Poèmes choisis 1550–1600* (Paris, 1994), 29–33. "Et de son bras robuste/A grans traiz fait sa tasche."





FIGURE 11: Antonio Tempesta, *June* (1599), shows the Italian interest in portraying the task of threshing, here overwhelmed by the focus on the noonday meal of the harvesters. Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Arts, Prints and Photographs, courtesy of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

in Rémi Belleau's *Le ver luisant*, in Philibert Guide's *Juillet*, and in Claude Gauchet's *Les moissons*.<sup>36</sup> This last poem follows a peasant from home to field, where

Swinging around him his scythe with great force,  
He orders his work in such a way  
That a snail's head can be seen twirling in the air.<sup>37</sup>

In Pierre de Brach's *Son voyage en Gascogne* as well, a mower swings his scythe. The entire band of harvesters, the reapers and the rakers, personifies whirlwind activity. One last example hints that admiration of this force is tinged with nervousness.

<sup>36</sup> Ronsard, Guide, and Gauchet, in Joukovsky, *La Renaissance bucolique*, 43–45, 59–60, 51–52; Belleau in M. Allem, ed., *Anthologie poetique française, XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1965), 11.

<sup>37</sup> Claude Gauchet, *Les moissons* (1583), in *Le plaisir des champs avec La venerie, volerie et pescherie*, Prosper Blanchemain, ed. (Paris, 1869), 127. Other images in the same poem invoke the grain harvest, where the "scieur courbé, halletant, s'esvertuë/ A mener, non oiseux, la faucille tortuë/ Par les espicz dorez," 130.

Germain Forget's *L'été* of 1584 describes a landscape filled with workers ("la campagne ja pleine de dispos Aousterons") and ends:

Without delaying long, let each and every one  
Be sure to return deep inside their humble lairs  
Their sharp instruments, their mercenary tools.<sup>38</sup>

Time and again, poets emphasized that harvesting brought together individual laborers of Herculean strength. And, as the last poem points out, this collectivity could be menacing. They were urged to limit their vigor to harvesting. The sixteenth century ended, therefore, with a powerful set of images about country people. Poetry, plays, and art offered a portrayal that accentuated the physical strength and prowess of the peasants and placed them within a large working community.<sup>39</sup> Peasants had traditionally been represented as cowardly, for bravery was the attribute of the noble warrior. At best, the peasant could be crafty and win the day through trickery. The revival of the georgic and the Renaissance fascination with the human body lifted the peasant to a heroic and martial status. This new status was not the sole representation of the countryside. Peasants could still be shown as pious or farcical, but the theme of the seasons and of the harvest, all appeared to agree, was best served by these vigorous, tool-wielding images.

ENERGETIC HARVEST SCENES clearly lost their appeal in the seventeenth century, although the theme of the seasons survived. A search for seventeenth-century pictures of harvest work quickly reveals the striking fact that, as the century progressed, these became rarer and rarer. The sixteenth century readily yields its series of representations, and so does the eighteenth century. In other words, the seventeenth century did not bring the demise of a visual genre so much as the replacement of its content. The same is true of poetry, where seasons were emptied of their georgic associations.

Scenes from the harvest continued to be part of the standard Flemish painterly repertoire in the first half of the seventeenth century. Yet something had changed. Pictures of summer, which had previously centered on the harvesting, now conveyed the impression that the work had been completed. The crop was being carted home, the work day was over. In paintings by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625), for example, a few stragglers continue to cut the grain, as the harvest cart, now at the center of the picture, rolls by them, surrounded by peasants resting after their labors.<sup>40</sup> Peter Paul Rubens renders his *Return from the Fields* (1630s) as a festive event. In his *Rainbow Landscape* (1636), the wagon is loaded and the field hands are going home (Figure 12).

In Dutch pictures of the same period, only a few token harvesters are still shown

<sup>38</sup> Forget, in Joukovsky, *La Renaissance bucolique*, 63–64.

<sup>39</sup> Paintings and poems also placed peasants within a festive community. See, for example, Svetlana Alpers, "Realism as a Comic Mode: Low-Life Painting Seen through Bredero's Eyes," *Simiolus* 8, no. 3 (1975–76): 115–42.

<sup>40</sup> Brueghel's *The Corn Harvest*, in Stockholm, and also see Joos de Momper, *Die Kornernte*, private collection.





FIGURE 12: Seventeenth-century artists shift their depictions of the harvest scene to a time after the main tasks are over. In Peter Paul Rubens, *The Rainbow Landscape* (1636), the loaded wagon is shown ready to bring in the grain. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection, London.

in the fields. In Jan van de Velde's *August* (1616), the larger figures on the left have their noonday meal, while a man and a woman on the right continue to work. Behind them, a man follows a loaded wagon, and, further off to his left, a couple of idlers stroll through the fields (Figure 13). Jan van Almeloveen shows token male harvesters on the left, set among male strollers and rowers (Figure 14). Little remains of the realities of the harvest, with its massive use of labor. The picture no longer carries the message that the effort involved is magnificent. The focus has shifted to the presumed rewards of country life: harmless amusements like bathing and fishing, strolls and courtships, within a soothing, undulating rustic setting.<sup>41</sup>

Although paintings of the countryside were extremely popular in the Dutch Republic, by mid-century few if any echoed the sixteenth-century fascination with harvest work. Painters focused instead on the landscape, on scenes that showed peasants congregating around their houses (whether the hovels of Jan van Goyen or the prosperous cottages of Meindert Hobbema), walking down a country road, taking goods to market, or minding their cow. Pictures of the seasons, meanwhile, turned into scenes of leisure and repose.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, Jan van Goyen's 1625 panels *Summer* and *Winter* at the Rijkmuseum, Amsterdam. Also see *Les plaisirs de l'été* by the Flemish painter Sebastian Vrancx in the mid-seventeenth century. Galerie Robert Finck, *Exposition de tableaux de maîtres flamands du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Brussels, 1963), Catalogue No. 28.

<sup>42</sup> Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) and Meindert Hobbema (1638–1709) were Dutch genre and landscape painters. The proportional increase in landscape paintings has been well documented. See, for example, two essays: Jan de Vries, "Art History," 249–82, and John Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," 331–72, both in David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, eds., *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1991). Also see Alan Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," in Peter C. Sutton, ed., *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape*

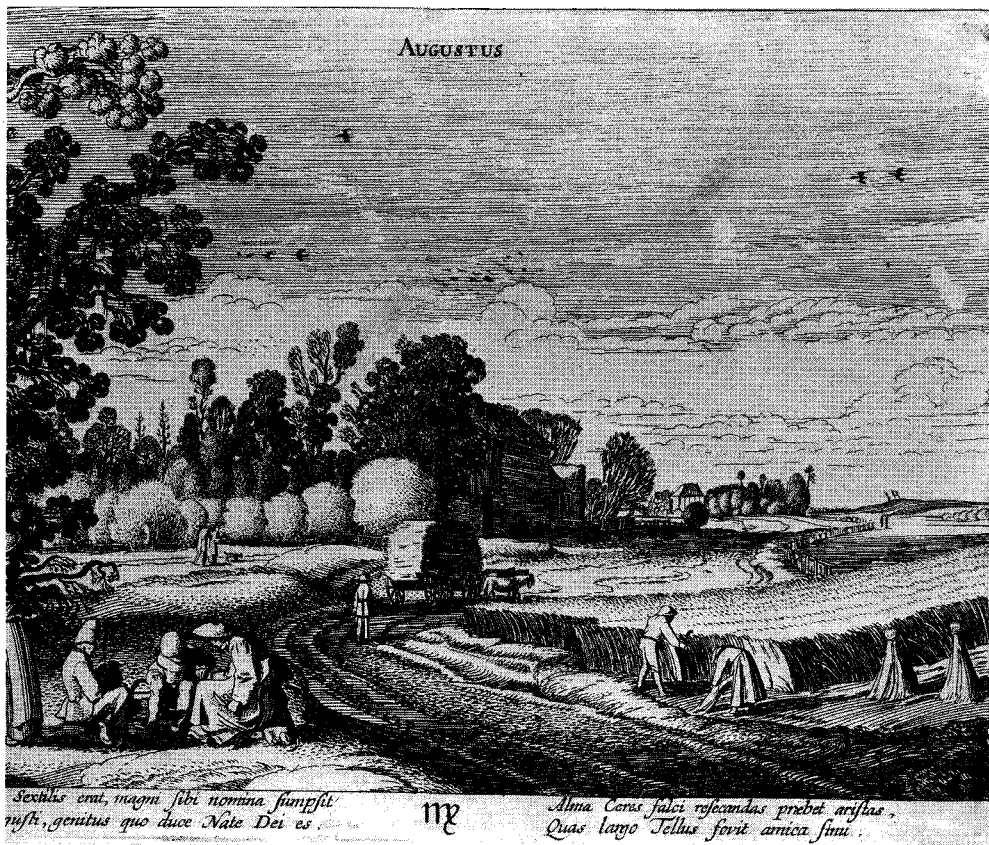


FIGURE 13: Cutting the crop occupies only a few people, as others eat, cart, or stroll. The harvest has been marginalized. Jan van de Velde, *Augustus* (1616), courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Art historians have noted this absence of agricultural work in paintings from the Dutch Golden Age. “Surprisingly few Dutch landscapes show farmers at work. For the most part, the view of the landscape is recreational rather than agricultural,” writes Christopher Brown.<sup>43</sup> The most common explanation is that such innocuous paintings answered city folk’s nostalgic yearning for the simple life of the country during a period of rapid urbanization. The rise of landscape paintings that focused on broad vistas or on nature itself, with their tiny, often lone figures, similarly embodied the urban observer’s desire for quiet seclusion. The countryside that had once teemed with workers, villages that Bruegel and his followers had shown bursting with boisterous, drunken revelers, were recast as depopulated, or under-

*Painting* (Boston, 1987), 104–20. It is worth noting that many Dutch artists of the early seventeenth century had migrated north from Flanders.

<sup>43</sup> Christopher Brown, *Dutch Landscape: The Early Years, Haarlem and Amsterdam 1590–1650* (London, 1986), 29–30. See also Sutton, *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, 8; Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago, 1983), 147; Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*; Ann Jensen Adams, “Competing Communities in the ‘Great Bog of Europe’: Identity and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting,” in W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago, 1994), 35–76.



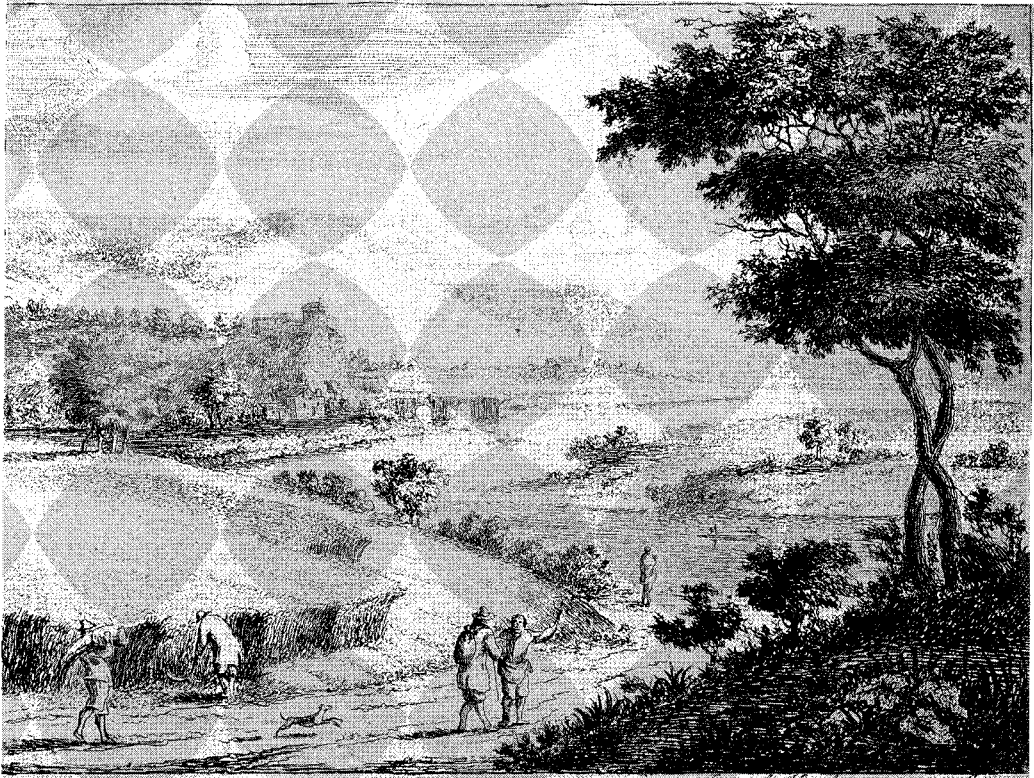


FIGURE 14: Harvesters are shown among rowers and strollers. The countryside belongs to all, urban and rural alike. Jan van Almeloveen (active 1658–ca. 1678–83), *Landscape with Harvesters*, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

populated, places where a few villagers might come together for the occasional drink (see Figure 15).<sup>44</sup>

The new depiction seemed to validate country life but deprive it of its basic activities and, just as openly, deprive it even of its inhabitants. Perhaps the most extreme—and most beautiful—version of this position comes from Jacob van Ruisdael (1628–1682). He painted more than twenty pictures of empty wheatfields, all nearly or already ripened. Not one of them included harvesters, although the odd traveler might stroll by (Figure 16). Tiny figures populate his paintings of the Haarlem bleaching fields or trudge through the snow in his grim winterscapes. His wheatfields, however, were meant to seem untouched by human hands.

Commentators have treated this approach as a reflection on nature's spontaneous beneficence and hope for man's liberation from the drudgery that had been taken as his lot.<sup>45</sup> Ruisdael expressed, in the strongest terms, a European-wide recoiling from the labor that food production demanded. This attitude is also noticeable in

<sup>44</sup> Significantly, peasant violence against soldiers disappeared as a genre of painting. Jane Susannah Fishman, *Boerenverdriet: Violence between Peasants and Soldiers in Early Modern Netherlands Art* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979); Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and Its Audience in the Golden Age* (Totowa, N.J., 1983).

<sup>45</sup> E. John Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape* (New Haven, Conn., 1991). Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1966), 129, emphasizes the serenity of Ruisdael's paintings. The work by Seymour Slive and H. R. Hoetink, *Jacob*





FIGURE 15: Dutch and Flemish artists now prefer to show peasants as social drinkers rather than drunken revelers. Adriaen van Ostade (1610–1685), *Peasants Drinking with a Violin-Player* (1660s?), courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Spain, to which some Flemish artists migrated in the early seventeenth century.<sup>46</sup> Elsewhere in Europe, pure harvest scenes were evidently not being painted.<sup>47</sup> One

*van Ruisdael* (New York, 1981), 94, is less concerned with iconographic interpretation and concentrates on the formal aspects of the painting.

<sup>46</sup> As in the case of Jan Brueghel the Elder and Joos de Momper, who produced, among other scenes, the famous painting of the Infanta and her maids haymaking. See the *Excursion campestre de Isabel Clara Eugenis*, Prado Museum, Madrid.

<sup>47</sup> Some English agricultural manuals contain pictures of tool-wielding harvesters, for example, M. Stevenson, *Twelve Months* (London, 1661). Allegorical or classical treatments were more common. Wenceslaus Hollar's illustrations to Virgil's *Georgics*, John Ogilby, trans. (London, 1652), has peasants in antique costume performing all of the farming tasks described in the book, except for reaping. The harvest scene focuses on dances to Ceres, with two reapers hidden behind the dancers. Hollar's



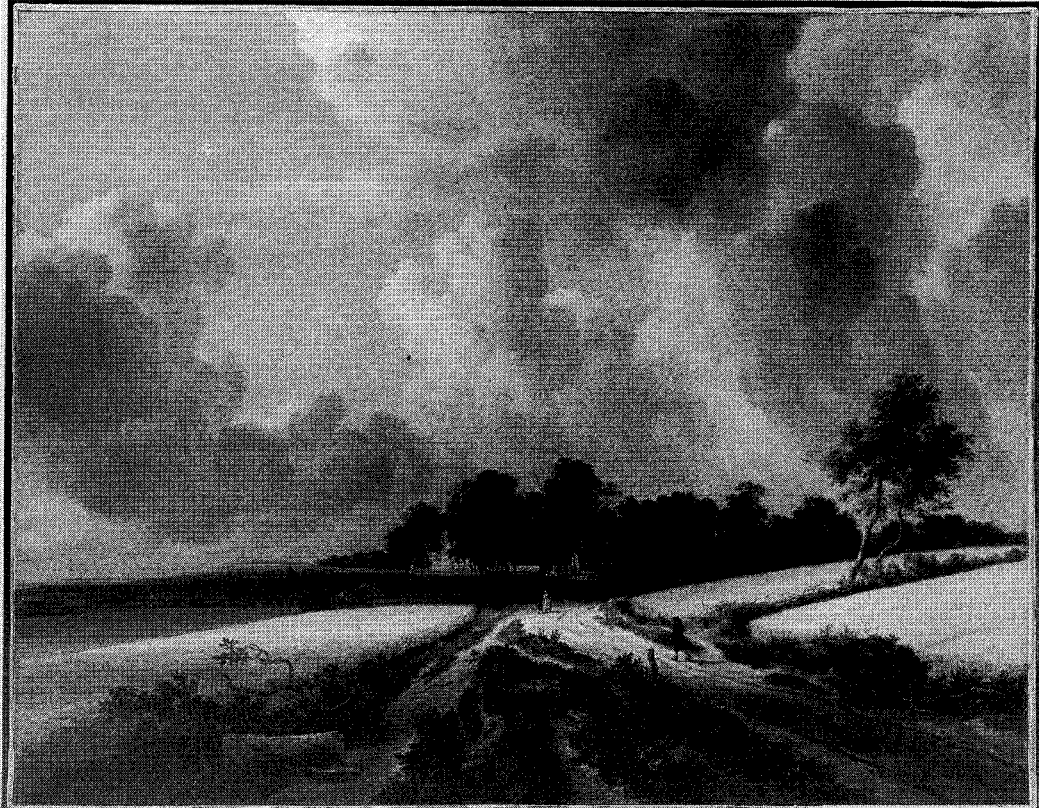


FIGURE 16: One of many empty grainfields painted by Jacob van Ruisdael, *Wheatfields* (ca. 1670), courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Nature is spontaneously munificent.

Italian artist, Ludovico Mattioli (1662–1747), designed a set of seasons at the end of the seventeenth century showing handfuls of tiny peasants working in vast deserted landscapes (Figure 17). After the Peasant War of 1525, the Germans showed a singular reluctance to depict laborers.<sup>48</sup> In France, Jacques Stella's harvest scene mentioned above (Figure 8) included vigorous workers,<sup>49</sup> but not a single painting by the Le Nain brothers—known for their realistic scenes—shows

illustrations were used for Dryden's translation of Virgil and in every eighteenth-century edition of Dryden.

<sup>48</sup> Peasants display huge scythes (and less evident sickles) in Hans Sebald Beham's illustrations of the months in Martin Luther's prayer book of 1527. Beham, however, was a recognized rebel. Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago, 1989), 30. Woodcuts from around 1525 show peasants menacingly armed with tools, including reaping instruments. Maurice Pianzola, *Bauern und Künstler: Die Künstler der Renaissance und der Bauernkrieg von 1525* (Berlin, 1961), 95–96. Then, for about a century, German representations shy away from showing harvest tools. The harvester is overshadowed by mounted lord and lady and his sickle is buried deep in the corn, in *Summer* by Jost Amman, and an adaptation of the Flemish painter Sebastian Vracx by Matthaeus Merian the Elder shows harvesters hard at work in the distance, while the gentry stroll or ride by and others bathe in the river. Tools return in a series of vignettes representing the labors of the months by Elias Holl (in the 1630s). There, a single, rough peasant, carrying the requisite tool, symbolizes each of the months, in medieval fashion. See *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, vols. 8, 15, 26, 27, and 28 (Amsterdam, 1954–58).

<sup>49</sup> Stella's harvests appeared among Arcadian scenes in a volume called *Les pastorales*, published by his niece after his death in 1657 (Paris, 1661).



FIGURE 17: Italian painter Ludovico Mattioli also shows tiny harvesters swallowed up in the landscape. *July* (ca. 1700), courtesy of the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

peasants working. A fascinating exception is Nicolas Poussin's *Summer* (1660–1664), which used the biblical theme of Ruth gleaning in the fields of Boaz (Figure 18). The background, as was traditional in such pictures, showed a group of busy harvesters cutting and bundling the crop. Despite the lofty classical rendition, Poussin had no imitators. The other pictures of Ruth and Boaz produced in the seventeenth century gradually followed Rembrandt's lead in focusing on the pair, removed from the fields and garbed in exotic costumes.<sup>50</sup> The seasons, when they were represented, tended to be allegorical, as in Charles Le Brun's tapestries at Versailles, *Les quatre saisons* (late 1660s). All over Europe, painters turned away from depicting harvesting and the mundane realities of rural life. They preferred imaginary landscapes, rocky seclusions, and broad vistas that made the countryside into a patchwork of colors without people.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY POETRY suggests the reasons for this turning away. Literary historians have stressed the role of aristocratic complacency. Country-house poems in the seventeenth century celebrated the landed estate while leaving out the

<sup>50</sup> Seventeenth-century pictures of Ruth and Boaz survive by Jan Swart, Philips Galle (engravings), Pieter Verbeeck, Nicolas Berchem, Gerhard van den Eeckhout (who produced four versions in the 1650s), Jan Victors, Jacob Pynas, Lambert Jacobsz, Aert de Gelder, and Bernard Fabritius. *D.I.A.L.: Decadal Index of the Art of the Netherlands*, Marquand Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.





FIGURE 18: A favorite Old Testament theme, Ruth gleanings in the fields of Boaz, shows peasants harvesting, safely transferred to a different place and time. The predominant approach in the seventeenth century is to avoid depicting laborers. Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), *L'été*, the Musée du Louvre, copyright Photo RMN.

workers who produced its riches.<sup>51</sup> At best, as in Robert Herrick's poem *The Hock-Cart*, the tenants joyfully carried their crop to their master's barn.<sup>52</sup> Poets, when they did address agricultural work, imbued it much more directly than in the sixteenth century with a moral, regenerative quality. It was worthy, peaceful, and gay. It was also performed for the benefit of the lord. Scenes of reaping, when they appear, lack the absorption with swing and sweat that had typified the sixteenth-century georgic:

Here is no other case in law  
But what the sunburnt hat of straw  
With crooked sickle reaps and binds  
Up into sheaves to help the hinds.<sup>53</sup>

The harvest was a common symbol of plenty, and it had appeared in that guise in sixteenth-century French poems, such as Joachim Du Bellay's *Ode à Cérès* (1558).

<sup>51</sup> Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York, 1973); Alastair Fowler, "Georgic and Pastoral: Laws of Genre in the Seventeenth Century," in Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor, eds., *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land* (Leicester, 1992), 81–88; Anthony Low, *The Georgic Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1985); John Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, 1730–1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare* (Cambridge, 1972).

<sup>52</sup> *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick*, J. Max Patrick, ed. (New York, 1963), 140–42.

<sup>53</sup> Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, *To Retiredness*, in *Ben Jonson and the Cavalier Poets*, Hugh Maclean, ed. (New York, 1974), 206–07.

Its symbolic association also extended to religious revelation, as in Germain Forget's *Les plaisirs et felicitiez de la vie rustique* (1584).<sup>54</sup> These symbolic usages became more pronounced in the seventeenth century. In Racan's *Stances sur la retraite*, written around 1618, the harvest stands for plenty, as work yields to leisure and the georgic gives way to the pastoral.<sup>55</sup>

The sixteenth century had also associated the harvest with feelings of loss, even devastation.<sup>56</sup> For Du Bellay, Rome fell the same way "the peasant harvests . . . the golden fields."<sup>57</sup> This theme appeared more frequently in the following century. The harvest figured as a symbol for lost love in Gilles Ménage's *Le moissonneur*:

The fields have fewer ears, and these ears fewer grains  
Than my sorrowful heart has mortal chagrins.<sup>58</sup>

Saint-Amant's *Sonnet sur la moisson d'un lieu proche de Paris*, written around 1620, expanded the themes of destruction and loss.

The gold yields to the blades; already the harvesters  
Stripping the fields of their yellow standards  
Make the desolation both gay and beautiful.  
This useful cruelty works for the benefit of all  
...  
The greater the devastation, the sweeter I find it.<sup>59</sup>

The harvest had become a symbol of death and destruction.<sup>60</sup> Numerous other poems conflated field and battlefield. Thus Jean-François Sarasin, in the *Ode de Calliope*:

He breaks a thousand battalions  
And the bristling pikes  
Fall before him  
Like wheat on the fields.<sup>61</sup>

And in an *Ode* by François de Malherbe:

<sup>54</sup> Both in Joukovsky, *La Renaissance bucolique*.

<sup>55</sup> Honorat de Bueil, Seigneur de Racan, *Poésies*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1930). The countryside appears most frequently in the seventeenth century as a place of retreat from war and worldly cares, in conscious imitation of Horace.

<sup>56</sup> This association already existed in the Middle Ages, when Henry I of England was depicted frightened of peasants armed with spade, pitchfork, and scythe. Michael Camille, "When Adam Delved": Laboring on the Land in English Medieval Art," in Sweeney, *Agriculture in the Middle Ages*, 266–67. James Turner describes the horror that cutting tools inspired in seventeenth-century England: *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry, 1630–1660* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 167.

<sup>57</sup> Joachim Du Bellay, *Les antiquités de Rome*, in *Les regrets, Les antiquités de Rome*, S. de Sacy, ed. (Paris, 1967), 46.

<sup>58</sup> Gilles Ménage (1613–1692) in Maurice Allem, ed., *Anthologie poétique française, XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1966), 114.

<sup>59</sup> Marc Antoine Girard, Sieur de Saint-Amant, *Les oeuvres*, 3 vols. in 1 (Rouen, 1668), 3: 36. Saint-Amant's more famous verses on the seasons set spring in Paris, summer in Rome, fall in the Canaries, and winter in the Alps; see 3: 11–14.

<sup>60</sup> See also Turner, *Politics of Landscape*, 167–68.

<sup>61</sup> An ode to the Grand Condé after the battle of Lens (1648), in Allem, *Anthologie poétique française, XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2: 8.



Under the burning sun  
There is less corn on the fields  
Than the battalions  
That teemed in this army.<sup>62</sup>

English poets made even more powerful use of the same ideas. In *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare had Nestor say about Hector:

And there the strawy Greeks, ripe for his edge,  
Fall down before him, like a mower's swath.<sup>63</sup>

Andrew Marvell used similar imagery:

The Mower now commands the Field;  
In whose Traverse seemeth wrought  
A Camp of Battail newly fought:  
Where as the Mead with Hay, the Plain  
Lyes quilted o'er with Bodies slain:  
The Women that with forks it fling,  
Do represent the Pillaging.<sup>64</sup>

In Richard Lovelace's poem *The Grass-hopper* (1649), the harvest stands for the king's execution:

But ah, the Sickle! Golden Eares are Cropt;  
Ceres and Bacchus bid good night;  
Sharpe frosty fingers all your Flow'rs have topt,  
And what Sithes Spar'd, Winds shave off quite.<sup>65</sup>

And in James Shirley's *Dirge* (1659):

Death lays his icy hands on kings;  
Scepter and crown  
Must tumble down  
And in the dust be equals made  
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.  
Some men with swords may reap the field,  
And plant fresh laurels where they kill.<sup>66</sup>

Like Virgil and Horace, seventeenth-century poets used familiar images contrasting war and agriculture, destruction and plenty.<sup>67</sup> Yet the experience of war overwhelms seventeenth-century poems, to the point that the apparent comparison

<sup>62</sup> François de Rosset, *Nouveau recueil des plus beaux vers de ce temps* (Paris, 1609).

<sup>63</sup> William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, act 5, scene 5, ll. 25–26.

<sup>64</sup> Andrew Marvell, "Upon Appleton House" (1681), ll. 418–24, in *The Major Metaphysical Poets of the Seventeenth Century*, Edwin Honig and Oscar Williams, eds. (New York, 1969), 766.

<sup>65</sup> *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, C. H. Wilkinson, ed. (1930; rpt. edn., Oxford, 1953), 39. See Don Cameron Allen, *Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry*, new enl. edn. (Baltimore, Md., 1968), 152–64.

<sup>66</sup> Ben Jonson and the Cavalier Poets, 196.

<sup>67</sup> Ralph Knevet, "The Vote": "Sharp pikes may make/ Teeth for a rake;/ And the keen blade, the arch-enemy of life,/ Shall be degraded to a pruning knife;/ The rustic spade/ Which first was made/ For agriculture, shall retake/ Its primitive employment." Alastair Fowler, ed., *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth-Century Verse* (Oxford, 1991), 359.

slides into an equivalence: rather than a contrast between agriculture and violence, the poems suggest the presence of violence *within* agriculture. The vigorous mower had become the Grim Reaper.

A closer look at attitudes toward harvest tools reinforces this interpretation. In the Middle Ages, the sickle and scythe were viewed as symbols of both life and death, of fertility and the ravages of time. The sickle, unlike the scythe, was at times associated with Christ as an emblem of redemption. In the fifteenth century, however, while the sickle remained a symbol of rebirth and fertility, the scythe acquired a more lasting and sinister association with death.<sup>68</sup> We take this so much for granted that it is surprising to note that Death was first depicted pointing an arrow or a spear, that is, a nobiliar weapon, before it became overwhelmingly associated (in the late sixteenth century) with the scythe, the instrument wielded by the peasant (Figures 19 and 20).<sup>69</sup> This connection between death and the scythe, between the peasant and death, became extremely potent. Death became routinely depicted with a scythe, commonly seen in Baroque tombs and paintings.<sup>70</sup> In the middle of the nineteenth century, Jean-François Millet still used the image to great effect: a shrouded skeleton, holding a scythe, grabs a peasant on the open road (*Death and the Woodcutter*, 1859). Scythe-wielding peasants became equated with death and destruction; the harvest, with its bustling activity, its massing of the peasantry, its violence—elements that the sixteenth century had openly celebrated—now betokened danger and alienation.

The harvest could only be dissociated from death by detaching it from the instruments of destruction. One solution was to rid the fields of workers and treat the countryside as a place of refuge, where nature spontaneously yields its produce. This idea was especially attractive given the tensions of the late sixteenth century. By the 1550s, rising grain prices and declining real wages had stimulated the reconstitution of large landed estates in many parts of Europe, at the expense of an increasingly indebted and impoverished rural population.<sup>71</sup> More than in earlier centuries, large landowners between 1550 and 1650 devoted careful attention to the composition of their properties. This consolidation did not remove peasants from the countryside, since grain-growing estates still needed large pools of labor. But questions about who owned the countryside were in everyone's mind; landowners did not want images of crowded, united, armed villages. The emptied countryside of seventeenth-century art thus described not a reality so much as a wish.

Partly because of changing property relations and partly because of political and religious strife, the social order appeared especially fragile to upper-class Europeans between 1550 and 1650. During this period, European countries experienced civil war or severe social disruptions that culminated in the great rebellions of the mid-seventeenth century. Those countries that were spared observed the ravages

<sup>68</sup> Pamela Berger, *The Goddess Obscured: The Transformation of the Grain Protectress from Goddess to Saint* (Boston, 1985); Erwin Panofsky, "Father Time," in his *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939; rpt. edn., New York, 1965); Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbours and Their Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (New York, 1974), 1: 30–32.

<sup>69</sup> At times, Death was pictured with a spade, the agricultural tool also used to dig the grave.

<sup>70</sup> Both Protestants and Catholics used the symbol.

<sup>71</sup> There is a vast literature on this subject. Wilhelm Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Olive Ordish, trans. (London, 1980); and Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 1996), provide good summaries.

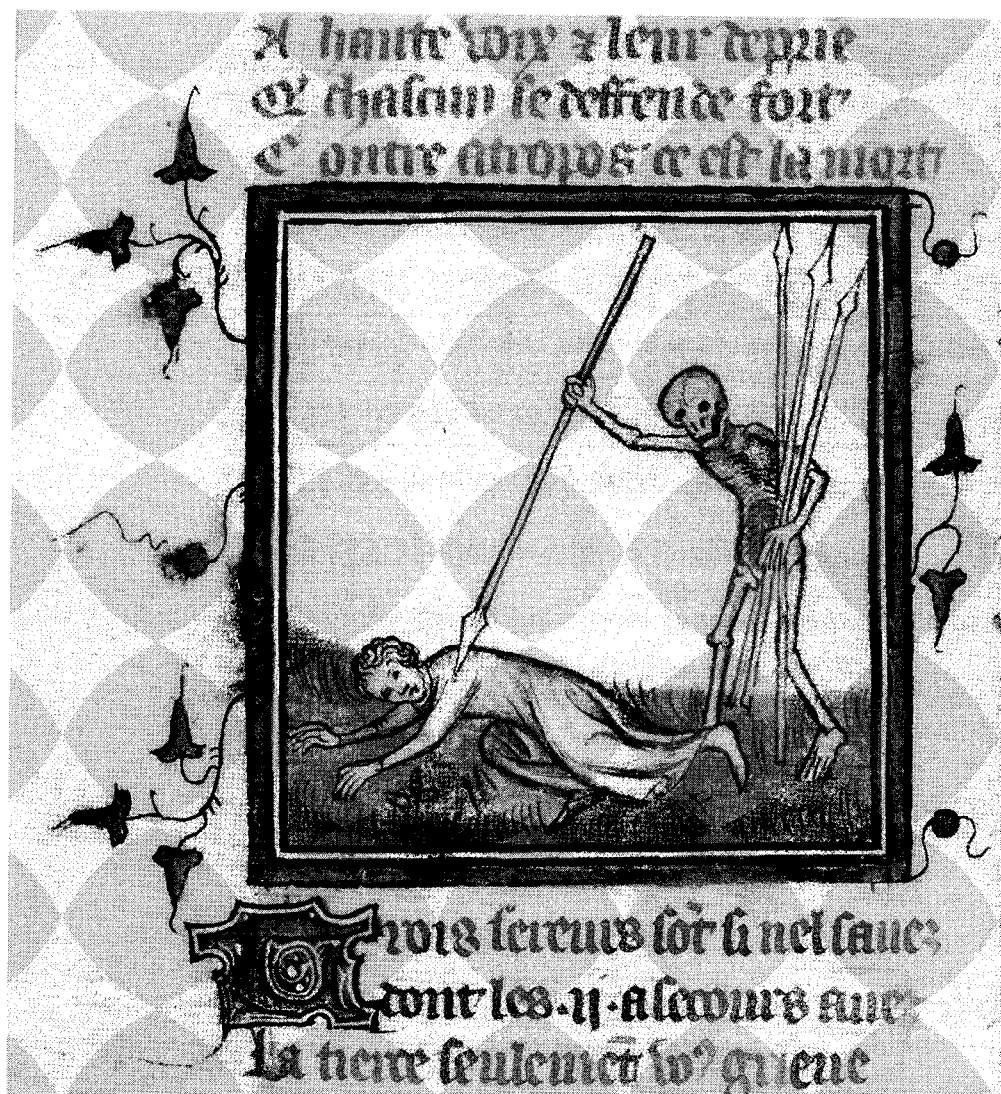


FIGURE 19: Death comes upon his victim with a nobleman's weapon, a spear. *Atropos*, French, ca. 1360, M132, f.140v, courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library.

among their neighbors. The need to ensure tranquility and the respect for hierarchy seemed particularly acute after such long periods of civil disorder.<sup>72</sup>

These social and political conditions provide a context to the artistic changes that I have traced. They do not offer sufficient explanation. Similar events, after all, can be cited for other periods. Furthermore, images could shape as well as express rural social relations. Nonetheless, seventeenth-century Europeans revealed a growing distaste for the images they had inherited. The international climate called for a new image of the countryside, with far fewer pictures of peasants and above all far

<sup>72</sup> Massed peasants, harvesters with their sickles and scythes, suggested armies of insurgents. Yves-Marie Bercé describes peasants armed with muskets and scythes marching off to fight for their rights. *Histoire des Croquants* (Paris, 1986), 10. See also Thomas Robisheaux, *Rural Society and the Search for Order in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1989).





FIGURE 20: Now Death sits with his scythe, a peasant tool, enthroned above his harvest. *The Triumph of Death*, Farnese Hours, Rome, 1546, M69, f.79v, courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library.

fewer working peasants. The dominant solution was to empty the countryside. But alternative solutions were available. Spanish, Italian, and Dutch artists, for instance, replaced images of rustic boisterousness with pictures of bandits and



highwaymen, transferring social anxieties onto clearly defined marginals. Only Spain found a way of including the peasants within its search for order, as symbols of national regeneration.<sup>73</sup> Sometimes harking back to a feudal past and sometimes pointing to a better future, playwrights Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, and Tirso de Molina constructed an organic vision of society that linked peasants, farmers, and landowners in mutual respect and mutual dependency. The premise that social harmony could not be effected without including peasants would shape the eighteenth-century cultural construction of the countryside.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY OPENED under the influence of a literary event. In 1697, the English poet John Dryden had published his complete translation of Virgil's works. Joseph Addison's introduction to Dryden's translation, praising the *Georgics* as the greatest work of literature, incited poets to revive the genre.<sup>74</sup> The interest in the *Georgics* is usually treated primarily as a cultural validation of work.<sup>75</sup> I wish to point to a peculiar aspect of the eighteenth-century georgic revival, the way it envisioned the harvest.

In Book 1 of the *Georgics*, Virgil describes a storm that interrupts the harvest. The modern Loeb Classical Library translation renders lines 316–17 as follows: "Often, as the farmer was bringing the reaper into big yellow fields and was now stripping the brittle-stalked barley . . ." <sup>76</sup> French and English translations of the same lines, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, assumed the cutting of the crop must be with a sickle or scythe. For example, Thomas May's 1628 translation:

I oft have seen when corn was ripe to mow  
And now in dry and brittle straw did grow.<sup>77</sup>

A 1691 French prose translation belabors the point: "I have often seen, at the time when the farmer brought his harvesters into the golden, ripe corn, and when they had put their sickles to the barley with its fragile stalk."<sup>78</sup> Michel de Marolles preferred an alternate reading in 1649, which took Virgil to mean hand-reaping: "When the harvester was in the golden plain and held in his hands the fragile stalks of corn."<sup>79</sup>

Dryden, however, took a radically different approach:

<sup>73</sup> See Salomon, *Recherches sur le thème paysan*.

<sup>74</sup> "But shall conclude this poem to be the most compleat, elaborate, and finisht piece of all antiquity." John Dryden, *The Georgics of Virgil*, reprinted from the First Folio (London, 1931), xiii. On the influence of Dryden's translation, see the books already cited by Anthony Low, John Barrell, Raymond Williams, and see John Dixon Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, Md., 1976).

<sup>75</sup> This is the approach of English literary studies of the eighteenth century. See, for example, Dwight L. Durling, *The Georgic Tradition in English Poetry* (New York, 1935).

<sup>76</sup> Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*, H. Rushton Fairclough, trans. (1916–18; rpt. edn., Cambridge, Mass., 1935), 103. From the Latin: "saepe ego, cum flavis messorum induceret arvis agricola et fragili iam stringeret hodea culmo."

<sup>77</sup> Thomas May, *Virgil's Georgicks* (London, 1628), 16.

<sup>78</sup> *Nouvelle traduction des Bucoliques de Virgile avec des notes* (Paris, 1691), 46.

<sup>79</sup> Michel de Marolles, *Les oeuvres de Virgile traduites en prose* (Paris, 1649), 56.

Ev'n while the reaper fills his greedy hands  
And binds the golden sheaves in brittle bands.<sup>80</sup>

This reading of the action as "binding" would be taken up by other English and French translators. Binding one's sheaves ("lier ses gerbes") is used in two eighteenth-century French versions, including the abbé Delille's celebrated translation, and in a number of English ones.<sup>81</sup> A new image of the harvest had emerged. It moved the focus away from cutting and shifted it instead to the gathering of the crop. Dryden's and Delille's were by far the most popular of all Virgil translations and thus the versions everyone read. Dryden's choice of images solved the problem of how to represent the harvest without invoking force and violence and without falling into the other excess of treating it simply as a joyous occasion. Gathering, binding, stacking, and carting, were, in fact, important parts of the harvest, albeit tasks that required less skill and force than reaping and mowing. Thus the new focus on gathering reinstated work within country scenes, in a way that seemed entirely "realistic," that is georgic and descriptive, without dwelling on its darker sides. Poets, artists, and audience were going to have their cake and eat it, too.

In Flanders, David Teniers the Younger had developed a similar visual image. Teniers (1610–1690) was son-in-law to Jan Brueghel the Elder, and he followed the family interest in peasant themes, further influenced by his Flemish contemporaries Adriaen Brouwer and Adriaen van Ostade, who were renowned for their peasant genre scenes.<sup>82</sup> Teniers had a long and extremely productive life and, if probate records can be trusted, became the most popular and most reproduced artist in eighteenth-century France.<sup>83</sup> Besides toned-down pictures of village fairs and other peasant festivities, Teniers produced several cycles of the seasons. They harked back to early seventeenth-century versions. The cutting of the crop is marginalized; instead, peasants stack the corn, rake the remains, and have their lunch. The fields are huge, but the implication is that this tiny crew of workers will manage to reap them without urgent exertion. Teniers's most influential picture (which spawned a whole genre in the eighteenth century) is that of a young man holding a huge sheaf of wheat, while two harvesters work in the distance (Figure 21). There he stands, shyly looking away, a harmless, poetic soul. Some may read this as an image of brute force rather than meekness. However, the contrast with the sixteenth-century peasant Hercules is impressive. Instead of the muscular peasant brandishing a

<sup>80</sup> John Dryden, *The Works of Virgil* (1697; rpt. edn., London, 1931), 26. Dryden could describe reaping when he chose: "Your hay it is mowed and your Corn is reap'd,/ Your barns will be full, and your hovels heap'd,/ Come, my Boys, come/ And Merrily Roar out Harvest Home." *King Arthur, or, The British Worthy: A Dramatick Opera* (London, 1691), 47. Note that the action has already taken place, and all that remains is to cart the harvest away.

<sup>81</sup> Jacques Delille, *Les géorgiques*, in *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1950), 57; and Abbé Desfontaines, *Oeuvres de Virgile traduites en françois avec des remarques* (Paris, c. 1700s); *Virgil's Husbandry, or, An Essay on the Georgicks, Being the First Book Translated into English* (London, 1725), 32; James Hamilton, *Virgil's Pastorals Translated into English Prose as Also His Georgicks* (Edinburgh, 1742), 48.

<sup>82</sup> Adriaen Brouwer (1606–1638) had a brief career in Flanders depicting rough tavern scenes of brutish, drunken, squabbling peasants. Critics agree that, although Brouwer had imitators, real success came to those artists who softened and civilized the genre, such as Adriaen van Ostade. See Walter A. Liedtke, *Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2 vols. (New York, 1984), 1: 4; Eric Larsen, *Seventeenth-Century Flemish Paintings* (Düsseldorf, 1985); and Jane P. Davidson, *David Teniers the Younger* (Boulder, Colo., 1979).

<sup>83</sup> Mireille Rambaud, *Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art (1700–1750)* (Paris, 1971), 2: 1008–10.



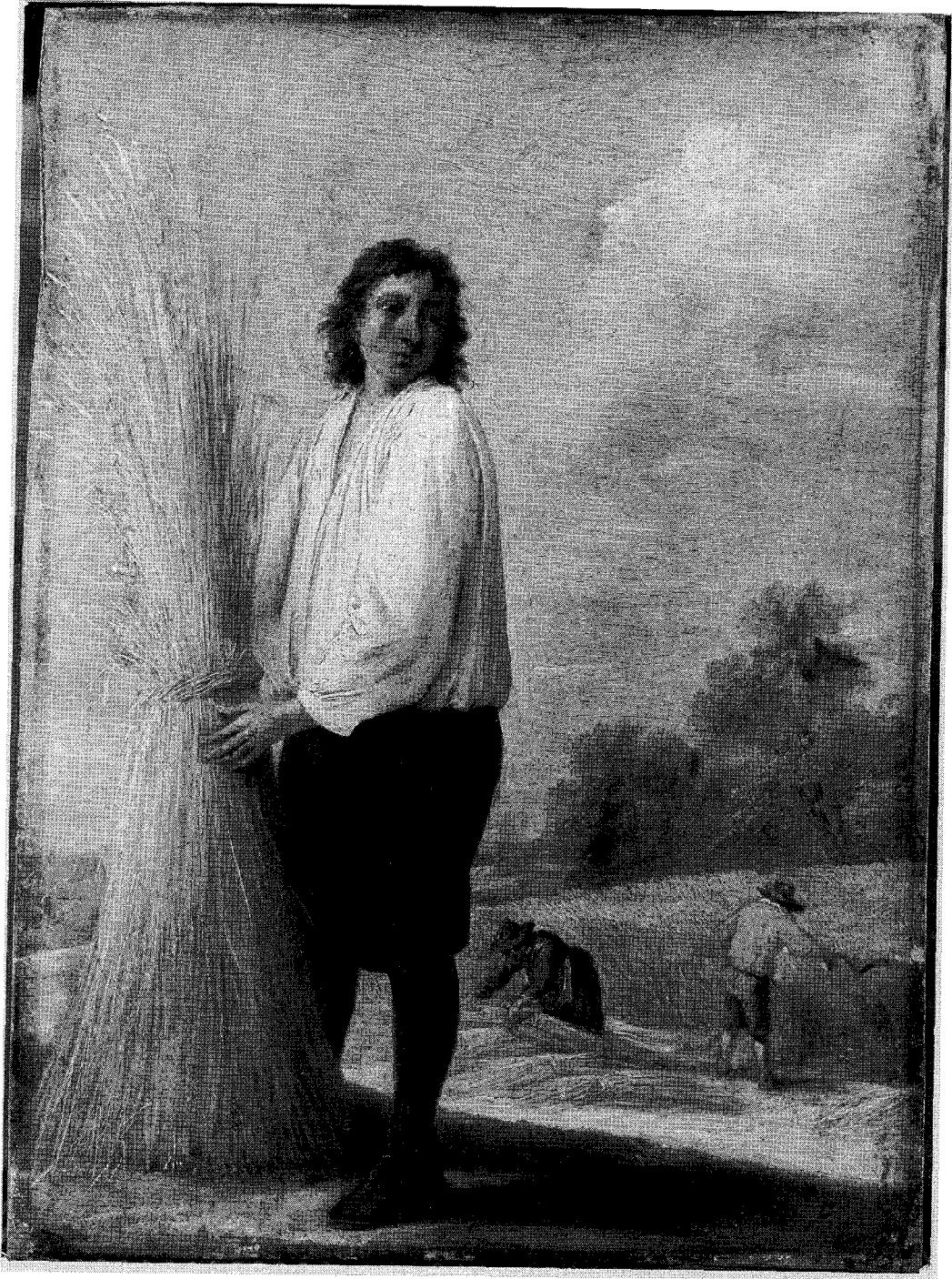


FIGURE 21: From Flanders, David Teniers the Younger depicts *Summer* (1664) as a youth holding a sheaf. This picture will be widely imitated, starting in France, where Teniers became extremely popular in the eighteenth century. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Gallery, London.





FIGURE 22: Nicolas Lancret painted a cycle of the seasons for one of Louis XV's castles. This part, *L'été* (1738), reveals a genteel peasant dance next to the wheatfields. At left, two young men are binding sheaves. Musée du Louvre, copyright Photo RMN.

scythe surrounded by equally hard-working villagers, we have a lone youth, gathering the fruits of the harvest.<sup>84</sup>

This was the image that would come to dominate eighteenth-century pictures of the harvest. It was widely imitated, most obviously in France. Nicolas Lancret's *L'été* from 1738 (part of a cycle of the seasons painted for Louis XV) shows a rustic dance and courtship next to two young men holding and binding large sheaves (Figure 22).<sup>85</sup> *The Seasons*, panels by Jean-Baptiste Pater (1676–1738) for the duc de Choiseul, have a summer scene that also portrays peasants burdened with oversized sheaves. In England, Thomas Gainsborough's 1749 portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Andrews represents the harvest simply with bundled sheaves stacked near the couple, without laborers, but this is an exception (Figure 23).<sup>86</sup> The whole point, in

<sup>84</sup> The seasons were often used as allegories of time and of the ages of man. In this series, however, Teniers specifically represented Summer as a frail youth, while Spring (and the other seasons) were all grown men.

<sup>85</sup> The summer scene is described in a 1746 inventory as "L'été sous la figure de personnes qui font la moisson." Georges Wildenstein, *Lancret: Biographie et catalogue critiques* (Paris, 1924), 59–60. Lancret produced two series of the seasons, one now at the Louvre, the other at the Hermitage, and both were engraved.

<sup>86</sup> See Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986).



FIGURE 23: Thomas Gainsborough's portrait *Mr. and Mrs. Andrews* (1749) sets the couple beside large sheaves without laborers. Most other eighteenth-century harvest scenes included nonthreatening binders, rakers, and gatherers. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Gallery, London.

fact, was to find a way of reintroducing harvest work in genteel fashion. Pretending that nature was simply munificent could only go so far. It presumed too obvious a denial of social realities.<sup>87</sup> Better to suggest a convergence between nature's abundance and human activity. Nature provided sustenance; it only needed gathering. This was, moreover, fun and easy work—eighteenth-century elites delighted in this image, exemplified by George III's haymaking—something that the sweat-drenched images of the sixteenth century or the blood-stained ones of the seventeenth could not successfully project.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau popularized the idea of pleasant summer work by focusing on tedding, a minor aspect of haymaking that consisted of turning over the cut hay on the meadows. "The simplicity of a rustic or pastoral life is always touching. One need only look at the fields covered with people tedding and singing, and at the herds spread around as far as the eye can see."<sup>88</sup> The raking and gathering of the crops came to stand for the entire harvesting process.

Eighteenth-century georgic poetry made the point explicitly. One of the most influential poems of the eighteenth century, James Thomson's *The Seasons*, which first appeared between 1726 and 1730 to universal acclaim, describes as charming a harvest as one could wish:

<sup>87</sup> See John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge, 1980). One possibility was to portray actual reaping but under the watchful eye of a superior, as in George Lambert's *Landscape with a Cornfield*, painted for the duke of Bedford in 1733. Elizabeth Einberg, *George Lambert 1700–1765* (London, 1970).

<sup>88</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, ou La nouvelle Héloïse*, Michel Launay, ed. (Paris, 1967), Part 5, letter 7, 456. The French term is *faner*.

Soon as the morning trembles o'er the sky,  
 And unperceived unfolds the spreading day,  
 Before the ripened fields the reapers stand  
 In fair array, each by the lass he loves,  
 To bear the rougher part and mitigate  
 By gentle offices her toil.  
 At once they stoop, and swell the lusty sheaves;  
 While through their cheerful band the rural talk,  
 The rural scandal, and the rural jest  
 Fly harmless, to deceive the tedious time  
 And steal unfelt the sultry hours away.  
 Behind the master walks, builds up the shocks,  
 And, conscious, glancing oft on every side  
 His sated eye, feels his heart heave with joy.  
 The gleaners spread around, and here and there,  
 Spike after spike, their sparing harvest pick.  
 Be not too narrow husbandman! but fling  
 From the full sheaf with charitable stealth  
 The liberal handful.<sup>89</sup>

There is no cutting of the crop. Just as paintings were defining the harvest as the bundling of sheaves (the version Dryden adopted), so here, too, Thomson turns it into "swelling the lusty sheaves." The act of gathering is further underscored by the entry of gleaners, and Thomson ends his section on the harvest with a modernized version of the story of Ruth.

Thomson's poem was translated and imitated by French poets in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>90</sup> They sentimentalized labor and infused it with gaiety, lingering sententiously on gleanings.<sup>91</sup> This new treatment of the harvest also permeated Charles Simon Favart's opera *Les moissonneurs* (1768). The action centers on Rosine, a gleaner. The stage directions mention reaping, but the word itself is never spoken on stage, despite the play's title. Instead, the farmer gives the following orders:

For fear that the wheat will sprout on the ground,  
 Gather the sheaves into shocks:  
 Let them be locked in the barns;  
 And let the ricks on the farm  
 Show passers-by your work.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> James Thomson, *The Seasons and The Castle of Indolence*, James Sambrook, ed. (Oxford, 1972), "Autumn," ll. 151–74. On Thomson's life, see Sambrook, *James Thomson 1700–1748: A Life* (Oxford, 1991).

<sup>90</sup> [Mme. Bontems], *Les saisons, poème de Thomson traduit de l'anglais* (Paris, 1759), "Les quatre saisons ou les géorgiques françaises," *Poésies diverses du Cardinal de Bernis*, Fernand Drujon, ed. (Paris, 1882); Jean-François de Saint-Lambert, *Les saisons, poème*, 3d edn. (Amsterdam, 1771); and Margaret M. Cameron, *L'influence des saisons de Thomson sur la poésie descriptive en France (1759–1810)* (Paris, 1927).

<sup>91</sup> See Jean-Antoine Roucher's descriptions of August in *Les mois, poème en douze chants* (Paris, 1779). Roucher's actual treatment of the harvest, however, was more graphic than other contemporaries, which may explain why it was judged both tedious and vulgar.

<sup>92</sup> *Théâtre choisi de Favart*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1809), *Les moissonneurs*, act 2, scene 3. Any suggestion of cutting evaporates even in the English version, *The Reapers, or, An Englishman out of Paris* (London, 1770).





FIGURE 24: A castle in the background reminds the viewer that the harvest produce will go to the landowner. J. B. Lallemand, *Vue du Château de Daix* (ca. 1780), courtesy of the Musée de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse.

The harvest's renewed popularity as a cultural theme cannot be doubted, but it was clearly preferable to present it in truncated form.<sup>93</sup>

Eighteenth-century images of harvest thus revolved primarily around the gathering and carting of the crop. The produce, moreover, was restored to the landowners. Paintings, as in the Middle Ages, were likely to show harvesting around a castle (Figure 24). French poets in particular eulogized the harmony between grateful, paternalistic landowners and their diligent and devoted laborers. The surge of gleaning tales at the end of harvest poems, following Thomson, highlighted the importance of gathering on the one hand but also manifested on the other the fairy-tale union of the squire with his needy dependents.

The fascination with gleaning was essentially confined to literature. Meanwhile, eighteenth-century artists turned the loaded wagon into a primary symbol of the harvest, along with raking or sheaf-binding. We find such pictures in England, France, Holland, and Germany.<sup>94</sup> Taken as a whole, these images suggested, far

<sup>93</sup> Paradoxically, while the actual cutting of the crop was usually omitted, the summer harvest could be symbolized by a sickle. Antoine Watteau's allegory *Summer* at the National Gallery, Washington, shows Ceres holding a sickle. In the 1769 production of "Les festes de l'hymen et de l'amour," the dancer representing a male peasant carried a sheaf, while the female peasant held a sickle. Nothing as obvious, a century earlier, when the ballet costumes for the 1651 "Fêtes de Bacchus" showed Autumn as a man, surrounded by men with garlands on their heads, sheaves, and cornucopiae but no tools. Cyril W. Beaumont, *Five Centuries of Ballet Design* (London, 1939), 50, 61.

<sup>94</sup> See Thomas Gainsborough's several versions of "The Harvest Wagon" (Paul Spencer-Longhurst and Janet M. Brooke, *Thomas Gainsborough: The Harvest Wagon* [Toronto, 1995]) or William Ashford's "Landscape with Haymakers and a Distant View of a Georgian House" (1780), at the Yale Center for British Art, with its hay wagons and workers raking and pitching hay. Late eighteenth-century prints show laborers carrying large sheaves and placing them on loaded wagons. Christiana Payne, *Toil and Plenty: Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England, 1780–1890* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 181. From Holland, see Hendrick Meyer, "Harvest near a Village," in J. W. Niemijer, *Eighteenth-Century*

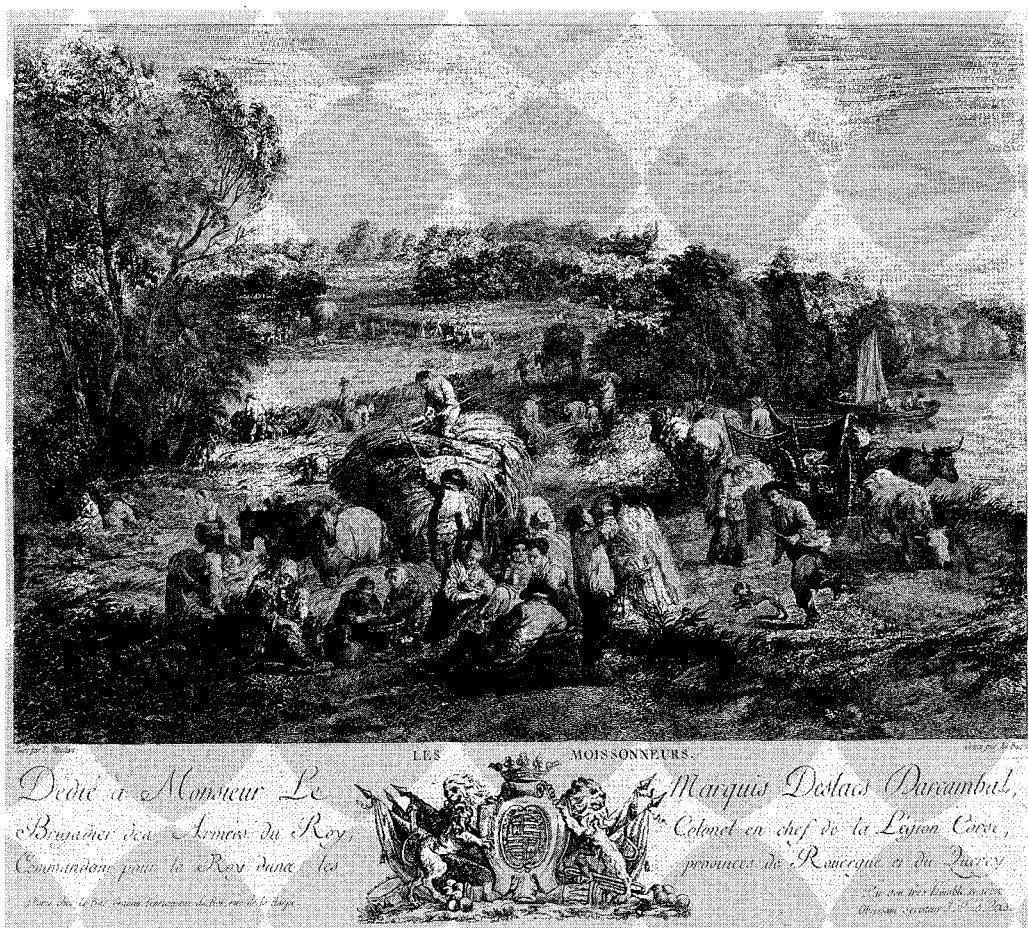


FIGURE 25: The depth of this eighteenth-century harvest scene shows just how many peasants were still needed to gather and cart the crop. J. P. Le Bas, after Michau, *Les moissonneurs* (1770s), courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

better than in the sixteenth century, how many people it took to perform a single task, such as the gathering or carting of the crop (Figure 25). The countryside was filled with working people.

Moreover, after decades of showing peaceful bundling and gathering, the virtuous nature of the harvesters had been so firmly established that peasants handling cutting tools could be reintroduced in the late eighteenth century. In L. J. Watteau de Lille's storm scene in the northern France of the 1780s, a family of harvesters, the husband with a scythe on his shoulder accompanied by wife and babes, make their way home as the last harvesters hurriedly gather and load the remaining—prominently displayed—sheaves before the storm hits (Figure 26).

*Watercolors from the Rijkmuseum Printroom* (Alexandria, Va., 1993), 101; from Germany, Jacob Philip Hackert, *Sommer* [1780s?], in *Heroismus und Idylle: Formen der Landschaft um 1800* (Cologne, 1984), 102.



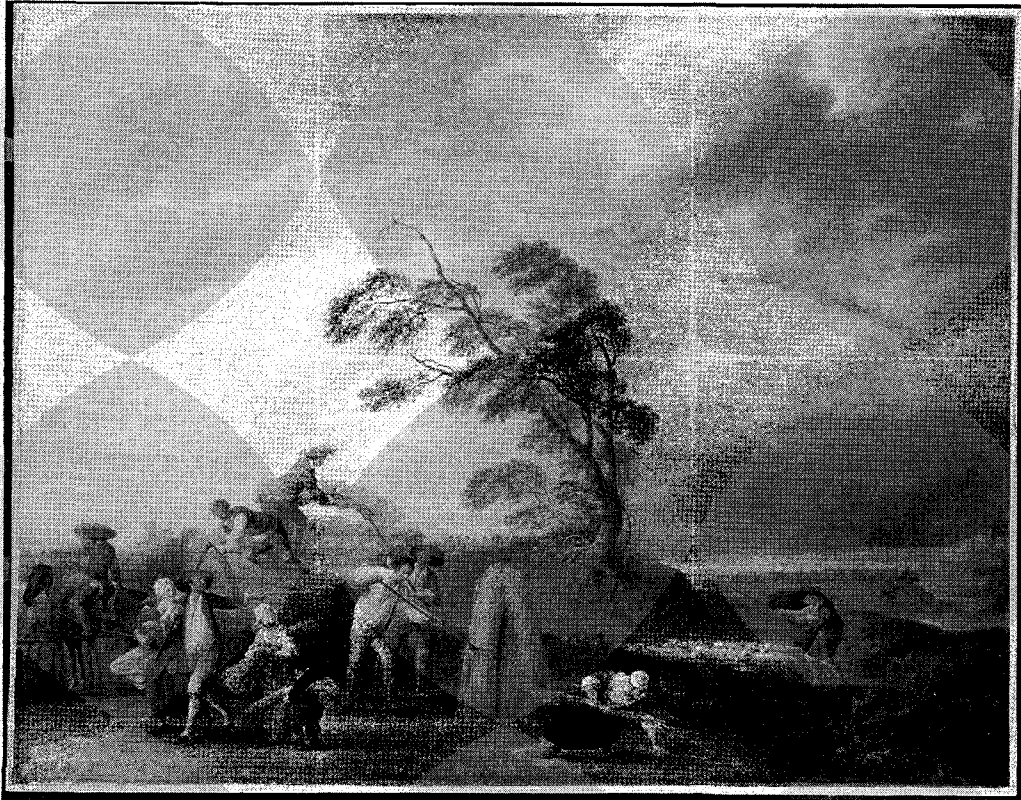


FIGURE 26: Before the storm, a virtuous family of harvesters hurries to shelter. The harvest tools may now be shown in the hands of peasants. Louis Joseph Watteau de Lille, *Les vèpres ou l'orage* (1780s), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Valenciennes. Copyright Photo RMN—R. G. Ojeda/K. El Majd.

Thomas Stubbs's *Reapers* of the same period (1785) shows cutters rather awkwardly bent over their sickles, while others stand, holding their sheaves à la Teniers (Figure 27).<sup>95</sup> Docility, gentility, and domesticity dominate these representations. Harvest tools are of secondary importance.

For the peasantry had been civilized and domesticated to fit an elite's desire to integrate them within an Enlightenment vision of progress and happiness. Bestial peasants, however pathetic, simply could not evoke warm feelings. The eighteenth century wanted to send a clear message about the beauty of the peasants, their effeminacy—their incapacity, almost, to perform strenuous tasks—which required both sexes to be portrayed in this way.<sup>96</sup> Bruegel's rough peasant had been replaced

<sup>95</sup> Given that Stubbs barely shows the reapers and has no mowers at all in his picture of haymakers (they surround the haycart with pitchforks), a recent description of the painting is rather astonishing: "Deceptively commonplace ingredients—men and women at work, swaths of hay and sheaves of corn, billhooks and scythes—are lifted high above the level of matters of fact by Stubbs's miraculously assured sense of design." Review of the Tate exhibition cited by Barrell, *Dark Side of the Landscape*, 26. One sees what one wants to see in a picture.

<sup>96</sup> A striking example, besides François Boucher and Jean-Honoré Fragonard, is the engraving by Francis Bertolozzi after William Hamilton (London, 1793) (Yale Center for British Art), illustrating the passage of Thomson's *Seasons* cited earlier. Beautiful, stately women gathering sheaves and carrying lunch baskets are surrounded by children and a single youth reaping. Thomson's image of male chivalry has been feminized.





FIGURE 27: A docile group of reapers bend to their harvest work; the sheaves are prominently displayed. Thomas Stubbs, *The Reapers* (1785), courtesy of the Tate Gallery, London.

by slim and dainty countrymen and women. The peasant stopped being a clear physical type, coarse and squat (until revived by Millet in the nineteenth century). The eighteenth-century peasant was defined by setting and dress, not by demeanor.<sup>97</sup>

Some of the Enlightenment recasting of the peasant is evident in the example of the poet and *salonier* Jean-François de Saint-Lambert. A provincial who moved to Paris in the mid-eighteenth century, Saint-Lambert wrote thirteen articles for Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (1751–1776), and he read his poems to his fellow Encyclopedists for years before they were published.<sup>98</sup> His lengthy poem on the seasons, which appeared in 1769, had been eagerly awaited. We may take his vision of the peasantry as representing that of a much larger milieu.<sup>99</sup>

Like so many other eighteenth-century poets, Saint-Lambert stressed the joys of rural life. His peasants are happy, loving, familial, contented with their lot. "Happy people of the fields," he addresses them, "your labors are like feasts." The peasant, "happy to see the days of indolence draw to a close, wants to merit abundance through his labor."<sup>100</sup> Yet the poem also reveals darker sides in the peasant's situation. The people suffer grave injustices. The *corvée* reduces them to slavery;

<sup>97</sup> Hence the debate about the peasants' clothing from those who objected to the over-ornate, "artificial" offenses of the Rococo.

<sup>98</sup> Luigi de Nardis, *Saint-Lambert scienza e paesaggio nella poesia del settecento* (Rome, 1961); and Cameron, *L'influence des saisons de Thomson*, chap. 2.

<sup>99</sup> The finished product was judged to be less than the sum of its parts, and Saint-Lambert's poem was criticized for its limpness and lifelessness.

<sup>100</sup> Saint-Lambert, "L'été," l. 497, and "Le printemps," ll. 148–49.

unspecified taxes and rents condemn them to poverty. Yet they are too weak to rebel and too brutalized to farm their lands effectively:

In the most favorable climates, the country people  
Made stupid by the excess of its sufferings,  
Knows not at all how to second nature's work.  
Habit and instinct alone directing its labors,  
They invent nothing and tremble to imitate;  
They dare not attempt to rise from their poverty;  
And dragging along their miserable lives,  
They believe that the gods have condemned them to suffer.  
Go forth, people of the countryside, make known your voices  
Even in that refuge where dwell your kings.<sup>101</sup>

For Saint-Lambert, scientific know-how and upper-class benevolence will restore the countryside to abundance and ease. His emphasis on peasant docility and child-like goodness in fact forms part of a larger program. Decent, unthreatening, yet oppressed, the peasants need the help of a reforming state and benevolent, well-informed landowners. For Saint-Lambert, depicting the peasants' basic goodness was a necessary prelude to calls for political change. Physiocracy worked hand in hand with poetry.

The peasant family man, celebrated in art and literature, became the foundation of the state. To eighteenth-century would-be technocrats, peasants were uneducated and tradition-bound. The sentimental overlay, however, turned them into virtuous and innocent creatures, ready to be guided. A.-R.-J. Turgot's plan for municipal reform thus gave propertied peasants a far greater voice than propertied town dwellers.<sup>102</sup> Likewise, there were many more rural than urban electors for the Estates General. As Georges Lefebvre explained, "The peasants were favored in this respect because nobody was afraid of them."<sup>103</sup> Peasants represented the future welfare of the state, not the past.

REPRESENTATIONS OF PEASANTS, though subject to developments in artistic genres, reveal elite responses to country people. These responses need not be viewed as transparent reflections of material or political conditions. In fact, the representations are especially meaningful because, for the most part, they were initially intended either to fulfill allegorical functions or to display ingenuity in adapting the classics. They were not meant as mirrors of the social world, but they did shape perceptions.

The production of images of independent peasants in the sixteenth century broke dramatically with traditional modes of depicting peasants as subservient and fundamentally helpless. Medieval peasant rebellions, which erupted sporadically, had been treated as contrary to nature, whether the authorities heeded the

<sup>101</sup> Saint-Lambert, "L'automne," ll. 505–14. Bernis and Roucher made similar pleas in their poems of the seasons.

<sup>102</sup> Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, *Mémoire sur les municipalités*, in Gustave Schelle, ed., *Oeuvres de Turgot*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1913–23), 4: 568–628.

<sup>103</sup> Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, R. R. Palmer, trans. (1947; rpt. edn., Princeton, N.J., 1967), 64.

peasants' grievances or not. Assimilating peasants to classical heroes in the sixteenth century, ensconcing them within large communities—on canvases and in print—rendered their existence more potent, their autonomy more probable. Since social mobility was visibly increasing in this period, the social fabric seemed dangerously weakened, both in town and country. The changes in depictions of peasants proved disquieting because they appeared to exceed their mandate. They could no longer be read simply as Christian messages or clever stylistic exercises.

Owners did not have to burn their peasant canvases to express their disaffection from the genre. Seventeenth-century patrons expressed their preference for different images of the country. Peasants hardly figured in them. When they did, it was rarely as part of large groups or as agricultural laborers. Agricultural work, moreover, prompted thoughts of destruction and loss. Poets in particular delved into the dark recesses of country life. The peasant was once again the "Other," best avoided.<sup>104</sup> The seventeenth century thus left a cultural legacy of violence, one in which rural work could not be portrayed without arousing ire or dismay. Yet showing cultivated places without people, be it in paintings or rustic poetry, did not adequately convince anyone that the countryside was empty. If anything, the move of nobles to country houses, separated from the village, implied the existence, out there, of a band of rustics, left without adequate supervision. The countryside needed therefore to be rethought as a place of harmony and peaceful interaction. The gathering of the harvest seemed to provide the means for doing this. It offered a solution to the problem of how to show labor without showing its dangerous aspects.

The eighteenth century thus adopted a new vision of the peasant. As a laborer, he was harmless and piteous and therefore a natural object of charity and paternalist concern. As an independent farmer, he was virtuous, hard-working, and devoted to his family. Anxious to learn and to be guided, the peasant emerged as a fitting citizen of the state. By the end of the eighteenth century, this figure had become an emblem for mankind.

<sup>104</sup> Jean de La Bruyère played on this traditional disparagement when he likened the peasants to beasts. *Les caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle*, 11: 128: iv, in Jean Lafond, ed., *Moralistes du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1992), 866–67.

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# The *Jíbaro* Masquerade and the Subaltern Politics of Creole Identity Formation in Puerto Rico, 1745–1823

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FRANCISCO A. SCARANO

[The stock-raiser of interior Argentina] has no city, no municipality, no intimate associations, and thus the basis of all social development is wanting. As the land-owners are not brought together, they have no public wants to satisfy; in a word, there is no *res publica*.

Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants*<sup>1</sup>

This Bishop, true incarnation of that French devil named Richilieu, has unleashed madness and barbarism in this city; the political order has been shattered and it is no longer possible to distinguish decent people from the riffraff. This morning they are celebrating the return of Avilés the Child from his trip through the channels and waterways [surrounding the city] . . . When festive carnival breaks out before everyone's eyes, the mask turns them all into equals—gentleman and commoner, lady and tramp, master and slave—a dreadful situation that is about to undermine the edifice of State.

Edgardo Rodríguez Juliá, *El camino de Yyaloide*<sup>2</sup>

IN HIS CLASSIC INDICTMENT of the unstable and violent aftermath of Argentine independence, Domingo F. Sarmiento, the *criollo*<sup>3</sup> writer and statesman, poignantly revealed the torment of Latin American elites at the moment of nascent nationhood. Sarmiento was torn between the desire to create a virtuous republic in his homeland and his disdain for the human ingredients with which, inevitably, such a nation must be built. Like other creoles committed to the liberal-republican redemption of their homelands in the first half of the nineteenth century, he suffered a continuing contradiction: his cherished citizenship was a European

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<sup>1</sup> *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants: or, Civilization and Barbarism*, Mrs. Horace Mann, trans. (New York, 1868), 17.

<sup>2</sup> Caracas, 1994. All translations from the Spanish by the author, unless otherwise specified.

<sup>3</sup> The terms *criollo* and *creole* are here used to signify people of European parents or of full European descent, born in the Spanish empire.

construct, a concept fundamentally alien to the cruel realities of the pampas and far removed from the lives of the “brutish gauchos” who humanized its landscape.<sup>4</sup> The liberal-republican ideal had to be, in these circumstances, reconciled with a social formation that depended for its existence and reproduction on the policing of multiple boundaries of difference—of class, race, gender, legal status, education, ancestry, religious customs and beliefs, and moral sensibilities. Adapting the liberal-republican ideal to Spanish-American realities proved exceedingly challenging because at its core lies a fiction of ethnic and cultural homogeneity; for the fancied liberal nation to cohere and survive, its members had to constitute a people with a shared culture and a common ground of identity.<sup>5</sup>

Beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, and especially after the crisis of the Spanish monarchy that erupted in the wake of Napoleon’s invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808, elite creoles throughout the colonies faced dilemmas akin to Sarmiento’s. Many abhorred any suggestion of community with the “revolting” creatures who harvested their crops, herded their cattle, dragged their goods across long distances, dug in their mines, and performed all kinds of menial tasks at their service. But such a response was far from universal. While some creoles sought to exclude the poorer elements in society from their political project, denying them full representation in the republics (projected or already in existence), others, especially among the empire’s structurally weaker groups, were considerably more ambivalent.<sup>6</sup> While perhaps repulsed by Indians, blacks, and the variety of racially mixed groups called *castas*, these creoles were capable of discovering, constructing, or reaffirming common understandings and interests with plebeian groups.<sup>7</sup> When used symbolically as part of a project to usher in new political conditions and perhaps even a new state, and led by an ascendant group long subjected to the arbitrary exclusions of an absolutist system, such commonalities could become fragments of an incipient—hence, partial and fragmentary—

<sup>4</sup> The term “brutish gauchos” is aptly used by Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes to ridicule the attitudes of independence-era elites toward the roving inhabitants of the pampas, the rich Argentine grasslands of the Buenos Aires hinterland, and of other untamed spaces of the interior. Fuentes, *The Campaign*, Alfred Mac Adam, trans. (New York, 1991). For a fuller exploration of Sarmiento’s social and political views, see Natalio R. Botana, “Sarmiento and Political Order: Liberty, Power, and Virtue,” in Tulio Halperín-Donghi, et al., eds., *Sarmiento: Author of a Nation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 101–13.

<sup>5</sup> For a brief but perceptive treatment of Sarmiento’s work in the context of Spanish-American liberal efforts at nation-building, see David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (New York, 1991), 621–47. Julie Skurski has insightfully commented on the “ambiguities of authenticity” that resulted from the clash between “a rhetoric of national progress and popular sovereignty” and the implementation and defense of “an exclusionary system of class and ethnic relations throughout the nineteenth century”; see Skurski, “The Ambiguities of Authenticity in Latin America: *Doña Bárbara* and the Construction of National Identity,” *Poetics Today* 15 (1994): 613. See also Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513–1830* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), esp. 137–53; and Colin M. MacLachlan, *Spain’s Empire in the New World: The Role of Ideas in Institutional and Social Change* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 134–35.

<sup>6</sup> For a penetrating analysis of the differing structural positions of Spanish-American elites at the time of the independence wars, see George Reid Andrews, “Spanish American Independence: A Structural Analysis,” *Latin American Perspectives* 44 (1985): 105–32. Ambiguity is the key to understanding the partial and problematic incorporation of the plebe into the national project; see Skurski, “Ambiguities of Authenticity.”

<sup>7</sup> In this essay, the term “plebeian” refers indistinctly to the rural and urban poor.

ethnic identity, a proto-nationalism.<sup>8</sup> In time, forms of self-identification crafted during the special circumstances of the independence era led to tropes that articulated lasting ethnic bonds between elite and plebeian groups. Like the carnival in Rodríguez Juliá's allegorical novel about Puerto Rican ethnogenesis, these tropes provided a discursive means to blur lines of social difference. They permitted some members of the society to imagine a broader community amid the sharp contrasts of race, class, and gender attendant on the native-born.<sup>9</sup>

In this essay, I seek to understand one case of creole self-identification and ethnic construction in Spanish America, that of Puerto Rico, during the pivotal years of the independence wars (1810–1825). The delineation of ethnic space was in this case based on the practice, common in many parts of the world, of elevating a mythologized peasant to the status of a national icon.<sup>10</sup> Here, I trace the emergence of a specifically Puerto Rican trope of creole identity that equates a local ethnicity with a mythologized peasant type. The trope in question initially surfaced in a series of texts from the Spanish-American independence period in which writers disguised their oppositional politics behind a discursive mask, passing themselves off as native peasants, called *jibaros* by contemporary island residents.<sup>11</sup> Although these writers came from a privileged group, at their inaugural moment as a class they were disposed to seize on plebeian customs, to uncover the subtle political meanings encrypted in them, to speak in a disdained and difficult peasant vernacular, and, most important, to identify their own politics vis-à-vis absolutists and other reactionaries with the maneuvers and strategies of everyday forms of popular resistance.

<sup>8</sup> In *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2d edn. (1990; Cambridge, 1992), Eric Hobsbawm discusses at length the multiple, historically contingent connections between linguistic and ethnic identifications and what he terms “popular proto-nationalism,” broadly defined as preexistent “feelings of collective belonging . . . which could operate, as it were, in the macro-political scale [and] which could fit in with modern states and nations” (p. 46). For the analysis of the Puerto Rican case, it is worth remembering Hobsbawm’s conclusion that while the existence of proto-nationalist identities “made the task of nationalism easier, insofar as existing symbols and sentiments of proto-national community could be mobilized behind a modern cause or a modern state,” the two were not the same, and the existence of one does not “logically or inevitably lead into the other” (p. 77). For an application of the concept of popular proto-nationalism to pre-nationalist Latin American forms of self-identification, see Steven Palmer, “Sociedad anónima, cultura oficial: Inventando la nación en Costa Rica, 1848–1900,” in Iván Molina Jiménez and Steven Palmer, eds., *Héroes al gusto y libros de moda: Sociedad y cambio cultural en Costa Rica (1750/1900)* (San José, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> For a suggestive statement on the nation as an “imagined political community,” see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (New York, 1991). For an insightful critique of Anderson’s vision of the Latin American creoles as the first to imagine such a community “apart from the practices of domination,” see Skurski, “Ambiguities of Authenticity,” 608–11. The quote is from p. 609. In this essay, I use the term “trope” in the sense suggested by Hayden White, to signify a figure or metaphor that “[deviates] from literal, conventional, or ‘proper’ language use, [a swerve] in locution sanctioned neither by custom nor logic. Tropes generate figures of speech or thought by their variation from what is ‘normally’ expected, and by the associations they establish between concepts normally felt not to be related or to be related in ways different from that suggested in the trope itself.” White, *Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore, Md., 1978), 2.

<sup>10</sup> For a relevant comparison, see Uffe Ostergard, “Peasants and Danes: The Danish National Identity and Political Culture,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 1 (January 1992): 3–27.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the probable origins and diffusion of the *jibaro* ascription, see below, p. 1414. My views on this matter differ slightly from those of other scholars; see in particular Antonio S. Pedreira, “La actualidad del jibaro,” in *El jibaro de Puerto Rico: Símbolo y figura*, Enrique Laguerre and Esther M. Melón, eds. (Sharon, Conn., 1968), 7–24; and Augusto Malaret Yordán, “¿Por qué llamamos jibaros a nuestros campesinos?” *El mundo*, January 23, 1932.



In assuming *jíbaro* pseudonyms or using peasant idioms and symbols as channels of political and social criticism, this island's creole writers participated in one of the earliest and most inclusive delineations of national identity in Spanish America. Their appropriation of an icon representative of an oppressed group, and the political project in support of which that appropriation occurred, contrasts with the cultural and ideological content and strategies of the independence struggles that were led, in most cases, by Spanish-American creoles during the late colonial and independence-war eras (*circa* 1763–1825). After 1810, insurgents in Venezuela, Argentina, Mexico, and other colonies typically justified and explained their quest for independence via their rightful descent from the earliest conquerors and, as such, claimed the lion's share of colonial power, wealth, and privilege.<sup>12</sup>

Most historians of Latin American independence concur in the interpretation that it was the Bourbon kings' violation of an age-old colonial pact with creole elites that laid the groundwork for these struggles.<sup>13</sup> According to this view, in the late colonial period, Spanish-American creoles, resenting their slide into what John Lynch has called "second-class status" in the wake of Bourbon centralism, folded their attempt to reclaim their lost preeminence into a political identity—an identity, however, that ordinarily expressed itself in terms of an expansive pan-American consciousness, a belief in the creoles' natural rights to govern in the American continent. There were some notable exceptions, to which I will refer below; but it is a well-established tenet in the literature that the *americanismo* or Americanism of rebel intellectuals and strategists was not socially inclusive. Creoles who saw themselves as *americanos* (Americans) sought to distinguish themselves from the Spanish-born, whose claim to social superiority they challenged, as well as from blacks, Indians, and *castas*.<sup>14</sup> In the patriotic rhetoric of these *americanos*, a bold line of social and cultural difference divided them from the other main groupings of the colonial equation: the resented if not always numerous *gachupines*<sup>15</sup> and the masses, whose loathed phenotypes and suspect moral character placed them far below those entitled to representation in the new nations.

By contrast, Puerto Rico's *jíbaro* masqueraders staked out a common (if ambiguous and tension-ridden) identification with the peasant masses to distinguish

<sup>12</sup> David Brading correctly assesses this aspect of the political ideas of one of the most influential theorists of Mexican independence, Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, who believed that a "social pact" had existed since the Conquest between the king of Spain and the conquerors. The rights accruing to the conquerors were inherited by creoles, whom he saw, in uncharacteristic fashion, as the children of racial mixing with Indians. See Brading, *First America*, 591–95.

<sup>13</sup> "As a well-developed dominant class," argues George Reid Andrews, "the creole elites had reached a level of corporate maturity that produced growing frustration at their colonial status and resentment of Spain's presumption of the right to dictate how the New World would be governed." Andrews, "Spanish American Independence: A Structural Analysis," *Latin American Perspectives* 12 (Winter 1985): 105. Another historian, Peggy K. Liss, writes that a "growing sense of regional belonging incorporating a large element of patriotism was the frequent reaction to pressure from Spain or other American provinces" and that new periodicals founded at the turn of the nineteenth century "signalled the emergence of new elements of patriotic self-awareness habitual to creoles." Liss, *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713–1826* (Baltimore, Md., 1983), 89.

<sup>14</sup> John Lynch, *The Spanish-American Revolutions, 1808–1826* (New York, 1973), 18. The Bourbon reforms were a series of measures undertaken by Bourbon monarchs, particularly Charles III (1759–1788), to centralize imperial administration and make the colonies fiscally more productive for the crown.

<sup>15</sup> In Mexico and other parts of Latin America, *gachupines* was a derogatory reference to the Spanish-born residents of the colonies.

themselves ethnically from other members of the elite while seeking to maintain the basic outlines of a colonial relationship.<sup>16</sup> The masqueraders' acts denoted a form of creole patriotism that was particularistic, as it was fixated to the peculiar lifeways of the rural dwellers of a specific territory. While Spanish-American proto-nationalists often framed their political identity in the abstract language of violated creole privilege, the Puerto Rican trope that is the subject of this essay was *ambiguously* inclusive of the racially mixed peasant majority. In its embrace of a subaltern group—a once-despised peasantry—it bears closer resemblance, perhaps, to the adoption of Indian dress and idioms—the “White Indian” phenomenon studied by Alan Taylor—by settlers of northern Massachusetts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as part of the ideological arsenal they deployed in a dispute over land rights with more powerful, non-resident proprietors.<sup>17</sup>

In studying the actions of educated creoles who assumed a peasant identity (or who masqueraded as such) and in probing the cultural meanings of such actions, I do not claim to tell the story of how an essential Puerto Rican identity emerged at a specific moment, arising out of the “subjective potency of primordial attachments, like kin.”<sup>18</sup> Students of ethnicity in general, and of a Puerto Rican ethnicity in particular, have often sought to pin down a specific national character or consciousness, a feeling of distinctiveness claimed to be the exclusive possession of a particular, territorially defined group and grounded in a common language, set of customs, or history.<sup>19</sup> I do not believe that this is a fruitful approach to ethnic and proto-nationalist identities. In the best of cases, it results in fixed, ahistorical categories that conceal the complex, multi-layered, and often contradictory character of ethnic and cultural identification. At worst, it marks the consciousness and cultural expressions of individual groups as elements of a reified “national culture.” On the other hand, I do not wish to posit the creoles' identity in a simple “instrumentalist” way, that is, as a creation rooted in a particular class position and fundamentally reducible to it.<sup>20</sup> Such an approach would ignore the profound

<sup>16</sup> For a careful analysis of a Latin American creole elite's political thought in the twilight of the colonial period, see Margarita Garrido, *Reclamos y representaciones: Variaciones sobre la política en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, 1770–1815* (Bogotá, 1993).

<sup>17</sup> Alan Taylor, “Stopping the Progres of Rogues and Deceivers’: A White Indian Recruiting Notice of 1808,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 42 (January 1986): 90–103; and Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier, 1760–1820* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990).

<sup>18</sup> G. Carter Bentley, “Ethnicity and Practice,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (1987): 36.

<sup>19</sup> Primordialist definitions of Puerto Rican ethnicity have been attempted on numerous occasions. See especially María Teresa Babín, *La cultura de Puerto Rico* (San Juan, 1970); Antonio S. Pedreira, *Insularismo*, in *Obras*, 2 vols. (San Juan, 1970), 1: 13–176; and Enrique A. Laguerre, “Sobre la identidad cultural puertorriqueña,” *Revista Interamericana/Review* 2 (1975): 182–87. In “Encuesta Postdata, memorandum: Juan Manuel García Passalacqua,” *Postdata* 9 (1993): 214–15, and again in “El humo se volvió llama: El fracaso de la americanización de los puertorriqueños,” *Claridad* 25, no. 2166 (August 12–18, 1994): 14–15, Juan Manuel García Passalacqua redefines Puerto Rican ethnicity along popular lines but assumes that there has been an unchanged “core” of defining cultural characteristics since the eighteenth century. For a contrary view, see Carlos Pabón, “El lenguaje de la diferencia y la nación imaginada,” *Op. Cit.*, *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas* 8 (1994–95): 7–10. For Latin America as a whole, Guillermo Bonfil Batalla has put forth the more nuanced version of a primordial conception of ethnicity; see especially *Identidad y pluralismo cultural en América Latina* (Buenos Aires, [1982]).

<sup>20</sup> Such is the approach taken by José Luis González in the influential essays contained in *El país de*

emotions and attachments evoked by ethnicity independent of its “natural” class contexts and would foreclose the margin of discursive ambiguity that I believe the case at hand displays. Rather, echoing G. Carter Bentley, I wish to move away from the instrumentalist/primordialist dichotomy to consider Puerto Rican ethnic self-identification as “anchored internally in experience as well as externally in the cognitive distinctions in terms of which that experience is ordered.”<sup>21</sup> This approach calls for treating national self-definition as a continuous dialectic instead of a linear process. The mutually reinforcing processes of discursive production and class formation are viewed as constantly interacting with each other. Because of this continuous flux and redefinition, they cannot be viewed in isolation but must be historicized.

The highly contingent career of the identity trope whose origins and early history this article will explore reveals much about the dynamic, contradictory, and plural character of cultural identities.<sup>22</sup> The Puerto Rican-as-*jíbaro* trope was initially tied to the politics of a historically young, ascendant elite; as such, it formed part of the arsenal that this group used to advance a particular socioeconomic and political—that is, class—project. At first, the cultural understandings needed to decode the masquerade’s politics were not transparent or widely shared. In the 1810s and 1820s—the period initially examined here—its meanings proved a bit opaque and difficult to decipher by those whom the masqueraders assumed to be the “natural” audience, that is, other constitution enthusiasts, among whom liberal creoles predominated, and their absolutist rivals, a group dominated by conservative Spaniards. But, in time, the masquerade’s intent became more widely understood, and the Puerto Rican-as-*jíbaro* trope assumed a key role in the liberals’<sup>23</sup> protracted

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*cuatro pisos y otros ensayos* (Río Piedras, 1980); and by Jorge Duany in “Ethnicity in the Spanish Caribbean: Notes on the Consolidation of Creole Identity in Cuba and Puerto Rico, 1762–1868,” *Ethnic Groups* 6 (1985): 99–123. Other examples may be gleaned from contributions in Angel G. Quintero Rivera, et al., *Puerto Rico: Identidad nacional y clases sociales (coloquio de Princeton)* (Río Piedras, 1979). Although they have opened up fruitful avenues of inquiry, these studies make too mechanical an association between class and ethnic identification. For a critique of the instrumentalist version of ethnicity, see Philippe I. Bourgois, *Ethnicity at Work: Divided Labor on a Central American Banana Plantation* (Baltimore, Md., 1989). His critique is worth citing directly: “Even if we accept that ethnicity is only an expression of an infinite variety of ideological phenomena, we still have to explain its genesis. If we do not take refuge in a “dialectical cop out,” then we have to do away with the notion of a material and an ideal relationship and collapse the two irresolvable halves of the relationship into the same material social process. In other words, there is no either/or relationship between class and ethnicity; the two are part of the same process of struggle” (p. 226).

<sup>21</sup> Bentley, “Ethnicity and Practice,” 36.

<sup>22</sup> Narratives of identity serve to construct and mobilize groups for political ends. As a result, at any moment, there are competing narratives vying for attention. For a general exploration of this problem, see Denis-Constant Martin, “The Choices of Identity,” *Social Identities* 1 (1995): 5–20. An approach to Puerto Rican identity that recognizes this multiplicity is to be found in Juan Flores, *Divided Borders: Essays on Puerto Rican Identity* (Houston, Tex., 1993).

<sup>23</sup> In this article, I make certain assumptions about political alignments in 1810s and 1820s Puerto Rico. The first is that the “literary masqueraders” were all liberals, since they expressly embraced the constitutional process. The second is that while some members of the creole elite were conservatives or royalists, most were in fact liberals. The third is that the conservative reaction within the island included a majority faction rooted in the peninsular-born oligarchy and sustained by commerce, the high bureaucracy, and the upper church hierarchy, and a minority faction that was rooted in the upper echelon of creole landed wealth. The association of “liberal” with “creole” often trickled into the liberals’ campaign propaganda, as when in 1823 the journalist José Andino Amézquita encouraged his liberal readers to vote for candidates born on the island; Lidio Cruz Monclova, *Historia de Puerto Rico*



struggle to fashion and solidify a Puerto Rican ethnicity, a proto-nation. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the trope had acquired the transparency and clarity necessary for its symbolic anchoring of the nation. Thus, when in 1849 Manuel Alonso published, under the pen name of El Gíbaro de Caguas (the *jíbaro* from Caguas—an agricultural town in the east-central part of the island), a collection of vignettes about customs (*cuadros de costumbres*) filled with rich imagery of Puerto Rican traditions, he donned the mask without complications or misunderstandings. Although the title of Alonso's vignettes was, significantly, *El gíbaro*, the customs described in the book were clearly not of rural plebeians but of the more privileged groups.<sup>24</sup>

I suggest, therefore, that from its inception the identity trope was plastic and dynamic. The drastic political changes that followed the U.S. invasion and takeover of Puerto Rico in 1898 placed these attributes in bold relief. When U.S. domination subordinated the local elite to foreign capital and to a new colonial administration, its intellectuals and politicians exploded the original, utilitarian meanings of the *jíbaro* masquerade into an elaborate myth that identified the *jíbaros*, their phenotype now absolutely whitened and their culture made into the repository of a higher, patriotic morality, with the very essence of a Puerto Rican nation threatened by North American economic and cultural domination.<sup>25</sup> Under the relentless pressures of Americanization, the Puerto Rican-as-*jíbaro* trope, now part of an elaborate myth of the birth and essence of the nation, came to perform a key role in the insular elites' view of themselves and in the conception of their relations with native plebeians.<sup>26</sup>

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(siglo XIX), 3 vols. in 6 (Río Piedras, 1970), 1: (1808–1868), 144. For Cruz Monclova's assessment of the social composition of the liberal and conservative camps, see also p. 17. On the composition of the church leadership, see José M. García Leduc, "La Iglesia y el clero católico de Puerto Rico durante el período revolucionario hispanoamericano (1800–1830): Algunos ejemplos," *Exégesis* (Universidad de Puerto Rico, Colegio Universitario de Humacao) 1 (1987): 10–16.

<sup>24</sup> José Luis González has offered a convincing reading of *El gíbaro* that points out Alonso's impersonation of a peasant while clearly maintaining his privileged identity. See especially González, *Literatura y sociedad en Puerto Rico* (Mexico City, 1978). For an interpretation of Alonso that captures his ambivalent position as a "plebeian intellectual" and puts *El gíbaro* alongside earlier texts of a similar sort—including one of the poems that I look at in this essay—see Pedro López Adorno, "Descolonización literaria y utopía: El caso puertorriqueño," *Exégesis* 9, no. 25 (1996): 60–63.

<sup>25</sup> For a highly suggestive analysis of the "explosion" of the *jíbaro* myth, see Lillian Guerra, "Understanding Self, Community and Nation in Early Twentieth-Century Puerto Rico: An Exploration of Popular and Elite Perspectives" (MA thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1994). In "The Gaucho in Argentina's Quest for National Identity," in David J. Weber and Jane M. Rausch, eds., *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History* (Wilmington, Del., 1994), 151–64, Richard Slatta has made a similar argument for the Argentines' reconstitution of the gaucho myth for the purposes of constructing a national identity.

<sup>26</sup> In the final decade of the twentieth century, Puerto Ricans of all classes and colors often show pride in, indeed, are prone to, defining their ethnicity in terms of a profound identification with the legendary *jíbaro* (*jibardad*). This phenomenon of identification with an ideologically constructed "common man" has few parallels in the Caribbean or Latin America—a fact that correlates with, as it confirms, Puerto Rico's modern condition as a U.S. colony. For a reflection on present-day meanings of *jibardad*, see Angel G. Quintero Rivera, "La música puertorriqueña y la contra-cultura democrática: Espontaneidad libertaria de la herencia cimarrona," *Folklore americano* 49 (1990): 135–67; and "The Rural-Urban Dichotomy in the Formation of Puerto Rico's Cultural Identity," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 61 (1987): 127–44. Comparable cases that come to mind are those of Argentina already cited, and of Chile with the mythic figure of the *huaso*. See René León Echaiz, *Interpretación histórica del huaso chileno* (Santiago de Chile, 1955).

The following pages will frame the *jíbaro* masquerade of the early nineteenth century in the context of an evolving politics of liberal-creole subalternity and representation. I will begin with a brief look at three instances and a total of four texts published in political journals in which Puerto Rican creoles “wore” *jíbaro* masks, with the obvious intent of articulating a precise political message. The middle sections of the essay will go back to the eighteenth century in an “archaeological” search for the original meanings of the *jíbaro* ascription. In unearthing the earliest constructions of a *jíbaro* myth, this exercise will, I believe, put the masquerade of the 1810s and 1820s in proper cultural and historical perspective. For only by looking at the earliest available fragments of this myth will the conflicts and contradictions, and the multiple layers of meaning, that infused the creole liberals’ attempt at *jíbaro* impersonation emerge. Finally, in the concluding section, I will analyze the social and political conditions that, in the midst of the Spanish-American independence convulsions, drove some Puerto Rican creoles to represent themselves as uneducated peasants in a political performance that took the form of an ethnic, proto-national communion.<sup>27</sup> I will seek to explain the masquerade as an attempt to enclose the peasantry within the boundaries of the proto-nation while excluding other, less assimilable members of local society, in particular, slaves of African or island birth, free people of African descent, and a host of recently arrived foreign groups. I will also hold that, amid the conditions that prevailed during the Spanish-American independence wars, the *jíbaro* mask was a fitting vehicle for such symbolic inclusion. Putting on this mask, creoles seemed to embrace the politics of subalternity practiced by Puerto Rican peasants in their conflict-ridden relations with social superiors.<sup>28</sup>

The analysis presented here holds significant implications, both interpretive and methodological, for historians of Latin America. For one, it reinforces the view that simplistic generalizations about the manner in which local identities were fashioned in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and about the sentiments and ideas contained in them, are untenable. Evidence is here provided in support of the notion that embryonic creole nationalisms were not *all* conservative and elitist, though they certainly tended to be. As David Brading and Peggy K. Liss have observed, at the time of the independence convulsions, some Latin American creole intellectuals, particularly in Mexico, based their *americanismo* on the notion of racial difference from Spaniards. A few, like the Mexican Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, an important ideologue of independence, had even begun to conceive of

<sup>27</sup> It bears remembering in this context what E. P. Thompson said about class consciousness and class identity: “[Class] happens,” he remarks in the preface to his best-known work, “when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs.” Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1966), 9.

<sup>28</sup> In suggesting that members of a dominant class embraced a politics of subalternity practiced by peasants, I echo Fernando Coronil’s suggestion that we listen to the subaltern voice even among those deemed relatively powerful. “[Subalternity] is a relational and a relative concept; there are times and places where subjects appear on the social stage as subaltern actors, just as there are times or places in which they play dominant roles. Moreover, at any given time or place, an actor may be subaltern in relation to another, yet dominant in relation to a third . . . Dominance and subalternity are not inherent, but relational characterizations. Subalternity defines not the being of a subject, but a subjected state of being.” Coronil, “Listening to the Subaltern: The Poetics of Neocolonial States,” *Poetics Today* 15 (1994): 648–49.

themselves as the product of racial mixture (*mestizaje*).<sup>29</sup> The Puerto Rican example provides a different interpretive angle on this issue of how creole ideology meshed with collective identities. It suggests that creoles on the margins of empire had also managed to see themselves as taking part in cultural and political communion with members of the subordinate classes, even though such identification was riven by ambivalence and could be at the service of either reformist or conservative aims.

In the same comparative vein, the *jíbaro* masquerade of the 1810s and 1820s substantiates Stuart B. Schwartz's insightful distinction between proto-nationalisms that were forged in the colonial cores and those in the periphery. Noting that, in Brazil, capital accumulation, imperial attention, and "European-style institutions" were lacking in the more marginal areas, Schwartz asserts that these regions "tended to express their distinctiveness in action rather than in thought, and in them we must seek popular expressions of *mentalité* rather than an intellectual discourse on their sentiments." By contrast, he claims, it was in the core areas, showered with imperial attention and European institutional forms, "that a traceable tradition of colonial distinctiveness or self-awareness ultimately emerges, although belatedly, and eventually grows into a proto-nationalism."<sup>30</sup> When applied to the Spanish empire, the distinction between a highly stratified core (for instance, Mexico, Peru, or even, by the late eighteenth century, Argentina) and a less stratified periphery (for example, the eastern Caribbean, and with it, Puerto Rico) would seem to illuminate why a culturally informed proto-nationalist consciousness made its appearance in a place like Puerto Rico as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. There, social differentiation was comparatively slight in the early colonial centuries. Consequently, the more educated members of society perforce had more direct contact with, and knowledge of, their social subordinates and their culture.<sup>31</sup> It was from such contact and its attendant knowledge that the material for the Puerto Rican-as-*jíbaro* trope would be so effectively assembled.

ON AT LEAST THREE OCCASIONS, in 1814, 1820, and 1822, liberal newspapers in the colonial capital of San Juan published reader submissions (a letter and three poems) in which the authors' disguise as local peasants formed the core of the intended political message.<sup>32</sup> Writing about these episodes, literary historians have merely noted that they represent the first known published instances of the term

<sup>29</sup> Brading, *First America*, 595; Liss, *Atlantic Empires*, 85–98.

<sup>30</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil," in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 32.

<sup>31</sup> This is an argument advanced by Duany, "Ethnicity in the Spanish Caribbean." Referring to early colonial Puerto Rico, Richard M. Morse has written that it "did not become a strongly organized society . . .," as "it lacked the fixed class distinctions, the urban and rural centers of social gravity, the pomp and pageantry, the sanctums of learning and faith, that characterize a traditional and layered society"; Morse, "Puerto Rico: Eternal Crossroads," in *New World Soundings: Culture and Ideology in the Americas* (Baltimore, Md., 1989), 203.

<sup>32</sup> Here, I will discuss three instances of reader submissions that used the device of *jíbaro* impersonation. There are perhaps several others from this period. I am aware of a fourth instance, dating from 1820, in which a correspondent of *El investigador*, criticizing a proposal to revamp the judiciary at the local level, signed off as "El gíbaro." The reader evidently resided in the colonial capital, for he referred to the city as "here" and to the rural areas "out in the country." *El investigador*, no. 18 (August 18, 1820): 299–300.



*jíbaro* as it is used in Puerto Rico, that is, to denote a culturally and socially distinctive insular peasantry.<sup>33</sup> My interest in these items is not strictly literary, of course, but more broadly cultural-historical. For, upon close scrutiny, the impersonations reveal much about the way that certain people, who evidently occupied subordinate positions, laid claim to a new political order in which, after much discreet struggle and patient wait, they would finally enjoy coveted forms of power.<sup>34</sup>

The first item was a letter that appeared in one of the earliest Puerto Rican newspapers, the *Diario económico de Puerto Rico*, a journal devoted to economic and agricultural issues. The *Diario* was edited by the newly appointed intendant, Alejandro Ramírez, a polished, impeccably enlightened crown official of peninsular origin.<sup>35</sup> The letter, dated April 30, 1814, appeared on the pages of the *Diario* almost two months later (June 17). It was so poorly written that, as editor, Ramírez had to tell readers about errors in orthography and vocabulary, which he remedied before publication. One presumes that the writer had no more than an elementary education, although one also gleans from various clues about his background that he occupied an intermediate social position. With the admonition about the editorial corrections, of course, Ramírez authenticated the correspondent's voice as a genuine representative of a more rustic portion of society.

In his angry letter, the anonymous writer wished to denounce a persistent abuse of power by local tax authorities. Times were difficult and hard currency so scarce that the government had been forced to print paper money as a temporary corrective. Paper was rapidly depreciating, though, and people were beginning to speculate with scarce silver coinage. Begging his readers' forgiveness for any grammatical errors ("for I am not a paper person" [*papelista*], he claimed), the writer vehemently protested the "unjust" practice of officials who collected taxes in specie but later recorded them as paper-money receipts. Revealing his renown in local circles and adding authority to his observations, he disclosed that the previous year he had held public (municipal) office, although he still regarded himself as "poor." He wished to apprise the intendant and the *Diario's* readership of a pattern of abuses perpetrated by *alcaldes*. While he was not a smart man—thus the "doctors" (that is, lawyers) in the capital city must determine if his criticism should carry any weight—he could say with certainty that the *alcaldes* collected taxes and

<sup>33</sup> For a discussion of changing conceptions of the *jíbaro* peasantry, see Manuel Álvarez Nazario, *El habla campesina del país: Orígenes y desarrollo del español en Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras, 1990), 15–47. In *La poesía en Puerto Rico antes de 1843*, 2d rev. edn. (San Juan, 1981), Eloísa Rivera Rivera discusses the three masquerade texts from the standpoint of literary history. See especially 295–99.

<sup>34</sup> In the spirit of "New Cultural History," I view "culture" as constitutive of society, not just a reflection of it. On the New Cultural History and particularly the work of Natalie Zemon Davis, see Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, "Introduction: Culture and Identity," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, Diefendorf and Hesse, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993), 1–15.

<sup>35</sup> Luis E. González Vales, *Alejandro Ramírez y su tiempo: Ensayos de historia económica e institucional* (Río Piedras, 1978); "Alejandro Ramírez: La vida de un intendente liberal," in *Diario económico de Puerto Rico (1814–1815)*, facsimile edn. (San Juan, 1972), vol. 1: 9–59. Although of liberal instincts, Ramírez was a career official who did not hesitate to openly pronounce for the absolutist Ferdinand VII when the king reinstated his absolute powers in 1814. On this episode of Ramírez's career, see Cruz Monclova, *Historia*, 1: 77, n. 3. For Ramírez's standing among Guatemalan creoles, see Mario Rodríguez, *The Cádiz Experiment in Central America, 1808 to 1826* (Berkeley, Calif., 1978), 19–21.

tithes either in silver coinage or in specie, but when they deposited said receipts at the treasury or paid the priests' salaries, they did so in paper money.

Many are the points that I have not made, and I will make on another occasion if I see that you pay attention to my ill-formed letters, for which you will forgive me, since I am not a paper person, and I only say naked truths, and if God wills it the right person will see them, and a remedy be found by whomever can deliver it; I don't go into constitutional matters, into questions of law that I do not understand, or into the consequences of such dealings for the poor, or the rich, since this is not of concern for country bumpkins like us, who only work as much as we can and obey our superiors, and stay quiet and suffer prejudices and injustices; until we are able, that is, to claim our rights before a more just and benign superior.

At the end of this admonition, the aggrieved correspondent signed off with the pseudonym of "The Patient *Jíbaro*."<sup>36</sup>

It is significant for the purposes of this analysis that this letter, the first known example of *jíbaro* self-identification, is written anonymously by someone who claims to speak for the hard-working rural poor (whether he was or not). It is also noteworthy that the letter's overall tone delivers to the authorities a warning, thinly veiled behind a poor man's unassailable truth about the corruptions of greed and power. The *jíbaro* is patient for now, but will he remain so? The implication is that while a long-suffering peasant may seem willing to suffer abuses quietly, he is not unaware of them. He may appear passive in the face of arbitrary power, but he has recognized the illegal and immoral nature of such actions. Moreover, as in the peasant *décimas* or sung verses, riddles, and stories, collected by J. Alden Mason in the early twentieth century and recently analyzed by Lillian Guerra, the writer implies that those who, like himself, work hard—presumably as agriculturalists—are connected to a source of higher morality unknown to, and unreachable by, the leisure classes.<sup>37</sup>

Six years later, during yet another instance of press freedom, a different sort of communion between an educated writer and the peasant majority was suggested on the pages of a fledgling liberal newspaper, *El investigador*. In June 1820, the paper published in one of its first editions a long, anonymous poem entitled "The *Jíbaro*'s Verses" (*Coplas del jíbaro*). Written in the uncultured idiom of the island's rural inhabitants and in a poetic form, the *décima*, preferred by peasants for songs of social commentary—now a part of Puerto Rico's prized folklore<sup>38</sup>—the verses satirized reactions of island and peninsular conservatives against the reinstatement of Spain's liberal 1812 constitution. For the second time in less than a decade, Spanish liberals had thrust upon a reluctant Ferdinand VII a constitutional monarchy with a liberal-representative form of government. Following a military

<sup>36</sup> El Gívaro Paciente, "Lo que pasa en los campos," *Diario económico de Puerto Rico*, no. 41 (June 17, 1814): 351–53.

<sup>37</sup> Guerra, "Understanding Self, Community, and Nation," *passim*; J. Alden Mason, "Porto-Rican Folklore: Décimas, Christmas Carols, Nursery Rhymes and Other Songs," *Journal of American Folklore* 31 (1918): 289–450.

<sup>38</sup> There is an abundant literature on Puerto Rican folklore and specifically on the *décima* tradition. See Cesáreo Rosa-Nieves, *Calambreañas, decimario boricua: Motivos de la montaña y la ciudad* (San Juan, 1964); Pedro Escabí and Elsa Escabí, *La décima: Estudio etnográfico de la cultura popular de Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras, 1976); and María Cadilla de Martínez, *Costumbres y tradicionalismos de mi tierra* (San Juan, 1938).

uprising, liberals had returned the country and its more acquiescent colonies, like Puerto Rico, to the constitutional system so rudely dismantled by the monarch six years earlier.<sup>39</sup> Set against this precedent of monarchical reaction, the coup that in 1820 reestablished the constitution left liberals, both in the colonies and in the Iberian Peninsula, keenly apprehensive of the monarch's ability to strike back.

The poetic *jíbaro* satire, which had first circulated in manuscript form before the newspaper printed it, aimed to ridicule the conservatives' portrayal of the constitutional regime as sheer anarchy, a state of utmost social and political dislocation. The author, Miguel Cabrera of Arecibo—evidently a liberal, educated creole—camouflaged his attack on the conservatives' preposterous claims of anarchy and libertinism by making a rustic *jíbaro* sing a *décima* celebrating his total liberation from social mores and political constraints:

Vamos Suidadanos  
jasta ei pueblo oi  
poique tío Juan Congo  
tocará ei tamboi.

Mire prima Sica,  
múdeme ei lichón  
que yo voy á vei  
la Costitusion.  
.....

Me han asecurao  
con grande sijilio  
que no pagaremos  
ya nengún susilio.  
.....

Que toos los presos  
se echarán a juera  
y que ya ca uno  
jará lo que quiera.  
.....

Usté pué si quiere  
cuando está enfadao  
pegalle a su paire  
una bofetá

Y si usté á una mosa  
la jecha á peidei  
usté se va limpio  
sin que le pleité.  
.....

Let's go citizens  
to town today,  
because Uncle John Congo  
will play the drums.

Look, Cousin Sica,  
bring me the pig,  
for I'm going to see  
the Constitution.  
.....

I have been assured,  
with great circumspection,  
that we won't be paying  
the *subsídio*<sup>40</sup> any more.  
.....

That all of the prisoners  
will be set free  
and that now each person,  
will do as he pleases.  
.....

You will now be able  
when you are so incensed  
to smack your father  
on the face.

And if you take a young woman  
and ruin her honor  
you will now be able  
to go scot free.  
.....

<sup>39</sup> Inaugurated with great fanfare in 1812 as one of Europe's most modern charters of liberal monarchy, the constitution was annulled by Ferdinand only two years later, shortly after his return from his French exile.

<sup>40</sup> An income tax, recently instituted.



Mañana en ei día  
mato mi lichón  
para celebrai  
la Costitusion.

Tomorrow, for sure,  
I will slaughter my pig  
to celebrate  
the Constitution.<sup>41</sup>

Cabrera evidently sought to ridicule the reactionaries' claims that not only would political order be subverted but patriarchal normalcy as well. The two systems of hierarchy were, of course, interrelated and mutually reinforcing. With impunity, men would now be able to dishonor women of good repute, keep mistresses, offend their fathers and mothers—the father's authority was especially singled out in the poem—and, of course, not pay taxes or serve prison time for one's crimes. In this world of liberal bliss, men would be able to satisfy their basest instincts without having to face society's or the state's restraints and retribution.

Because Cabrera's satirical intent was not immediately evident to the liberal readership of *El investigador*, the publication of "The *Jíbaro's* Verses" touched off a heated controversy. Several of the paper's next editions were filled with letters condemning the author's presumed anti-constitutional slant. Some correspondents, unaware of the satire, believed the verses to be "detestable," "subversive," "irreligious," and "a crime."<sup>42</sup> A person simply signing off as "The Unknown" (*El desconocido*) concluded his reproaching letter with a couple of verses of his own—a sort of counter-poem:

Estos veisos, Cielo  
son de un gran breibón  
que no sabe apreciai  
la Costitusion.  
Si buen ciudaano  
fuera sin disputa  
no jablara tanto  
el hijo de puta.

These verses, o Heaven,  
are the work of a dolt  
who cannot appreciate  
the Constitution.  
If he a good citizen  
were without a doubt,  
the son of a bitch  
would not talk so loud.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> For the text of the verses and a full discussion of the controversy that followed, see Antonio S. Pedreira, *El periodismo en Puerto Rico*, in *Obras*, 2 vols. (San Juan, 1970), 2: 51–59.

<sup>42</sup> Julie Greer Johnson's perceptive analysis of the ethnic politics of satire in colonial Spanish America is worth quoting here at length, as it throws light on the misunderstanding of Cabrera's verses: "Although colonial satirists transgressed social, moral, and textual norms with artistic creativity and human perceptivity, their real effectiveness at challenging both officially codified discourse and the administrative system in the Spanish American viceroyalties ultimately rested on the competency of their readers. Their task was a complex one and more demanding than the reading required of a nonironic text, for example. In composing their work, satirists have not simply devised a metatext, or a reinterpretation of a previous text that may be accepted or rejected by the reader, but a mock metatext that compels its readers to formulate their own interpretation. Although satirists are adamant about the need for reform, they rarely provide the alternative means to achieve it. This open-endedness or atmosphere of ambivalence permits the participation of readers in the hermeneutic process to a considerable extent, and thus enables them to become one of the text's creators. Such ambiguity in the construction of the work also allows for the malleability of cultural identity in the New World. This entire cognitive procedure, however, is contingent upon the reader's knowledge and ability to relate the past to the present in terms of both social order and the structure of official means of communication. If readers fail to detect a work's irony, a crucial component of both satire and parody, they are not prepared to evaluate the critical dimension created by a double-directed text, and the satirists' carefully constructed critical space is lost. Under these circumstances the audience best prepared to understand colonial satire was composed principally of male Creoles." Johnson, *Satire in Colonial Spanish America: Turning the New World Upside Down* (Austin, Tex., 1993), 12.

<sup>43</sup> Pedreira, *El periodismo*, 54.

Furthermore, an editorial expressed alarm over the verses' capacity to prejudice plebeians against the new political order. The poem injured the peasants, the editors believed, for it misled them about the new politics; hence, *El investigador* saw a need to explain the freedoms that truly derived from the constitution. They decried the still-anonymous author as "the most libelous enemy that has yet surfaced on this island against the constitutional system" and his verses as "containing a poison ever more pernicious, for he has prepared them for the most naïve of people"—a reference to the peasantry.<sup>44</sup>

Seeing that his satire had not hit home, Cabrera finally revealed himself to the paper. He admitted authoring the verses and explained their true intent. They were the product of a good, honest liberal who merely wanted to ridicule the conservative opposition. Relieved, *El investigador*'s editors offered him an apology for misreading the verses' message, and the controversy came to an abrupt end.

It is not difficult to grasp that more than a simple attempt to ridicule the political opposition was involved in Cabrera's choice of the peasant vernacular for his chiding of the conservatives. The *jíbaro*'s voice fulfilled several interrelated purposes, which Cabrera could not have easily attained without recourse to a fictive peasant subjectivity. For one, the *jíbaro*'s take on "the Constitution" provided an authentic island critique of the absolutist reaction, which was associated in the colonies with owners of the large commercial establishments, high clergymen, bureaucrats, and military leaders—all classes in which the peninsular-born elites were clearly in the majority. Cabrera's critique of the reactionaries passed the test of authenticity; his "ethnographically correct" verses were an unquestionably Puerto Rican contribution to the liberal-conservative contest.

Moreover, the device of allowing a *jíbaro*'s imagination to roam with the new political liberties as he saw fit must have sent chills up the spines of elites and officialdom. The *jíbaro*'s challenge to civil and ecclesiastical authority, and his questioning of patriarchal prescriptions, raised the troubling specter of a radically democratic understanding of constitutional freedoms.<sup>45</sup> This at a time when the colonial liberals' definition of the rights enjoyed by the popular majority was considerably more restrictive. Cabrera's *jíbaro* understood freedom as the total absence of annoying political and social constraints—constraints to which the majority of liberals readily subscribed. They were, after all, integral to current ideas about social control. The *jíbaro*'s framing of freedom as the total absence of compulsion resonated threateningly with the realities of a society in which, in at least a couple of crucial ways, most people did not conform to liberal ideals: they were not willing to sell their labor to others for wages, and they failed to practice the self-control in all phases of their private and communal lives that would lead to their moral redemption.

I will return below to this clash between the liberals' expectations of plebeian behavior and the resistant or transgressive actions of popular actors. It holds one of the keys to interpreting the identity-generating potential of elite impersonations of *jíbaro* peasants. For the moment, and before taking up the last instance of the

<sup>44</sup> Pedreira, *El periodismo*, 51–53.

<sup>45</sup> Rivera Rivera has already observed that "democratic ideas palpitate in [Cabrera's] coplas"; *La poesía*, 167.

masquerade, I wish to point out a third important feature of Cabrera's *jíbaro's* verses. His use of *jíbaro* speech was deft and clearly denotes an attempt to draw a linguistic boundary between the *hombres de la otra banda* and those of *esta banda*—between the Spanish-born and the island-born of whatever race or social condition.<sup>46</sup> With some effort, Spaniards could perhaps decipher the peasantry's peculiar vocabulary and pronunciation. But only a well-trained ("ethnographic") ear could both understand and reproduce the garbled Spanish, with Taino and African words and accents, of the interior peasantry.<sup>47</sup> In faithfully reproducing the *jíbaro* vernacular, Cabrera, like the anonymous "Patient *Jíbaro*" of several years before, consciously chose to represent himself as of "these shores."

A third example of the masquerade appeared on the pages of another liberal newspaper, the *Diario liberal y de variedades de Puerto-Rico*, also during the second constitutional interregnum of 1820–1823. In April 1822, two anonymous correspondents exchanged poems in celebration of the recent implementation of an 1820 law that separated the office of the captain-general (the military command) from that of the civil governor. In the island colonial administration, the two functions had been combined since the late sixteenth century. Although delayed in its implementation, perhaps in recognition of Puerto Rico's military value to Spain, the measure was part of a decentralizing effort of the constitutional government that delighted liberals and further alienated the conservatives.<sup>48</sup> Like Cabrera in his *jíbaro's* verses, the poets conveyed their joy over the new law in the peasant idiom, depicting two peasant families' reaction to the news of the long-awaited separation of civil and military powers.

In the first of the poems, a certain Primo Goyo el de Utuao (Cousin Goyo<sup>49</sup> from Utuado, an interior mountain town) gleefully announces to his family that the man they call "uncle"—a reference to the interim governor and captain-general, Colonel José Navarro—has announced the creation of a permanent militia. The women of the house, delighted with the news, quickly spread the word to other women and hence, not long thereafter, to the entire town. There follows a spontaneous celebration for which the peasant family's entire stock of birds is slaughtered:

Los diablos me arrebatan  
si Lionisia  
No brincab y saltaba  
de contento  
Y juntamentito que le jice  
ei cuento

May the devils take me with  
them if it is not true  
That Lionisia, with such joy,  
jumped up and down,  
And as soon as I told her  
the story

<sup>46</sup> The French linguist Emile Benveniste points out the importance of linguistic identity in the making of ethnic boundaries: "Every name of an ethnic character, in ancient times, was differentiating and oppositional. There was present in the name which a people assumed the intention, manifest or not, of distinguishing itself from the neighboring peoples, of affirming the superiority derived from a common, intelligible language. Hence the ethnic group often constituted an antithetical duality with the opposed ethnic group." Cited in John A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), 5.

<sup>47</sup> Cabrera, incidentally, is the first in a long line of educated Puerto Ricans who would prove their membership in the "tribe," their intimacy with the culture, by using a stylized version of *jíbaro* speech, usually in writings of a socially or politically charged nature. Others include Manuel Alonso (*El Gíbaro*, 1849) and Manuel Fernández Juncos (*Costumbres y tradiciones*, 1883).

<sup>48</sup> *Boletín Histórico de Puerto Rico*, Cayetano Coll y Toste, ed. (hereafter, *BHPR*), 8 (1921): 143; Cruz Monclova, *Historia*, 1: 127; Luis M. Díaz Soler, *Puerto Rico, desde sus orígenes hasta el cese de la dominación española* (Río Piedras, 1994), 398–99.

<sup>49</sup> Nickname for Gregorio.



Se lo engestó tuito á ma Maubricia.  
 En cuantito lo supo ivá compaire!  
 Se jueron de jilito á la cocina  
 A yevaye las nuevas á su maire  
 Tuitos los pavos, patos y gallinas  
 Ha matao la vieja Catalina  
 Y lo sabe en ei pueblo jasta ei  
 Paire.

She fed it all to Maubricia.  
 No sooner did they know, oh brother!  
 Than they sped their way into the kitchen  
 To bring the news to their mother.  
 The old Catalina has slaughtered  
 All the turkeys, ducks, and chickens  
 And even the parish priest knows  
 about it by now.<sup>50</sup>

The second poem, which showed up in the *Diario*'s next edition two days later, tells the story of yet another peasant family for whom Cousin Goyo's piece of gossip, straight from the mouth of the colony's highest authority, bears equally good news. As Eloísa Rivera Rivera has remarked, this author was more accomplished than the first in his command of the peasant idiom.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, in making reference to various peasant practices—chewing tobacco, drinking coffee with molasses (*melao*), and slaughtering pigs on special occasions and festivities—he demonstrates a certain closeness to peasant culture that is reminiscent of Cabrera's. One also finds a reference here to the peasants' belief in "devils" who fulfill roles in people's daily lives and, as in Cabrera's verses, to a presumed peasant inclination for violence at the least provocation:

Avisale á tido Nino  
 Que te tlaiga ei cuchinato;  
 Yo demprovisie lo mato  
 Y jaida á bajo me empino.

Go tell Uncle Nino  
 To bring you the suckling pig;  
 Improvising, I'll slaughter it  
 And down a mountain slope I'll go.

Ei viejo Juan Giripino  
 Nos fiará ei aguidiente,

Old Juan Giripino  
 Will sell us *aguardiente* [a liquor] on credit,

Busté cuíeme la gente;  
 Y si alguno se aguellare,  
 Delle sino fuere ei paire  
 Un gasnaton bien caliente.

You just watch over the people;  
 And if anyone were to complain,  
 Provided it isn't the priest,  
 Give him a hard smack in the face.<sup>52</sup>

This poem, even more than the first, firmly grounds the political reaction to the advent of civil government in a peasant culture that is genuinely "of this island." It is a peasant culture that possesses an essential wisdom beyond its apparent simplicity. Like their liberal counterparts among the elite, these peasants could decipher the much-anticipated political moment and grasp all of its liberating potential.

IN TRYING TO UNDERSTAND THE ETHNIC POLITICS of the masquerade, various large and small interpretive problems come to the fore. In the larger view, issues to grapple with include how a racially differentiated group of very poor rural dwellers came to be called "jíbaros" in the first place, what meanings were associated with that ascription initially, and how these meanings may have been molded and adapted

<sup>50</sup> *Diario liberal y de variedades de Puerto-Rico*, 2, no. 46 (April 15, 1822): 190 (*sic*), actually 170.

<sup>51</sup> Rivera Rivera, *La poesía*, 298.

<sup>52</sup> *Diario liberal y de variedades de Puerto-Rico* 2, no. 48 (April 17, 1822): 177.

before the political crisis of the Spanish-American empire and the first constitutionalist regime in Spain, in 1808 and 1812 respectively, and to what extent elites' and plebeians' perceptions of themselves were influenced by the evolving images that they harbored of each other. The smaller interpretive issue, to be taken up in the last section, is the question of the critical context of the masquerade: how events and conditions during the constitutional/liberal periods of the 1810s and 1820s helped the liberals' ethnic and political self-image cohere in terms of their commonalities with *jíbaros*.

The starting point for this discussion should be the *jíbaro* ascription itself. It is, after all, an explicit marker of two of the three instances of the 1814–1822 masquerade (the 1814 letter and Cabrera's verses). Scholars disagree on how and when it began to be used in Puerto Rico to denote the peasantry and on its precise etymology. For my purpose, it should suffice to note that, outside of the Puerto Rican context, the word has three essential—all sharply derogatory—uses: in Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela, it is the name of an irrepressible Indian group (the *jívaros*, or Shuar) made famous in the colonial period for its effective resistance to colonial encroachment; in colonial Mexico, it was a racial category that signified the mixed offspring of Indians and Africans; and in Cuba and Santo Domingo, employed as an adjective, it has denoted since the colonial period the state of wildness in certain animals, especially dogs (for instance, *perros jíbaros* are undomesticated forest dogs).<sup>53</sup> That these various uses and meanings may in fact be interrelated and that the Puerto Rican usage may condense the qualities of Shuar indomitability, animal wildness, and racial transgression are propositions whose investigation falls beyond the scope of this essay.

The negativity associated with all of these meanings, however, clearly delimits the discursive field within which certain rural inhabitants of Puerto Rico began to be called *jíbaros*, most likely in the beginning half of the eighteenth century. Elites used the *jíbaro* label to describe the peasant population's itinerance and semi-nomadic existence, practices that, though grounded in the practices of swidden agriculture, were aggravated by a host of bureaucratic and legal obstacles to the smallholders' procurement of usufruct titles on land.<sup>54</sup> The peasants' penchant for "jíbaro-like" indomitability posed an especially acute challenge to enlightened political order and modernization. In 1809, one member of the powerful San Juan municipal council (*cabildo*) remarked of the peasants,

<sup>53</sup> *Diccionario general ilustrado de la lengua española*, Vox (1945; Barcelona, 1979), 905. See also the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, 20th edn. (Madrid, 1984), which fails to include the Mexican racial connotation.

<sup>54</sup> Fray Inigo Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia geográfica, civil y natural de la Isla de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras, 1970), 155; Francisco A. Scarano, "Congregate and Control: The Peasantry and Labour Coercion in Puerto Rico before the Age of Sugar, 1750–1820," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide*, special issue, 63 (1989): 23–40; Juana Gil-Bermejo García, *Panorama histórico de la agricultura en Puerto Rico* (Seville, 1970). Sidney W. Mintz has referred to the "squatter peasants" of the Spanish Caribbean islands in the early colonial centuries, and he concludes that "the term [peasants] is only barely applicable" to them; "Caribbean Peasantries," in *Caribbean Transformations* (Chicago, 1974), n. 55, 148–49. For an enlightening discussion of the "semi-nomadic" nature of this peasantry's agrarian practices, see Michel J. Godreau and Juan A. Giusti, "Las concesiones de la Corona y propiedad de la tierra en Puerto Rico, siglos XVI–XX: Un estudio jurídico," *Revista jurídica de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* 62 (1993): 351–579, esp. 464–65.

[It] is a rare one who stays put in one place for as much as one year, and some only stay a month, always vagrant, itinerant and without fixed abode, neither familiar with, nor observing, the conduct of a steady and hard-working farmer. They disguise their real behavior as much as they can, and through a series of thieving machinations, many of them have shown that, in addition to being harmful to an increase in population, and to an abundance of crops, they have turned into repositories of laziness and vice.<sup>55</sup>

In the eyes of modernizing, rationalistic elites, then, the tactics of peasant survival seemed barbaric, conducive only to vagrancy, crime, and political paralysis.

Extant testimonies and representations of island society from the middle decades of the eighteenth century strongly suggest the emergence of a homogenized image of the rural inhabitants as undifferentiated *jíbaros*. For instance, the 1745 travel journal of Manuel Moreno Alonso, whose voyage from Spain to the New World included a stopover at Aguada, in northwestern Puerto Rico, included a telling observation about the people he encountered there: “[The] men who are called *gívaros* are mulatto-like [*amulatados*], and the women gypsy-like [*propriamente agitanadas*]; the latter only wear a shirt and a very long skirt because they go barefoot, and use shoes only to dance the *zapareado*, which they customarily do very well indeed.”<sup>56</sup> But although *jíbaros* like those in Aguada occupied a key social space in the lens of a casual visitor like Moreno Alonso, other eyewitness accounts from the same period suggest the existence of a competing image of island society. Nearer the center of colonial power, and specifically in the capital, San Juan, another “map” of social reality held sway at the time of Moreno Alonso’s passing reference to Aguada’s peasants. In the construct that urban elites held of their social universe, the peasantry did not yet represent Puerto Rican plebeians but, rather, existed as vaguely defined and distant outsiders. The weight of the evidence uncovered so far supports two interrelated hypotheses concerning the social map that dominated closer to the center of colonial power and the changes to which it was subject over the course of the eighteenth century. The first is that city-based elites initially configured or imagined their social space as a fundamentally urban arena, occupied by characteristically urban types. Their conception of society corresponded to the classic Iberian notion, in which “society was divided into various corporations, self-contained entities which in cooperation with each other maintained the health of society and the general welfare.”<sup>57</sup> In this corporatist social map, peasants were relegated to an obscure margin. The second hypothesis is that, during the course of the last half of the eighteenth century, this social imaginary gradually gave way to another in which rural subalterns came to occupy the critical, defining space. By century’s end, elites had reconfigured their map of local society to include, very much as its centerpiece, an ambiguous image of the rural population, an image layered with positive and negative meanings. This

<sup>55</sup> “Informe de Don Pedro Irizarri, alcalde ordinario de San Juan sobre las instrucciones que debían darse a Don Ramón Power, diputado por Puerto Rico ante las Cortes españolas para promover el adelanto económico de la Isla, Año de 1809,” in Eugenio Fernández Méndez, ed., *Crónicas de Puerto Rico, desde la conquista hasta nuestros días (1493–1955)* (1955; Río Piedras, 1969), 345–72.

<sup>56</sup> Manuel Moreno Alonso, “De Cádiz a Veracruz en 1745,” *Historiografía y bibliografía americanistas* 27 (1983): 17–41.

<sup>57</sup> James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge, 1983), 8.



layering of ambiguous and conflicting associations of peasanthood produced a discursive ambiguity from which, in time, the Puerto Rican-as-*jibaro* trope could draw its effectiveness as a weapon in the creole elite's political arsenal.

A document that supports the first hypothesis, about the prevalence of a city-centered map of island society before the late 1700s, is the detailed account of feasts held in San Juan in late 1745 and early 1746 to mourn the death of King Philip V and celebrate the crowning of his successor, Ferdinand VI. As was customary throughout the empire, dynastic milestones called for the ritual affirmation of crown legitimacy and imperial social order. For weeks and even months, the city population engaged in what seemed like nonstop ceremony and festivity: solemn Masses, parades, carnivals, horse races, dances, and other performances. These occasions called for the keeping of highly detailed records of all public or official events; for, in forwarding the ensuing account (*relación*) to the imperial capital of Madrid, colonials formalized and renewed their loyalty and deference to the monarchy. On this occasion, the author of the official account, who identified himself only as a native of Puerto Rico, left an intricately detailed record of events in San Juan over a number of months. A careful examination of this document reveals a conception of the social order in which peasants and other rural classes were marginal and unimportant.<sup>58</sup> Except as I will note below, they were not, in fact, mentioned at all, either as participants in the parades and dances or as spectators. By contrast, church and state officials, merchants, artisans, free people of color, and the urban poor all occupied prominent positions in the quasi-corporate social order of the city vividly sketched by the anonymous creole author.

Anthropologists and historians of Europe and Latin America have suggested that highly ritualized performances of this sort can be understood as public reaffirmations of the social order or, alternatively, as occasions for the symbolic challenging or subversion of that order.<sup>59</sup> Viewed in this manner, it is significant that the only reference to rural subalterns in the 1745–1746 *Relación* is highly generic and nondescript. The sole representation of the peasantry appears in a theatrical parade of costumes that marked the most irreverent portion of the festivities (the *mojiganga*). Following a Spanish tradition, there was, at the end of one of the feast days, a “ridiculously attired” masked procession. It included the figures of Don Quixote, his imaginary lover Dulcinea, a giant, “the preposterous character of a cook,” a *vejigante* (a monster who teased festival-goers with the contents of a cow's bladder, often urine or feces), and—at the very end of the procession—a *montañés*, or hillbilly. *Décima* verses pinned to the latter's dress made repeated, ironic references to the peasant's “mountain-bred nobility” (*idalguía montañesa*).

<sup>58</sup> The full text of an anonymous account of the 1745–1746 feasts, written by a creole, is reproduced in the “*Relación verídica en la que se da noticia de lo acaecido en esta isla de Puerto Rico a fines del año de 1745 y principios de 1746 con motivo de llorar la muerte del rey Felipe V y celebrar la exaltación a la corona de Fernando VI*,” *BHPR* 5 (1918): 148–93. For another printed account of similar festivities a half-century later, see *Relación de las fiestas que en la proclamación del R. Rey D. Carlos IV ha celebrado la ciudad de San Juan de Puerto Rico en los días 17, 18, 19 y siguientes hasta el 28 de octubre de 1789* (Madrid, 1790).

<sup>59</sup> For a collection of suggestive essays on the social and political projections of public ceremonials and rituals in Mexico, see William Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French, eds., *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico* (Wilmington, Del., 1994).

Angel López Cantos, who has studied these festivals extensively, expresses surprise at the characterization of the hillbilly in this 1747 account. Indeed, in the peninsular tradition of *mojigangas*, on which the Puerto Rican festivals were patterned, it was uncommon to find peasants among the bizarre characters of the parade.<sup>60</sup> But just as important as the existence of the peasant icon was the manner in which he was depicted. The figure of the hillbilly was generic and entirely non-referential. Only a year earlier, the Spaniard Moreno Alonso had instantly seized on the *jíbaro* as the distinguishing social type of the strange new world that Aguada revealed to the European traveler. But while an image of the *jíbaros* already existed “out there” in the real world of a semi-nomadic, more fluid Puerto Rico, the city’s elite, hemmed in by the fortress city’s massive walls, did not think it necessary in the 1747 parade to evince any of the hillbilly’s ascribed cultural traits as part of their ritual reaffirmation of the social order; it could have been any peasant, from anywhere.<sup>61</sup>

In contrast to the obscure and individual peasant icon of the 1746 parade, evidence from the second half of the century suggests that the city’s privileged families increasingly regarded dressing up as rustics to be a vital ingredient of their carnivalesque amusement. This evidence also suggests that these latter-day elite *capitalinos*’ impersonations of peasants played to a public that now contained a fairly large number of rural plebeians itself. These sources therefore hint at the possibility that while the earliest representations were distant and non-referential, later versions denoted greater empathy and even intimacy between the revelers (well-to-do city folk) and the country folk that they chose to represent in carnival-like masquerade. One might say, echoing Victor Turner, that a trend toward a more emphatic and complex ritualized, if momentary and fleeting, inversion of the social order, or *communitas*, was in evidence in the eighteenth-century Puerto Rican carnivals.<sup>62</sup>

A spectacle of this sort caught the attention of a visiting French naturalist, André Pierre Ledrú, when in July 1797 he arrived in the port city. Stumbling on what seemed to him a frenzied street celebration, Ledrú observed with a keen eye for social irony that “a multitude of country folk had arrived in the city for this celebration. Imagine three or four hundred gentlemen, masked or dressed in strange costumes, running frantically through the streets, sometimes alone, sometimes in small groups. Here, many fashionable youth [*petimetres*], dressed as paupers, amused the crowd with the contrast between their clothing and the rich bridles worn by the stallions they were riding.”<sup>63</sup> The Frenchman’s remarks

<sup>60</sup> On the *mojigangas* as part of Spanish popular festivals, see Javier Huerta y Calvo, ed., *Teatro breve de los siglos XVI y XVII: Entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas* (Madrid, 1985); and Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, “Introducción general,” in *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII* (Madrid, 1911), 1: no. 1, i–cccxv.

<sup>61</sup> The social distance between city folk and peasantry contrasts sharply with the closeness, even intimacy, that is ritually played out in this parade between officialdom, the white element, and the black and mulatto artisans. The latter command an entire day’s celebrations, which end in a dance at the governor’s palace. “Relación verídica,” *passim*.

<sup>62</sup> *Communitas*, Maria Goldwasser notes, for the Rio de Janeiro carnival, is “the domain of equality, where all are placed without distinction on an identical level of social evaluation.” Cited in Victor W. Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York, 1986), 132.

<sup>63</sup> André Pierre Ledrú, *Viaje a la isla de Puerto Rico en el año 1797*, Julio L. de Vizcarrondo, trans. (1863; rpt. edn., San Juan, 1971), 42.



Self-portrait of Luis Paret y Alcázar, a Spanish painter exiled in Puerto Rico in 1775–1776. In this early version of the *jibaro* masquerade, Paret y Alcázar humorously portrays himself as a poor peasant in order to appeal for pity from the court. Courtesy of the Museo de Arte e Historia de San Juan, in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

underscore an obvious shift in both the scale of representation and its cultural meanings. In the fifty years since the first recorded festival ridicule of a “hillbilly,” the dimensions of the carnival masquerade had expanded greatly, from a lone



individual representing a nondescript “hillbilly” to perhaps several dozen at once more keenly representative of the island’s own rural “paupers.” In fact, as Ledrú does not talk about any other *mojiganga* figure or costume, it is possible that the entire parade was made up of horsemen passing themselves off as peasants.<sup>64</sup>

But what of the changing meanings? An intent to ridicule was obviously present. But it stands to reason that other understandings of the relationship between a city-based—yet, now more than ever, landed—elite and the rural folk were entangled in the representation; that, in 1797, novel cultural and political meanings, in a Turnerian sense, were being negotiated between masqueraders and public.<sup>65</sup> In its symbolic inversion of social roles, the public spectacle of peasant impersonation witnessed by Ledrú during the St. James festival was probably not much different from the effect that Miguel Cabrera intended with his 1820 satire that misfired.<sup>66</sup>

It is quite significant for my interpretation of the event’s symbolism that the 1797 peasant *mojiganga* took place during the first St. James festival after Spanish and creole troops had repulsed a massive British invasion. This was doubtless the most successful military action ever undertaken on behalf of Spanish sovereignty in almost four centuries of Spanish rule in Puerto Rico. During the prolonged siege of San Juan, the island’s militias, led by both peninsular and creole officers but staffed primarily with native troops (both *pardos*, or colored, and whites), provided the decisive margin of victory.<sup>67</sup> Creole pride in the accomplishments of local actors was riding high, then, when Ledrú entered the city three months after the lifting of the blockade. Such pride could well have encouraged the generalized elaboration of *communitas* witnessed by the visiting naturalist.

Other contemporary observations concerning modes of social interaction beyond the carnivalesque context point in the same direction. That the social leveling and identity-building effects of religious and civil rituals were not limited to San Juan or to officially sanctioned carnivals, horse races, and parades is suggested, for example, in another portion of Ledrú’s account. On his expedition through the countryside, he observed with amazement how on one occasion different classes and colors of creoles shared in the enjoyment of a family feast. While visiting a sugar and coffee hacienda near the Loíza River, the scientist was struck by the intimacy of social

<sup>64</sup> Aníbal González regards Ledrú’s testimonial of his botanical trip to Puerto Rico as a pivotal document in the country’s history, since it captures island life at a moment of its initiation into modernity. See González, “La mar inédita: El Viaje a la isla de Puerto Rico de André Pierre Ledrú,” *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 92–93 (1986): 59–65.

<sup>65</sup> Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (London, 1969). In *Masquerade Politics: Explorations in the Structure of Urban Cultural Movements* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), Abner Cohen argues, following Turner, that “[in carnival], through interaction in primary relationships and change of role in masquerading, individuals recreate their self-identity and so are enabled to resume their demanding social roles in ordinary daily life . . . Although it is essentially a cultural, artistic spectacle, saturated by music, dancing and drama, it is always political, intimately and dynamically related to the political order and to the struggle for power within it” (pp. 3–4).

<sup>66</sup> Carnival mask and textual masks can have very similar social objectives, of course. For an approach to the use of masks in literature to “bring about . . . the changing of social class, the crossing of otherwise intransigent barriers of caste,” see Laurence A. Gregorio, *The Pastoral Masquerade: Disguise and Identity in “L’Astrée”* (Saratoga, Calif., 1992). The quotation is from p. 10.

<sup>67</sup> For a brief account of the siege and the militia’s importance in the victory, see Francisco A. Scarano, *Puerto Rico: Cinco siglos de historia* (San Juan, 1993), 360–63. See also José G. Rigau Pérez, “‘Astonished at Their Bravery’: El relato de un invasor inglés en Puerto Rico, 1797,” *Revista de historia* (Puerto Rico) 7 (1988): 81–94.

intercourse that characterized a diverse group of Puerto Ricans as they celebrated the birth of the overseer's son:

The gathering consisted of forty to fifty creoles from the area, of both sexes. Some had come from as far as six leagues, because these men, who are ordinarily indolent, are quite prone to dancing. The mixing of whites, mulattoes, and free blacks formed a very original group: the men, dressed in indian shirts and pants, the women with white dresses and long golden necklaces, their heads all covered with colorful kerchiefs and round, laced hats, all successively executed African and creole dances to the sound of a guitar and the beat of a drum commonly called bomba.<sup>68</sup>

Clearly, in Ledrú's eyes, the group's "originality" stemmed from the unexpected brew of phenotypes and cultural traditions, embodied in the origins of the dances and the musical instruments.<sup>69</sup>

THUS THE BURDEN, OR NEGATIVITY, with which elites most likely loaded the term *jíbaro* in its earliest deployments is only part—one of several layers—of a more complex story. As the twilight of the eighteenth century approached, elite creoles had reason to feel proud of their accomplishments. Some of their achievements, like the 1797 defeat of the British invasion, had been attained shoulder-to-shoulder with their rural subalterns. They had attained others, like the promotion of coffee estates and other export-oriented farms, in spite of these same plebeians' resistance, as I will suggest in the next section. On balance, though, Ledrú's observations of the St. James parade and the Loíza gathering indicate that, by the end of the eighteenth century, the *jíbaro* icon had taken on an additional layer of meaning from that of sheer ridicule, which prompted earlier representations of rustics alongside allegorical, pathetic characters and animals. Now the distant ridicule coexisted with messages whose sign was more positive and whose effect was that of ethnic inclusion across the bold lines of class and color that rigidly separated island inhabitants from one another.

How can this suggestion of inclusiveness be firmed up? In an especially sophisticated essay, Gerald Sider provides some helpful clues. In studying the construction of American Indian ethnicities in North America, Sider outlines the relationship that holds between, on the one hand, the sort of discursive ambiguity that (I am suggesting) began to inform the *jíbaro* image and, on the other, underlying processes of social and economic domination. He notes that ambiguity—

<sup>68</sup> Ledrú, *Viaje*, 54. In another passage, the Frenchman, echoing Abbad and other eighteenth-century chroniclers, took pains to show that racial barriers were quite permeable and that it was common for white children to grow up in the company of slave children, a practice that led to "the utmost familiarity" between the races. Later on in life, however, these same whites would severely exploit their slaves. *Viaje*, 114.

<sup>69</sup> Although I disagree with Jorge Duany's vision of a fixed ethnic identity arising from certain features of the social structure, I believe he is correct in stating that one of the things that set Puerto Rico apart from Cuba as early as the final decades of the eighteenth century was the relative intimacy of social interaction between people of different race and class backgrounds in the former island; "Ethnicity in the Spanish Caribbean," 36. For another demonstration of the relative permeability of race and class boundaries in Puerto Rico, see Jay Kinsbruner, "Caste and Capitalism in the Caribbean: Residential Patterns and House Ownership among the Free People of Color of San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1823–46," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70 (1990): 433–61.

the discursive coexistence of negative and positive images of the Other—in a dominant group's conception of its subalterns was intrinsic to colonial economic processes, especially in the American empires of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries:

The peculiar intimacy between dominators and dominated—from above, an intimacy that comes packaged with brutality and contempt; from below, an intimacy riven with ambiguity—seems particularly important to the historically unfolding process of domination and resistance, though perhaps more directly important to understanding resistance (and also nonresistance). It is in trying to unravel the interwoven paradoxes and ambiguities of this intimacy that we can most clearly see what seems to be the fundamental cultural contradiction of the process of domination by Europeans over native Americans: between domination as a form of incorporation, of bonding together, and simultaneously domination as a form of creating distance, difference, and otherness. Both resistance and collusion took their variant shapes within this matrix of incorporation and distancing.<sup>70</sup>

This passage reveals that the exigencies of bonding and incorporation necessarily turn the dominators' vision from one that is filled with "brutality and contempt" into one that is much less disparaging and far more ambiguous. Only thus is the dominant group's relationship with the subordinate group normalized, the social hierarchy tentatively reaffirmed, and a "pact of domination" made workable, at least in the short term.<sup>71</sup>

Sider's formulation helps to frame the changing meanings of *jibaridad* ("jíbaro-ness") in the late eighteenth century, a period marked in Puerto Rico by an unprecedented increase in population, staple production, and maritime trade. Such demographic and material changes signaled the beginning of an era of increasing demands on the labor of peasants and slaves—and of stepped-up evasion of those demands by the rural poor. The closer in "peculiar intimacy" that elites and plebeians in the Puerto Rican rural scene became as a result of population growth and development of commercial agriculture, the more tension was generated between the negative and positive constructions of "the native," irremediably associated with country folk by at least the 1770s.

Nothing better illustrates this emergence of multilayered and ambiguous social identities than Fray Inigo Abbad y Lasierra's equivocations on how to represent Puerto Rican culture in the 1770s. Abbad is the author of Puerto Rico's first general history. In this magnificent chronicle of life on the island, one finds an irreparable conflict between two modes of conceiving island natives and the material and symbolic artifacts that made them distinctive. In one portion of Abbad's work, for example, the people of Puerto Rico are seen as a diverse bunch, made up of distinct

<sup>70</sup> Gerald Sider, "When Parrots Learn to Talk, and Why They Can't: Domination, Deception, and Self-Deception in Indian-White Relations," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (1987): 11.

<sup>71</sup> The term "pact of domination," which comes originally from Nicos Poulantzas (*State, Power, and Socialism* [London, 1978]), has recently been recast into a theory of "hegemonic processes" by Florencia E. Mallon, in *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 6–12. For a highly compatible view of the operation of hegemonic processes in the constitution of cultural "middle grounds," see Néstor García Canclini, *Transforming Modernity: Popular Culture in Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1993). He argues, "The ambiguous strategy of the dominant classes toward subordinate cultures can be explained by this twofold movement: a desire to impose their economic and cultural models on subordinate cultures and, at the same time, to appropriate that which they cannot destroy or bring under their control" (p. 171).



socio-racial "types": the standard groups of American-born whites, mulattoes, free blacks, and slaves. But in the next section, they are represented as bearers of a peculiar culture whose "customs" and "habits," eminently peasant-like and adapted to rural life, shaped a coherent and seamless whole.<sup>72</sup> I contend that the ambiguities that crisscrossed Puerto Rican social identities in the 1770s constituted the cultural material on which the peninsular-born Benedictine rested these two very different standards or paradigms of social representation. By one of these yardsticks, he could talk of a richly hued kaleidoscope of social and racial differences; this was, for lack of a better term, the "traditional" way of depicting the social body in Spanish colonial, multi-racial societies. It was particularly "traditional" in the highly regimented, corporatist context of city life. By another yardstick, however, he rendered "the inhabitants"—the natives, now all lumped together into a single category of "creole"—as a people who possessed the Indians' indolence, frugality, disinterest, and hospitality, lived in huts, slept in hammocks, ate plantains from their own gardens, scavenged for land crabs, went barefoot, married young (often with people darker than themselves), and rode horseback with gusto and verve—in other words, a people whose defining traits were inextricably bound with the itinerant, troublesome peasants who had been called *jíbaros* for some time now.<sup>73</sup> Clearly, this latter model of a unique, comprehensive creole culture that could be best defined (or chose to define itself?) by the lifestyle of rural subalterns was the one struggling to be born in the Puerto Rico of the 1770s.<sup>74</sup>

Abbad's narrative of the Puerto Rican-as-peasant permits a more nuanced analysis of how social identities were deployed and contested in the rapidly changing world of late eighteenth-century Puerto Rico. His constant allusions to a latent social disorder, menacingly announced by the peasants' restlessness and semi-nomadic existence, suggest a perspective on identity formation in this milieu that adds further complexity to the elite's problematic first embrace, or precocious incorporation, of the subaltern Other.<sup>75</sup> The coexistence of two almost contradictory meanings of *jibaridad* did not hinge only on the tension between bonding and exclusion that typifies social relations of production, nor on the patricians' admiration for their subalterns' bravery in battle. It also grew out of their

<sup>72</sup> See Abbad, *Historia*, chaps. 30 and 31.

<sup>73</sup> Abbad's vacillation is of interest not only for what it says about an emerging conception of Puerto Rican society but because it is symptomatic of the tension in eighteenth-century European historical narratives, between a Thomist or corporatist view of society and a growing proto-national, liberal, homogenized view of "the people." Many late eighteenth-century chroniclers of Spain and Latin America were caught between these two conceptions. On the resonances of Thomist thought in colonial Latin American political and social theory, see Richard M. Morse, "Claims of Political Tradition," in *New World Soundings*, 95–130. On the emergence of a national history in eighteenth-century Spain, see Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1958).

<sup>74</sup> The analysis pursued here resonates with Edward Brathwaite's conception of late eighteenth-century Jamaica as a place where, out of the tension-ridden but creative interaction of masters and slaves, Europeans and Africans, a creole culture was gradually being created. See Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (Oxford, 1971).

<sup>75</sup> In his description of the island and its towns, Abbad constantly refers to the need for land reform, which will allow peasants who are currently landless to put down roots and become productive citizens. His advocacy of land reform is couched in a discourse of social control: land redistribution will prevent the landless from endlessly moving from one place to another and will thwart crime. See Abbad, *Historia*, 154; also his *Viage a la América*, facsimile reproduction in *Boletín de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia* 5 (1977): 23–206.

knowledge—and fear—of the peasants' ability to step up their challenge to the forces of agrarian capitalism, which were beginning to turn Puerto Rico into a significant exporter of coffee, sugar, and tobacco. The experience of the later 1700s had underscored for creole landowners how difficult it would be to harness the peasants' labor in the new export-oriented estates.<sup>76</sup> For, as I have already noted, rather than submitting to the rigors of a new labor regimen, the peasants practiced what Michael Adas has called "avoidance protest," that is, flight and sectarian withdrawal as a means to escape the imposition of labor discipline.<sup>77</sup> As the forces of agricultural capitalism descended upon him, Puerto Rico's "wild man" defended himself as best he could with the tools of everyday resistance: foot-dragging, dissimulation, evasive maneuvers of various kinds, irregular work attendance, and many others.<sup>78</sup>

From the observation that in the late 1700s peasants increasingly found themselves resisting attempts to harness their labor and curtail their itinerance, certain implications might reasonably follow for understanding the identity dialectic. One that I wish to underscore concerns how class tensions, born of the social relations of production, helped crystallize a common language of identity between elites and plebeians. As the tug of war over labor discipline intensified, the peasants may have conflictively assumed, in a partial and confrontational manner, a subaltern version of the *jíbaro* identity imposed on them by the powerful as part of the process of domination.<sup>79</sup> Regrettably, though, this point must remain a hypothesis for now. I have yet to unearth enough solid evidence to assess whether, in the second half of the eighteenth century, rural folk began assuming for themselves the *jíbaro* identity that the more powerful initially hurled at them "in brutality and contempt." For now, the analysis must rely, in large measure, on a conceptualization of how a dialectic of power and contestation helps to congeal ethnic boundaries; it cannot yet be supported by a reasoned sifting of primary documents. At this point, the best support that I can marshal of plebeian sensibilities and attitudes toward the powerful are stories and poems from the peasant oral tradition that scholars believe originated in the eighteenth century.

In trying to determine whether Puerto Rico's late eighteenth-century peasants came to consider themselves *jíbaros*, not, perhaps, as the wild men perceived by their dominators but as principled transgressors of rules they deemed unjust, one must first look to the comparative and conceptual literature. An especially suggestive framework for the case at hand comes from scholars associated with

<sup>76</sup> Scarano, "Congregate and Control."

<sup>77</sup> Michael Adas, "From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Colonial Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23 (1981): 217–47. See also Adas, "From Footdragging to Flight: The Evasive History of Peasant Avoidance Protest in South and Southeast Asia," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 13 (1986): 64–86.

<sup>78</sup> I draw this insight from the growing literature on "everyday" forms of peasant resistance, which is singularly associated with the work of James C. Scott. See especially *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn., 1985); and "Protest and Profanation: Agrarian Revolt and the Little Tradition," *Theory and Society* 4 (1979): 1–38.

<sup>79</sup> Among historians of Puerto Rico, Fernando Picó has come closest to exploring the mentality of rural Puerto Ricans at the time of the launching of export agriculture, in the late 1700s and the first half of the 1800s. See especially *Vivir en Caimito*, the essays in *Al filo del poder*, and his seminal work on unappropriated smallholders in the coffee highlands of the mid-nineteenth century, *Libertad y servidumbre en el Puerto Rico del siglo XIX (propietarios y jornaleros)* (Río Piedras, 1976).

*Subaltern Studies*, a journal dedicated to South Asian history. Contributors to this journal creatively mesh Antonio Gramsci, Karl Marx, Michel Foucault, and cultural studies into a singular approach to popular culture and popular—especially peasant—movements.<sup>80</sup>

Entertaining the problem of how Indian peasants' identities coalesced and intersected with class consciousness, Ranajit Guha, one of the leading members of the Subaltern Studies Group, reminds us of the manner in which peasants appropriate their dominators' notions and images, deploying them as tools of opposition and struggle:

[It] is not by insurgency alone that the peasant comes to know himself. In colonial India a sense of identity was imposed on him by those who had power over him by virtue of their class, caste and official standing. It was they who made him aware of his place in society as a measure of his distance from themselves—a distance expressed in differentials of wealth, status and culture. His identity amounted to the sum of his subalternity. In other words, he learnt to recognize himself not by the properties and attributes of his own social being but by a diminution, if not negation, of those of his superiors.<sup>81</sup>

The key here is the proposition that subaltern identities often are cast from the same ideological material that the dominant and powerful use to ridicule and belittle, condemn and oppress. Because, as Sider has put it, domination is an ambiguous process, a form of creating distance, of othering, and at the same time of creating intimacy or bonding. Thus it has in its power the capacity to shape meaningful, core subjectivities. Ethnic and cultural boundaries are often shaped or congealed as a result of domination, but the consciousness of those inside such boundaries does not just mirror the dominant ideology, even though it may parallel it. On the contrary, subalterns learn to deploy the dominant's notions about themselves insofar as these notions help them resist the operation of power, while avoiding the impression that they are frontally resisting.<sup>82</sup>

It is useful to frame in this manner a wealth of evidence from Puerto Rico's folk traditions that suggests a purposefully equivocal use of the preconceptions of the powerful in order to express subaltern resistance. I am referring to rural peoples' use of the term *jíbaro*, or the ideological constructs associated with it, to signify a person who, while appearing to be dumb, docile, and self-deprecating, actually possesses a higher wisdom, one that is potentially morally superior—though not necessarily so.<sup>83</sup> In an unpublished study of the self-image of popular actors contained in Puerto Rico's oral traditions of stories, riddles, and songs, Lillian Guerra concludes that these orally transmitted forms evince an unmistakable

<sup>80</sup> See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies* 4 (Delhi, 1985), 364–76. For a thoughtful summary and critique of the relevance of the Subaltern Studies paradigm to Latin American history, see Florencia E. Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1491–1515.

<sup>81</sup> Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi, 1983), 18.

<sup>82</sup> Thus one is likely to locate expressions of such consciousness and identity in what James C. Scott has called the "hidden transcript" of popular contestation and resistance. See especially Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990).

<sup>83</sup> The popular refrain "El jíbaro sabe más que el diablo" (the *jíbaro* knows more than the devil) suggests one view of the peasant's wisdom that borders on a higher form of evil rather than good. In outwitting the devil, does the *jíbaro* not become a devil himself?



anti-establishment, even revolutionary, slant.<sup>84</sup> This characteristic, however, is almost always disguised in apparent submission to the powerful. Guerra analyzes a rich repository of oral literature and song, one that has always impressed scholars with its highly political, socially critical disposition.<sup>85</sup> Most of this material was assembled in 1914–1915 by J. Alden Mason of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. Commissioned by the New York Academy of Sciences to survey Puerto Rican folklore, Mason collected, mostly from schoolchildren whose parents were illiterate, a very large assortment of stories, carols, *décimas*, and riddles. The riddles alone—800 in 1,288 variants—represent one of the largest Spanish-American collections of its kind.<sup>86</sup>

In reading this mass of folklore for its social messages, Guerra uncovers a rich lode of class tensions that runs across a vast portion of island oral tradition. Employing James C. Scott's suggestion on how to read folk culture for evidence of a "hidden transcript" of resistance, she concludes that "the Puerto Rican case is one of many popular cultures in which [the] phenomenon of 'symbolic inversion' and 'world-upside-down-prints' figures prominently."<sup>87</sup> In much of Puerto Rico's folk tradition, the poor and maligned ultimately triumph over the rich and powerful. Such morally correct reversal operates, for example, throughout the numerous folk stories that feature Juan Bobo, a peasant child believed to be witless and idiotic but who invariably demonstrates a superior wisdom, especially in the presence of the more powerful.

The Juan Bobo stories are part of a "trickster-tale" genre that, in the face of a sharp power differential, often appears as a cultural production of the oppressed: slaves, peasants, and the like.<sup>88</sup> As Scott has suggested for the genre as a whole, trickster tales reveal the subalterns' deployment of a powerful counter-narrative to the masters' ascriptions of the subalterns as stupid, lazy, and even subhuman.<sup>89</sup> Puerto Rican trickster tales do not stray far from this general description. "No matter how insurmountable the challenge," Guerra writes of the usual Juan Bobo story line,

Juan always seems to manage ending up on top. While some of the stories are meant for their pure entertainment value and hold no discernible social message, a great many distinguish themselves for the anti-establishment forms of rebellion which they endorse. Some simply poke fun at accepted social mores while others personally ridicule the pomposity characteristic of representatives of elite institutions. In one story, for example, Juan inadvertently offends a priest in church after mistaking him for his brother. In another

<sup>84</sup> Guerra, "Understanding Self, Community, and Nation," 121–76.

<sup>85</sup> Students of island folklore have often noted how *décimas* and other popular expressions have served as vehicles for social commentary and criticism. See Escabí and Escabí, *La décima*.

<sup>86</sup> Mason, "Porto-Rican Folklore."

<sup>87</sup> Guerra, "Understanding Self, Community, and Nation," 114, quoted by permission.

<sup>88</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 162–66. It is important to note that historians of literature date the emergence of these stories from the eighteenth century. See Francisco Manrique Cabrera, *Historia de la literatura puertorriqueña* (Río Piedras, 1969), 62.

<sup>89</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 162–66. For other interpretations of trickster tales as weapons of resistance, see John W. Roberts, *From Trickster to Badman: The Black Folk Hero in Slavery and Freedom* (Philadelphia, 1989); and Ropo Sekoni, *Folk Poetics: A Sociosemiotic Study of Yoruba Trickster Tales* (Westport, Conn., 1994).

story, Juan follows the town mayor's advice to kill flies wherever he should see them, [and ends up] swatting one dead right on the mayor's baldspot.<sup>90</sup>

Few of these Juan Bobo stories refer to *jíbaro* qualities as such. One should perhaps not expect such direct allusions to one of the elites' most potent tools of domination. Yet scholars have always thought that the essential references in the Juan Bobo stories are just those qualities of obtuseness and hard-headedness that figure prominently in the ideological constructions of primordial *jibaridad*, besides wildness, transience, and happy-go-lucky mindlessness.<sup>91</sup>

THE PRECEDING ACCOUNT of how Puerto Rican elites constructed a *jíbaro* Other while entangling it in ambiguous or contradictory meanings, and the suggestion that, even before the end of the independence era, peasants themselves may have pieced together an identity that intersected dialectically and creatively with this multi-layered elite construct, allows a view of the newspaper cases of *jíbaro* masquerading from the 1810s and 1820s in a different light. This concluding section is a sketch of a political interpretation of these acts as instances in the construction of ethnic boundaries and a proto-national identity predicated on the meanings and idioms fashioned during the preceding six or seven decades. The essential issue to grapple with is, as I have already suggested, the political context of the masquerade: the conditions that pushed liberal creoles to impersonate *jíbaros*, to show off their command of their vernacular, and to appeal to the higher moral authority of peasant values.

In the rapidly changing conditions of this strategically important colony, so dangerously close to the turbulent Haiti—the first black republic in the world and a free nation built by former slaves—the essential political fact of the 1810s and early 1820s was the liberal creoles' understandable apprehension of following the Venezuelans' lead in a rebellion against Spain. As in the sister colony of Cuba, the maintenance of social order at a time of growing export agriculture and a booming slave trade was a paramount concern of Puerto Rican elites, regardless of political philosophy. A fast-increasing slave, free black, and *pardo* population;<sup>92</sup> a heavy influx of political refugees from Haiti, Venezuela, and other Spanish-American colonies perturbed by the independence rebellion;<sup>93</sup> and stepped-up immigration of capitalists and skilled workers (of the latter, many of African ancestry) intent on promoting or servicing an expanding plantation complex—all of these coexistent conditions made the liberal elite quite wary of armed rebellion.<sup>94</sup> Such wariness compelled liberals to seek an accommodation with the metropole and maintain the

<sup>90</sup> Guerra, "Understanding Self, Community, and Nation," 127–28, quoted by permission.

<sup>91</sup> José Ramírez Rivera, comp., *Los cuentos de Juan Bobo* (Mayagüez, 1979); and María Cadilla de Martínez, *Raíces de la tierra (colección de cuentos populares y tradicionales)* (Arecibo, 1941).

<sup>92</sup> For a review of economic and population changes in this period, see Francisco A. Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery in Puerto Rico: The Plantation Economy of Ponce, 1800–1850* (Madison, Wis., 1984), chap. 1.

<sup>93</sup> Ivette Pérez Vega, "El efecto económico, social y político de la emigración de Venezuela en el sur de Puerto Rico (Ponce), 1810–1830," *Revista de Indias* 47, no. 181 (1987): 869–85.

<sup>94</sup> There were several independence-minded conspiracies in this period, but they did not amount to much. See, for example, Francisco Morales Padrón, "Primer intento de independencia puertorriqueña," *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 48 (1970): 16–26. See a fuller treatment of the

broad outlines of the colonial pact. Fear of slave insurrection, the destruction of property, disrupted maritime commerce, and an ominous "Africanization" of the population sealed their allegiance to Spanish sovereignty.<sup>95</sup>

These fears notwithstanding, liberals were not about to sacrifice, *quid pro quo*, a host of anxiously awaited reforms: expanded trade freedoms and lower tariffs, a civil administration meaningfully constrained by an elective legislature, the curtailment of church power and the abolition of the ecclesiastical tithe, greater civil liberties, of which freedom of speech was paramount, broadened municipal prerogatives, and representation in the Spanish Cortes equal to that of peninsular dominions, among others.<sup>96</sup> In both the Puerto Rican and Cuban cases, liberal politics during the independence era hinged on the search for a precarious balance between a forceful condemnation of absolutism's "evils" and an emphatic endorsement of Spanish sovereignty.<sup>97</sup> Liberals became adept at a balancing game that required them to appear to conform to a royal authority largely delegitimized by events in both the Peninsula and Spanish America, while at the same time pushing for the overhaul of key portions of the colonial pact.

In pursuing an equilibrium between conformity and reform, the liberals played an intricate game of "reading," anticipating, criticizing, and deflecting a metropolitan reaction that, in the face of the colonies' cry for independence or even autonomy, displayed remarkable uniformity of opinion, despite the cleavages that separated constitutionalists from monarchists and liberals from conservatives.<sup>98</sup> The creole liberals' initiation into the world of competitive politics put them in a position of subalternity—a position that paralleled the peasants' and slaves' posture vis-à-vis

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nineteenth-century independence movement in Juan Angel Silén, *Historia de la nación puertorriqueña* (Río Piedras, 1973).

<sup>95</sup> A thinly veiled message contained in an anonymous letter to *El investigador*, no. 11 (July 24, 1820): 186, under the title "Concluya [*sic*] el artículo del viejo español," underscores this fear and the propaganda uses for which it could be deployed. After an overview of the bad results of the independence wars in Venezuela, the author concluded that "Puerto Ricans need not be reminded of the dire end which the leaders or heads of the Venezuelan revolution have met, which proves that no one who stirs up popular commotions, in hopes of climbing to the top *while altering [society's] structure*, has ever enjoyed the fruits of his reproachable projects" (emphasis added). On the racial component of the upper classes' fear, see J. L. González, "El país de cuatro pisos," in *El país*.

<sup>96</sup> The best study of politics in this period is still Isabel Gutiérrez del Arroyo, *El reformismo ilustrado en Puerto Rico* (Mexico City, 1953). The liberal ideology may be gleaned from the *instrucciones* that in 1809 the island's five municipal councils gave to Ramón Power y Giralt, the colony's elected representative to the Spanish Cortes. The four known *instrucciones* are reproduced in Aída R. Caro de Delgado, comp., *Ramón Power y Giralt: Diputado puertorriqueño a las Cortes Generales y Extraordinarias de España, 1810–1812* (San Juan, 1969), 71–128; Cruz Monclova discusses their liberal tenor in *Historia*, 1: 24–28. For an analysis of the life and works of José de Andino, a leading creole liberal, journalist, and economist, see Luis E. González Vales, "José de Andino, economista puertorriqueño del siglo XIX," in *Alejandro Ramírez y su tiempo*, 79–144.

<sup>97</sup> On the social bases of Cuban loyalty, see especially Roberto Mesa, *El colonialismo en la crisis del XIX español: Esclavitud y trabajo libre en Cuba*, 2d edn. (1967; Madrid, 1990); and Franklin W. Knight, *Spanish American Creole Society in Cuba (1750–1840) and the Rise of American Nationalism* (Austin, Tex., 1988). For a more nuanced view of Cuban reluctance to pursue independence, see Pablo Tornero, "La reacción del 'poder' cubano ante el fenómeno liberal en España y América, 1790–1814," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 26 (1989): 137–56.

<sup>98</sup> Michael Costeloe has lucidly shown that the independence struggle in Spanish America prompted a uniform reaction across the Spanish political spectrum; see Costeloe, *Response to Revolution: Imperial Spain and the Spanish American Revolutions, 1810–1840* (New York, 1986), 6–11. For a similar view, see Edmundo A. Heredia, *Planes españoles para reconquistar Hispanoamérica (1810–1818)* (Cordoba, 1974).



their social superiors in the open-range ranches (*hatos*), *estancias*, and haciendas of the rural landscape. The colonial liberals' task was further complicated by contingencies beyond their control. One of these was the enduring economic and social prominence of colonial royalists and archconservatives, who wielded power on both sides of the Atlantic disproportionate to the number of votes that their side could marshal in colonial elections. Another was the fact that in Spain, as in the colony, the constitutional regimen did not translate into the wholesale replacement of "royalist" by "constitutionalist" high officials. In spite of the formal institutional changes ushered in by the 1812 constitution, the reenactment of a constitutional government in 1820 did not fundamentally change the colonies' high administrative offices or the identities of those who filled them.<sup>99</sup> That is why in Puerto Rico, a strategically important colony much coveted for its role in the counter-revolutionary campaigns in the insurgent South American colonies, the despised Salvador Meléndez remained as governor and captain-general from 1809 to 1820, through all the administrative and constitutional changes of a convulsed decade.

But perhaps no other factor in the power equation was more disturbing from the standpoint of the creole liberals—and more significant for understanding the political impulse behind the *jíbaro* masquerade—than the shifting ethnic composition of the elite itself. The second decade of the nineteenth century witnessed demographic and social changes that threatened to reduce the creoles' economic, social, and political standing and influence. Under the impact of heightened immigration of Europeans, West Indians,<sup>100</sup> and South American royalists, the elite became increasingly foreign in its composition. For several decades prior to 1810, immigrants and exiles had been arriving in Puerto Rico in significant numbers. They had come from the metropole, from the convulsed Haiti and Santo Domingo just across the Mona Channel to the west, and from other foreign colonies.<sup>101</sup> After 1815, however, the trickle of foreign immigration became a flood. In that year, the *Cédula de Gracias*, a decree that struck down old restrictions on trade with foreigners and on slave imports, also provided numerous incentives for colonists with capital or skills. Many began to arrive immediately, and by 1820 sizable contingents of French, English, Germans, Italians, North Americans, and a variety of other nationalities existed in Puerto Rico.<sup>102</sup> At about the same time, Venezuelan

<sup>99</sup> Costeloe, *Response to Revolution*, 16–17. In "Notability and Revolution: Social Origins of the Political Elite in Liberal Spain, 1800 to 1853," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36 (1994): 97–121, Jesús Cruz argues for an understanding of Spanish politics in this period as a struggle between different elite factions, not a "bourgeois revolution" as many others have held. His study of the uniform social origins of ministers in the first half of the nineteenth century, despite oscillations between liberal and conservative regimes, helps frame the continuity observed between Ferdinand VII's unfettered reign in 1814–1820 and the ensuing constitutional period.

<sup>100</sup> The term "West Indian" refers here to native-born émigrés from other Caribbean islands, many of whom were of partial or full African descent.

<sup>101</sup> For the pre-1800 immigration, see Arturo Morales Carrión, *Puerto Rico and the Non-Hispanic Caribbean: A Study in the Decline of Spanish Exclusivism* (1952; 2d edn., Río Piedras, 1971); Ursula Acosta, "Notas sobre la inmigración germánica a Puerto Rico a principios del siglo XIX," *Revista de historia* 1 (1985): 139–45; María Dolores Luque de Sánchez, "Con pasaporte francés en el Puerto Rico del siglo XIX (1778–1850)," *Op. Cit.*, *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas* 3 (1987–88): 95–122; and José Morales, "The Hispaniola Diaspora, 1791–1850: Puerto Rico, Cuba, Louisiana, and Other Host Societies" (PhD dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1986).

<sup>102</sup> Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery*, chap. 5; Rosa Marazzi, "El impacto de la inmigración a Puerto Rico, 1800–1830," *Revista de ciencias sociales* 18 (1974): 1–44; and Jorge L. Chinae, "Racial Politics and

royalists, fearing reprisals from the conquering insurgents, began to take refuge in the still-tranquil Caribbean colonies. The number who were exiled in Puerto Rico is not known, but it is believed to have been large.<sup>103</sup> This stream of exiles altered the ethnic composition of the elite—especially of the voting minority—as it heightened the political contest between liberals and conservatives. The latter were boosted by the royalists' arrival. But for the liberals, who in 1820 or 1822 could rejoice over the newly recovered constitutional liberties, the arrival of Venezuelans and other foreigners signaled the threat that, at the very moment of their likely political ordination, power and social prominence would be unceremoniously wrested from them.

As the second constitutional interregnum began in 1820, therefore, Puerto Rico's liberal creoles counted many fewer reasons to rejoice than in 1812, at the beginning of the first. Now they were being squeezed socially and politically by drastically changed local and global circumstances. The very composition of insular society and its fundamental power relations were being transformed by the emergence of sugar plantation agriculture, a stepped-up slave trade, and heightened immigration of privileged whites and of a less privileged but more numerous group of free people of African descent. The promises of civil guarantees and political enfranchisement now rang much hollower than eight years before, when there had been every expectation that the king would permanently heed the constitution and that the colonial administration would be liberalized for good, with a new breed of functionaries placed at the helm. In 1820, by contrast, the liberals could sense the uncertainty amid the euphoria. Creoles would now have to compete for political power with recently arrived royalist émigrés. They might be edged out of their preeminent social position by these same royalists and by the less numerous but potentially more powerful foreign immigrants with capital and plantation experience, whose main purpose in taking up residence in Puerto Rico was the establishment of sugar and coffee plantations operated with slaves. Along with local slaveowners of importance, these foreign immigrants-turned-planters comprised, in the creole liberals' eyes, a threatening slaveowning faction (*bando esclavista*), whose idea of the good society resembled prosperous but tension-ridden Santo Domingo before its revolution of 1791.<sup>104</sup> This was far from the model society to which the creole liberals aspired.

It is not surprising, therefore, that amid this complicated set of circumstances

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Commercial Agriculture: West Indian Immigration in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico," ms. based on PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1994. After a thorough search of archival sources on immigration, Chinea estimates that about 5,400 foreign heads of family arrived in Puerto Rico between 1800 and 1850. This number does not include Spaniards, or persons originating in other Spanish colonies, or African slaves.

<sup>103</sup> Pérez Vega, "El efecto económico," *passim*.

<sup>104</sup> The designation of certain members of the landowning class as the "slaveholding group" underscores the existence of a debate within this class concerning the desirability of plantation slavery. Already in 1809, the liberal San Juan councilman Pedro Yrisarri had sounded the alarm over the perils of slavery, preferring instead a labor regimen that would discipline peasants into rigorous and constant work. See Yrisarri, "Informe dado por el Alcalde Pedro Yrisarri al Ayuntamiento de la Capital," in Caro de Delgado, *Ramón Power y Giral*, 45–70. Sidney Mintz correctly interprets Yrisarri's discourse on slavery and free labor as an early antecedent of the forced labor laws enacted in ensuing years. Mintz, "Slavery and Forced Labor in Puerto Rico," *Caribbean Transformations*, 82–94.

some liberals felt compelled to express a special form of communion with the peasant majority. In donning the *jíbaro* mask, they sought to safeguard their moment of political triumph. The assumption of a *jíbaro* identity to express support for the constitution and for progressive measures like the separation of the top civil and military offices signaled the creoles' identification of their liberal political project with a distinctive ethnicity. The masquerade grounded this project in a uniquely Puerto Rican set of claims and sensibilities, pertaining to what the journalist José de Andino believed to be the 97 percent of the population for whom the island was the country of birth, the *patria chica*.<sup>105</sup> Or, put another way, the liberals' identity trope allowed them to claim that theirs was the truest, most representative, and most inclusive of the projects in contention. Significantly, by resorting to the symbolic reversal of identities with rural plebeians—a literary version of the by now customary expression of *communitas* in carnivals and other festivities—elite creoles could stake out such high political ground without having to resort to a radically democratic formulation of the people's rights.<sup>106</sup> Such an interpretation of the constitution had to be avoided at all costs, especially at a time when the society's racial and class rifts were being thrown open by the rise of plantation slavery and by immigration.

The political messages contained in The Patient *Jíbaro*'s letter and in the three 1820–1822 poems of the *jíbaro* masquerade lay for the most part on the texts' surface, despite the difficulty that some readers initially experienced with Cabrera's verses. From a vantage point nearly two centuries later, it is easy to see in them a means to express opposition to the arbitrariness of the colonial administration and, in one way or another, to indicate support for the constitutional regimen. But these texts contained less transparent messages as well, expressive of the politics of subalternity practiced by both peasants and some of their social superiors. Such messages lie discreetly in the authors' accurate ("ethnographic") representation of certain aspects of peasant culture, two of which seem especially meaningful: the deft reproduction of the *jíbaro* dialect—transgressive of honored Castilian language codes but full of wit and inventiveness—and of the forms of everyday resistance of rural plebeians, who in face-to-face contact with social superiors treated them with measured suspicion, concealing from them, whenever possible, their real motives and thoughts.<sup>107</sup> In a symbolic reversal of identities reminiscent of carnival masquerades, Miguel Cabrera and the anonymous writers of the *Diario liberal y de variedades*, while representing the peasants' transgressive cultural forms and their modes of everyday resistance vis-à-vis the more powerful, consciously assumed an equivalent condition of subalternity in relation to colonial authorities and the partisans of absolute monarchy.

In this sense, in the 1810s and 1820s, the *jíbaro* mask allowed educated creoles to qualify their oppositional politics. Theirs was a principled resistance, to be sure, but one that did not threaten the essential equations of the colonial order. In resorting

<sup>105</sup> José de Andino to the Diputación Provincial, November 29, 1820, in González Vales, *Alejandro Ramírez y su tiempo*, 114–27.

<sup>106</sup> The ridiculing of such a radical understanding of the constitutional order in Cabrera's 1820 *Jíbaro* verses indicates that the masquerade could be used to impugn the most extreme interpretation of liberal constitutionalism.

<sup>107</sup> Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, *passim*.



to the peasant disguise, writers sought to safeguard and perhaps maximize certain advantages of their condition, without upsetting existing hierarchies. They made clear that theirs was not a frontal or destructive attack on the colonial system. Rather, in the manner of the peasants whose social symbolism had been progressively layered and centered in Puerto Rico during the eighteenth century, the masquerading creoles sought specific advantages without engaging in a revolutionary challenge of the existing order. In so doing, they unwittingly launched a key metaphor of Puerto Rican identity.

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## Old South Time in Comparative Perspective

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MARK M. SMITH

THE AGES OF REVOLUTION AND CAPITAL wrought some critical and lasting changes in the way people perceived and used time. The eighteenth century animated a latent, originally medieval concern about time with its rationalization, saving, and ordering. This appreciation of time, wrapped in the swaddling of the Protestant work ethic, proved an ideal inheritance for nineteenth-century capitalists, who reconstituted it by equating time with labor.<sup>1</sup> These agents of a modern, capitalist time consciousness were also successful in transmitting their valuation of time when venturing abroad. From Australia to Natal to the American North, eighteenth and nineteenth-century urban industrial workers found their assumptions about the nature of time challenged and ultimately displaced by a Protestant-inspired and capital-consolidated consciousness of the clock. By the turn of the twentieth century, few workers and still fewer managers could be found operating exclusively on naturally defined or task-oriented time. In a very real sense, then, the spread of a rationalized and commodified time consciousness had witnessed and simultaneously helped promote the modernization of Western capitalism and the proletarianization of its workers.<sup>2</sup>

For a variety of reasons, but mainly because they have seldom considered the question of time consciousness, historians of the American slave South have suggested that antebellum masters and bondpeople, caught as they were in the webs of seasonal agriculture and non-wage economic and social relations, were necessarily peripheral to the emergence of clock time.<sup>3</sup> But viewed and evaluated in

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<sup>1</sup> Characteristically, E. P. Thompson put it more elegantly: "Puritanism in its marriage of convenience with industrial capitalism was the agent which converted men to new valuations of time; ... which saturated men's minds with the equation, time is money." See Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967): 95. For some useful observations on Western time, its cultural dimension, and the language observers have used to explore its global impact, see Shingo Shimada, "Social Time and Modernity in Japan: An Exploration of Concepts and a Cultural Comparison," *Time and Society* 4 (June 1995): 251–60.

<sup>2</sup> See Dan Thu Nguyen, "The Spatialization of Metric Time: The Conquest of Land and Labour in Europe and the United States," *Time and Society* 1 (February 1992): 29–50.

<sup>3</sup> For a critique of clock time in southern historiography, see Mark M. Smith, "Time, Slavery and

comparative perspective, it seems that rather than constituting a place on the edge of modern time consciousness, the post-1830 slave South was very much in and of it. In fact, the Old South, though a society nurtured in nature's womb, was possibly more clock conscious than many nineteenth-century free wage labor industrial societies. This possibility has eluded not only historians of the Old South but also those committed to the historical study of time generally. With few exceptions, historical analyses of time consciousness have concentrated on the evolution of clock consciousness and time discipline in wage-labor, urban-industrial, conventionally capitalist societies. Even on those occasions when historians of slave societies have ventured to consider the relationship between clock consciousness and slavery, they have done so by borrowing a conceptual lens from historians who have examined the emergence of time discipline under industrial, free wage labor capitalism.<sup>4</sup>

Drawing on a growing and relatively recent historical literature, this essay questions the importance of free wage labor industrial capitalism in promoting a modern time consciousness. It compares the evolution of clock consciousness in the American antebellum South, a society that was neither industrial nor capitalist in the free wage labor sense, to the emergence of time discipline in more typically capitalist societies, where industrialism and free wage labor particularly are seen as important agents in inaugurating and cementing a modern consciousness of the clock. This article argues that southern slaveholders were motivated by forces both similar to and distinct from those that propelled British, North American, Australian, and South African capitalist managers toward the use of clock time and suggests that American slaves, as much as industrial-urban wage laborers, were forced to acquiesce to clock-regulated plantation labor. These findings have some important implications not only for our understanding of the Old South's mode of production but also for a historical appreciation of the relationship between capitalism and time consciousness generally.

AS MOST HISTORIANS of time consciousness have recognized, the way a society perceives and uses time is mediated both through its dominant cultural values and,

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Plantation Capitalism in the Ante-Bellum American South," *Past and Present* 150 (February 1996): esp. 142–44; Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery, and Freedom in the American South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., forthcoming 1997). Eugene D. Genovese uses the supposed failure of slaveholders to inculcate a respect for clock time among antebellum slaves to bolster his larger thesis concerning the non-capitalist nature of the region. See Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974; New York, 1976), 286, 309. Claims that eighteenth-century Virginians, black and white, eschewed a clock-oriented time consciousness are nearer the mark, although these findings should not be taken as representative for the antebellum period. See Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 15–64; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), 77–78, 84–85. Also see David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1989), 1: 158–66, 368–73, 560–66, 743–47.

<sup>4</sup> Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, and Sobel, *World They Made Together*, examine clock consciousness under slavery but do so through Thompson's free wage labor lens. On this, see M. Smith, "Time, Slavery and Plantation Capitalism," 144 n. 2.



simultaneously, the prevailing mode of production.<sup>5</sup> Yet, it seems fair to say, because historians have for the most part examined the emergence of clock consciousness in free wage labor, industrializing societies, they have tended, if only tacitly, to emphasize the importance of the economic and industrial aspects of the capitalist mode of production in shaping and promoting clock consciousness. Theorist Barbara Adam has suggested that a more helpful formulation may be to keep an open mind about the relative influence and function of culture as well as economic imperatives and industrialization in shaping clock consciousness. As Adam has recently reminded us, Max Weber's emphasis on the culture of "time-thrift" as an integral component of the Protestant ethic, on the rationality and efficiency of time's use, may be profitably combined with Karl Marx's views on the commodification of clock time, specifically his belief in the use of the clock as a tool for economic exploitation and the social control of workers, to suggest that temporal constructs find their locus in a variety of economic, social, and cultural relations. Viewed from this perspective, the way that time is used under the capitalist mode of production is not necessarily limited to the strict and necessarily confining notion of time's commodification under free wage labor. Time is a commodity, but capitalism's time may also laud the civic, personal, and essentially cultural virtues of time-thrift, punctuality, and the husbanding of time irrespective of prevailing economic relations, which may or may not be exclusively wage labor.<sup>6</sup>

The success of Western capitalism in transmitting time discipline to its colonial outposts was due to its two-pronged nature: Western capitalism emphasized the intellectual and cultural legitimacy of rational, orderly time and the economic necessity and logic of work time.<sup>7</sup> According to Adam, "all work relations touched by clock time are tied up with hegemony and power." A varied body of work suggests there are times "that are constituted as the shadows of the time economy of employment relations, times not calculable in monetary terms yet evaluated through the mediating filter of both the rationalized time of the Protestant ethic and the commodified time of the market."<sup>8</sup> Non-free labor modes of production and non-wage-based economic and social relations, like those prevailing under

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline," 95; Nguyen, "Spatialization of Metric Time," 35, 41-45.

<sup>6</sup> Barbara Adam, *Timewatch: The Social Analysis of Time* (Cambridge, 1995), 90-91. For an interpretation of Marx's views, see W. J. Booth, "Economies of Time: On the Idea of Time in Marx's Political Economy," *Political Theory* 19 (February 1991): 7-27.

<sup>7</sup> However, for sensible caveats against treating the "West" as monolithic and a discussion of how the very process of colonization helped reshape European identities, see Stuart Hall, "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity," in Anthony D. King, ed., *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991), 41-68.

<sup>8</sup> Adam, *Timewatch*, 94. Non-clock and natural time, then, remain important even under industrial capitalism because "[i]f we take the example of rural dairy farmers, there is no doubt that their lives are structured by the needs of the animals and the tasks at hand but they are also simultaneously under the spell and pressure of the time economy of the clock—not just when they go out but because they are embedded in a market economy organized to the principles of commodified time." According to a twentieth-century farm woman in southern Germany, for example: "Our time is primarily regulated by cows. Their need to be milked structures what we do and when we do it . . . We don't wear watches on the farm." Quoted in Adam, *Timewatch*, 87, 86. Also see Michael O'Malley, *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time* (New York, 1990), 1-54; O'Malley, "Time, Work and Task-Oriented: A Critique of American Historiography," *Time and Society* 1 (September 1992): 341-58; Tim Ingold, "Work, Time and Industry," *Time and Society* 4 (February 1995): 5-28.

antebellum southern slavery, then, could theoretically harbor and promote a modern clock consciousness, without necessarily embracing traditional capitalist wage-labor relations. In other words, a society's cultural evaluation of time may be as important as the economic imperatives of its mode of production in determining how time is to be constructed and used. If we grant that a particular mode of production stresses efficiency in work and the strict regulation of labor, but it is one that is not premised on wage labor, and if we acknowledge that this same society places a premium on clock time, then this society could, in theory, embrace a clock consciousness not appreciably different from that present under a free wage labor mode of production.<sup>9</sup>

Nor should we be misled, as Michael O'Malley has wisely counseled, into thinking that a naturally derived understanding of time (time defined by sun, moon, wind, and a host of other naturally occurring phenomena) necessarily precludes a commitment to clock time. Not only is the dichotomy false, not only is nature itself sometimes as frenetic as the clock (as humans find when planting and harvesting, for instance), but there is evidence suggesting that natural time and clock time are in many respects complementary.<sup>10</sup> Both are largely cyclical in their movements, and the regular, perpetual movements of the clock are to some extent mirrored in the rhythms of the seasons or sun. Naturally derived, task-oriented, and clock-regulated forms of time measurement, in short, coexist in any society, the most modern included.<sup>11</sup>

By the same token, neither should we assume that the mere appearance of clocks and watches determines a society's entry into clock-conscious modernity.<sup>12</sup> Al-

<sup>9</sup> As A. J. Gurevich has suggested, time, its perception, construction, and social application, is partly a function of culture and society. See Gurevich, "Time as a Problem of Cultural History," in L. Gardett, et al., eds., *Cultures and Time* (Paris, 1976), esp. 241. Stephen Innes makes a similar point in his recent work on the economic culture of Puritan New England: "In the early modern period, no less than today, work and enterprise were cultural artifacts, the signatures of a particular array of attitudes and behaviors. As Max Weber postulated, economic growth derives from psychological and cultural wellsprings as well as material endowments . . . That cultural attitudes toward work and production should play a critical role in economic development is not really that surprising." See Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York, 1995), 9–10.

<sup>10</sup> O'Malley, *Keeping Watch*, 1–54. Dale Tomich makes something like this point in his astute examination of the sugar industry in nineteenth-century Martinique and Cuba. Sugar cane, he argues, "must be harvested when it is ripe and converted into sugar as soon as it is harvested. This characteristic of sugar imparts an industrial character to plantation organization . . . Speed, continuity, and coordination are of vital importance." See Tomich, "Small Islands and Huge Comparisons: Caribbean Plantations, Historical Unevenness, and Capitalist Modernity," *Social Science History* 18 (Fall 1994): 345.

<sup>11</sup> Clearly, however, to conflate clock and natural time renders any historical analysis of the emergence of a clock-regulated society heuristically flaccid. There must be, in other words, a difference between the two. Part of that difference, I would suggest, lies in the significance attached to the clock, how it is used and for what purposes. As Norbert Elias observed, "*Clocks (and time-meters generally) human-made or not, are simply mechanical movements of a specific type, employed by people for their own ends*" (emphasis his). "[F]or their own ends" is one key for understanding the historical significance of the emergence of clock time. See Elias, *Time: An Essay*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (Oxford, 1992), 118. For an intriguing statement on postmodern time, see Gabriella Paolucci, "The Changing Dynamics of Working Time," *Time and Society* 5 (June 1996): 145–68.

<sup>12</sup> Clocks and other timekeepers may appear in a variety of societies and may be used for many pre-modern purposes, as was the case with medieval European monasteries and Sung dynasty China (960–1279). See especially David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 55–66. Also useful is Arno Borst, *The Ordering of Time: From the Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer*, Andrew Winnard, trans. (Cambridge, 1993), 42–49.

though the level of timepiece ownership in a particular society is of significance, it is the way that clocks are used, the specific economic and social functions that timepieces serve, and the particular class interests they bolster that are signally important. Clocks plainly serve different functions under different modes of production. Under modernity, the clock becomes a fetish: the clock is time itself, and clock time develops an apparent autonomy and hegemony. The dictates and needs of the capitalist mode of production ensure that the clock is used to control workers, measure labor, increase efficiency, and heighten personal time discipline in order to coordinate workers and society generally. Given these imperatives, clock and watch ownership under capitalism tends to increase considerably. Conversely, in pre-modern societies, clock time is usually bound to religion and has little secular significance or function. It follows that very few people in these societies felt the need to own mechanical timepieces, which, of course, were rare and expensive even when they did become more available.<sup>13</sup>

By these standards, the clock consciousness of nineteenth-century urban and industrial Britain, Natal, Australia, and the American North was modern. The secondary literature on these regions suggests that the evolution of clock consciousness and the proliferation of clocks and watches was a product of, and handmaiden to, the emergence of wage-labor capitalism, industrialism, urbanism, and the work ethic associated with Protestantism.<sup>14</sup> Although it probably entertained a work ethic not appreciably different from the Puritan one, the antebellum South shared few of these structural features, but it nevertheless developed an equally modern clock consciousness. The slave mode of production, in its antebellum southern configuration at least, managed to introduce a refined and potent clock consciousness to its urban and rural environs without embracing wage labor or industrialism. Similarly high levels of timepiece ownership aside, what united antebellum southern slaveowners and nineteenth-century industrial capitalists was a mutual understanding that their particular class and social (hence political) interests were in some way served and bolstered by regulating labor and behavior by the clock. Industrial

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Elias, *Time*, 117–22; and the trenchant essay by Nigel Thrift, “Owners’ Time and Own Time: The Making of a Capitalist Consciousness, 1300–1800,” in Allan Pred, ed., *Space and Time in Geography: Essays Dedicated to Torsten Hägerstrand* (Lund, 1981), 56–84.

<sup>14</sup> Here, I have chosen countries and regions that shared in the Western equation of time and, more important, those whose temporal histories have received fairly thorough treatments. To be sure, there are some useful studies on time in the East. According to T. C. Smith’s thoughtful study, the situation was very different in Tokugawa Japan (1603–1867). There, time “was not a personal possession but belonged primarily to families and, through them, to kin, neighbours and villages.” His study demonstrates that “a high economic evaluation of time need not be combined with a high degree of time-socialization. This combination in Japan not only survived the coming of the factory but became the basis of a formidable time-discipline within it. Indeed, it appears that time-thrift in the Japanese factory was not imposed unilaterally by management but as a joint creation with workers.” The Japanese case seems to be the exception rather than the rule. See T. C. Smith, “Peasant Time and Factory Time in Japan,” *Past and Present* no. 111 (May 1986): 167. However, for the twentieth century, there are some tantalizing insights on urban time and its relationship to the countryside for Republican China. See Wen-hsin Yen, “Corporate Space, Communal Time: Everyday Life in Shanghai’s Bank of China,” *AHR* 100 (February 1995): 97–122. Some highly insightful observations are in Frederick Cooper’s excellent *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven, Conn., 1977), 176–81. E. Pereira Salas’s study of colonial Chile, though pioneering, is more concerned with the emergence of “les horlogers” than with the cultural conflicts about time that might have taken place. See Salas, “L’évolution de la notion du temps et les horlogers à l’époque coloniale au Chili,” *Annales: E.S.C.* 21 (January–February 1966): 141–58.



capitalists needed the clock to coordinate and discipline nascent wage laborers; slaveowners needed the clock to satisfy their own imperatives, which, from the 1830s on, centered on acquiring the title of "modern" while retaining strict control over, and promoting efficient work practices among, a potentially volatile slave labor force. Both classes subscribed to what Gregory Clark has termed the "coercion theory" of factory discipline, in which "[d]iscipline was designed to *coerce* workers into doing more than they would have freely chosen if they had maintained control over their hours of work and work intensity."<sup>15</sup> Working slowly, horseplay, tardiness, and similar behavior deemed inappropriate to either the factory floor or plantation field could be modified by the clock in both instances. In some respects, planters were more effective than some industrial capitalists at imposing clock order on their environment. Surprisingly, the fact that the modes of production of plantation master and factory manager differed matters less than we might think, for both used the clock in remarkably similar ways and produced two classes of workers who held much in common in their understanding of, and obedience to, clock time.

BEFORE ANYONE, whether master, industrialist, or worker, could reduce time to money, however, they had to dilute, or at least modify, age-old Christian imperatives stressing that all time was God's time. According to Jacques Le Goff, this process began in the Middle Ages, when "[a]mong the principal criticisms levelled against the merchants was the charge that their profit implied a mortgage on time, which was supposed to belong to God alone." But God was not the only impediment to secular commercial time. According to Le Goff, "Like the peasant, the merchant was at first subjected by his professional activity to the dominion of meteorological time, to the cycle of seasons and the unpredictability of storms and natural cataclysms." To rationalize time, European merchants used God's time by recruiting the aural power of his church clocks to coordinate city life and the times of markets. "The same process for the rationalization of time," Le Goff points out, "was responsible also for its secularization." Once this rationalization was under way, mercantile activity, while "distinct and, at particular points, contingently similar," to God's time, became regulated by the clock.<sup>16</sup> And it was the dual forces of God's temporal imperatives and merchants' commercial time that provided the historical basis for the rise of clock consciousness among workers and managers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

<sup>15</sup> Gregory Clark, "Factory Discipline," *Journal of Economic History* 54 (March 1994): 129, emphasis his. To this must be added the caveat that northern workers probably shared to a greater extent in the acquisitive spirit than did southern bondpeople. For evidence of such a spirit in the colonial North, see David Brody, "Time and Work during Early American Industrialism," *Labor History* 30 (Winter 1989): 14, 16. Of course, there is a school of thought that argues that slaves also shared in something like the Protestant work ethic. See Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1976). Whatever the case for workers, it seems that managers north and south thought as highly of coercion (physical or economic) as they did of incentives in getting their laborers to work.

<sup>16</sup> Jacques Le Goff, "Merchant's Time and Church's Time in the Middle Ages," in his *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, Ill., 1980), 29, 34–36, 38. Also see Thrift, "Owners' Time and Own Time"; Nguyen, "Spatialization of Metric Time," 30, 41–42.

It is probably no accident that Britain was both the first country to industrialize and among the first to have its shift from natural to clock time scrutinized by historians. In his pioneering 1967 essay, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," E. P. Thompson asked a deceptively simple but incisive question: was the emergence of industrial capitalism in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britain "related to changes in the inward notation of time" among managers and especially workers? Thompson contrasted pre-industrial Britain, which he considered to be characterized by a basic "disregard for clock time," the structuring of work by task, and an appeal to natural cues as legitimate arbiters of time, with industrial-era time discipline. Although he was aware that naturally derived, task-oriented time "has by no means lost all relevance in rural parts of Britain today," Thompson discerned a protracted but real shift in conceptions of time in industrializing Britain. Increasing ownership of watches by Britain's working classes and the general diffusion of public, aural time through church clocks coincided "at the exact moment when the industrial revolution demanded a greater synchronization of labour." Public clocks and private watches, argued Thompson, were the instruments "which regulated the new rhythms of industrial life" and energized the advance of industrial capitalism. The shift to time discipline was most apparent in urban and industrializing areas, although non-urban or industrial arenas such as schooling and domestic manufacturing also came under the sway of the clock.<sup>17</sup>

The efforts of managers to introduce a respect for the clock among their employees were not uncontested. "In the first stage," according to Thompson, "we find simple resistance. But in the next stage, as the new time-discipline is imposed, so the workers begin to fight, not against time, but about it." Thompson made clear that this battle took place in industrial urban environments: "It was exactly in those industries—the textile mills and the engineering workshops—where the new time-discipline was most rigorously imposed that the contest over time became most intense."<sup>18</sup> Mark Harrison has elaborated on Thompson's ideas and suggests that it was not simply industrial but also non-industrial urban environments such as nineteenth-century Bristol that shared a heightened consciousness of time, not least because public time in the form of civic clocks was easily communicable in an urban environment.<sup>19</sup>

Whatever the emphasis, though, it appears that a sharpened clock-based time consciousness evolved, in the British instance, primarily in urban and industrial environments. Thompson concluded that nineteenth-century British factory workers eventually internalized the time discipline demanded by their employers and, in the process, came to legitimize the very notion of clock time as a true measure of work. But if the larger thesis was pessimistic, Thompson did point out that pre-industrial conceptions of time remained strong in quite unexpected places, such as city ports, where time schedules were contingent on the natural phenomena of

<sup>17</sup> Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline," 57, 60, 69, 83–84.

<sup>18</sup> Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline," 85.

<sup>19</sup> Mark Harrison, "Time, Work and the Occurrence of Crowds 1790–1835," *Past and Present* 110 (February 1986): 134–68. As Landes's influential study, *Revolution in Time*, makes clear: "Timekeeping was a characteristically urban concern" (227). Also see the debate between Landes and Harrison in *Past and Present* 116 (August 1987): 192–205.

tides and weather. And there were other enclaves that resisted, often successfully, the intrusion of the Protestant ethic and the industrial clock, "the unenclosed countryside" especially.<sup>20</sup> Thompson believed that nineteenth-century British agriculture was too contingent on nature for clock time to be of much importance.<sup>21</sup> In all likelihood, the rural church clock did help introduce a sense of mechanical time into the British countryside and the efforts of nineteenth-century agricultural reformers helped make farm laborers more aware of the idea of time-thrift. As was the case for the British rural housewife and urban port worker, however, Thompson argued that naturally defined and task-oriented time were to remain the predominant ways of conceptualizing time and its passage, even as the clock took hold in urban and industrial nineteenth-century Britain.<sup>22</sup>

Historians of the antebellum American North in particular have been indebted to Thompson and have often applied his insights to the northern experience with industrialization. And naturally so perhaps: the rise of the industrial American North was similar, at least in trajectory, to the British experience, since both societies embraced free wage labor and capitalist economic and social relations relatively quickly.<sup>23</sup> Glancing back to the eighteenth-century North, Richard D. Brown, for example, found that "[t]ime-thrift and broader considerations of efficiency played a minor role" in peoples' lives and that clock time and punctuality were "alien" values to this pre-modern society.<sup>24</sup> Given this emphasis, labor historians of the nineteenth-century North such as Herbert G. Gutman and David Brody could reasonably posit a scenario in which the factory clock wrestled with nature and the task to produce the kind of protracted battle in the North over time that Thompson found in industrializing Britain. The patterns of workers' resistance to factory clock time were, apparently, similar. Both British and American workers invoked appeals to natural time and contested the amount of

<sup>20</sup> Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline," 86, 76–77.

<sup>21</sup> Although some have challenged his larger thesis, surprisingly few historians have questioned Thompson's assumption that rural Britain remained marginal to time discipline. See, though, the critique in O'Malley, "Time, Work and Task Orientation," 341–58; and consult the various views in Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1982; London, 1990), 282–83; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1980), 615–30; Sidney Pollard, *The Genesis of Modern Management: A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain* (London, 1965); Richard Whipp, "'A Time to Every Purpose': An Essay on Time and Work," in Patrick Joyce, ed., *The Historical Meanings of Work* (Cambridge, 1987), 210–36; Clive Behagg, "Controlling the Product: Work, Time, and the Early Industrial Revolution in Britain, 1800–1850," in Gary Cross, ed., *Worktime and Industrialization: An International History* (Philadelphia, 1988), 41–58. My thanks to Richard Sheldon for guiding me to some of this literature.

<sup>22</sup> Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline," 78–79. Also see Don Parkes and Nigel Thrift, "Putting Time in Its Place," in Tommy Carlstein, Don Parkes, and Nigel Thrift, eds., *Making Sense of Time*, 3 vols. (London, 1978), 1: 119–29, 125–26.

<sup>23</sup> As Paul B. Hensley has recently argued, "Historians studying the coming of the factory to the New England countryside have viewed pre-industrial New England as kin of the British peasant laborers E. P. Thompson has described." Hensley, "Time, Work, and Social Context in New England," *New England Quarterly* 65 (December 1992): 531.

<sup>24</sup> Richard D. Brown, *Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600–1865* (New York, 1976), 62, 33. In a similar vein, James Henretta has argued that, prior to 1830, northern farm families embraced a mentality that eschewed individualism and promoted a web of social relations "that inhibited the free play of market forces." Henretta, "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 35 (January 1978): 19–20.



time to be worked in their efforts to combat managers' imposition of time discipline in the factories.<sup>25</sup>

Recent work on the evolution of a modern time consciousness in colonial and antebellum New England, however, suggests that the factory was not solely responsible for the shift to time discipline: Puritanism and urbanization had important roles to play, too. "New Englanders," writes Paul Hensley, "bore the imprint of time long before the emergence of the factory." Yet, it should be pointed out, much of what Hensley argues had been prefigured by Thompson, who was also cognizant of the importance of Puritan culture and urbanization in laying the foundation for industrial time discipline. Hensley's evidence, for example, points to the rise of an urban New England time consciousness, and, like Thompson, he notes the Puritan fascination with time-thrift in an urban context. So, for basically the same reasons that Thompson gave, Hensley concludes: "Whether working or resting, New England townspeople had become accustomed, long before the advent of [private] clocks, to heeding the sounds that marked public time."<sup>26</sup> But Hensley's remarks on the time conceptions of rural New England are fewer and point to the absence of mechanical time consciousness in the northern countryside. Beyond noting Daniel Vickers's astute observation on the early American ethic of competency, "which deeply valued propertied independence and the ability to sustain it" and presumably entailed the proper husbanding of time, Hensley found little evidence to suggest that pre-eighteenth-century rural New Englanders shared the conception of time that was to take over New England's industrial urban centers. As he puts it, "In spite of the important relationship between time and labor in seventeenth-century New England, work was characteristically elastic and relaxed, attributes influenced by seasonal rhythms, the blending of farming and craft activities, and frequent shifts from one task to another." Hensley suggests that the stimuli for New England's time consciousness rested primarily with merchants and townspeople, not with New England farmers.<sup>27</sup>

Certainly, as other work has made clear, there were some efforts in eighteenth-century New England to introduce time-saving innovations to both industry and agriculture.<sup>28</sup> Hensley identifies several farmers from the late eighteenth century

<sup>25</sup> See Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815–1919," in his *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (Oxford, 1977), 3–78; Brody, "Time and Work," 34, also see 18 n. 43. For other studies of American industrialization that closely follow Thompson's model, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1978), 178–80, 326–31; Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (New York, 1979), 58–62; Gary Kulik, "Pawtucket Village and the Strike of 1824: The Origins of Class Conflict in Rhode Island," *Radical History Review* 17 (April 1978): 5–37; Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810–1860* (New York, 1983), 15–17.

<sup>26</sup> Hensley, "Time, Work, and Social Context in New England," 533, 538. Hensley also contends that "many townspeople learned valuable lessons about time that stood them in good stead as industry over spread the region" and notes the emergence of a modern clock consciousness among the New England clergy and civic authorities especially: "almost as soon as New England towns were settled, the civil magistrates joined clergymen to enforce obedience to time." "Time, Work, and Social Context in New England," 533, 535. See also Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth*, 138–39, 216.

<sup>27</sup> Hensley, "Time, Work, and Social Context in New England," 542, 545; Daniel Vickers, "Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 47 (January 1990): 3–29. Also see Brody, "Time and Work," 10.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Bruce C. Daniels, *The Connecticut Town: Growth and Development, 1635–1790*

who fractionalized their work time to the hour. The non-industrial impetus here was, according to Hensley, deliciously simple and quintessentially American: "Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the republican concept of virtue, including its emphasis on working hard and husbanding time, was being combined with new ideas associated with technology . . . Factories would instill organization and discipline," and obedience to the clock was presumably an important ingredient in the republican cocktail. Here, Hensley's essential thesis is clear:

Long before factory bells began to compete with church and public bells as arbiters of local time, family clocks well placed in hallways augmented communal time . . . Out of this family environment New England sons and daughters moved to nineteenth century factories. Having been trained in time discipline within their communities and at home, they now encountered mill owners and managers who were demanding time obedience.

The victory of the New England mill owners seems as complete as that won by their British counterparts, perhaps more so in light of the limited infiltration of clock time into the northern countryside. What New England mill workers lamented most was not the intrusion of clock time itself but rather "their lack of control over their own time." Here, as in Thompson's England, there was resistance not to time as a category of work, as a measurement of labor, but rather to the perceived unfairness of managers' manipulation of workers' time.<sup>29</sup>

Still more recent work, however, has gone beyond the idea that time discipline in the North was predominantly urban or industrial. In a thoughtful essay, Martin Bruegel argues that antebellum rural northerners, those in New York's Hudson Valley at least, were time-conscious clock users by the mid-nineteenth century. Bruegel is rightly skeptical of "general explanations of the development of temporal consciousness" that stress "urbanization and industrialization and tacitly assume that rural society suffered, rather than participated in, its transformation." He points out that both Lewis Mumford and David Landes "[mistakenly] assert that the new habits of thought and the internalization of temporal compulsiveness remained confined to cities until railroads penetrated the countryside and subjected rural people to urban fetters," and he is equally wary of an over-reliance on Thompson's model, which "tend[s] to succumb to a truncated technological bias" by assigning "the factory bell a functional purpose which arose from the organizational needs of an increasingly complicated process of production."<sup>30</sup>

Instead, Bruegel makes a helpful distinction: "Contrary to the urban experience where the social utility of timepieces in the organization of work and leisure

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(Middletown, Conn., 1979); James Lemon, "Spatial Order: Households in Local Communities and Regions," in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, Md., 1984), 86-122.

<sup>29</sup> Hensley, "Time, Work, and Social Context in New England," 554-56, 558. Also see O'Malley, *Keeping Watch*, 54; and Brody, "Time and Work," 22, 38. On artisans' resistance to the managers' clock, see Howard Rock, "Independent Hours: Time and the Artisan in the New Republic," in Cross, *Worktime and Industrialization*, 21-40; and the perceptive remarks in "Time, Republicanism, and Merchant Capitalism: Consciousness of Hours before 1830," in David R. Roediger and Philip S. Foner, *Our Own Time: A History of American Labor and the Working Day* (New York, 1989), 1-19.

<sup>30</sup> Martin Bruegel, "'Time That Can Be Relied Upon': The Evolution of Time Consciousness in the Mid-Hudson Valley, 1790-1860," *Journal of Social History* 28 (Spring 1995): 547; Landes, *Revolution in Time*; Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York, 1934).

appeared upon their introduction, the countryside underwent a two-stage process." He goes on to explain that "[o]nly when the diffusion of clocks and watches had reached a majority of rural households in the 1820s did they begin to attract people's attention to their capacity as timekeepers." Despite his qualifications of Thompson, Mumford, and Landes, Bruegel paints a picture of the rise of rural northern time discipline that is similar to the British model. Like Thompson, for instance, Bruegel starts off with a discussion of remnants of natural time consciousness: "At the beginning of the 19th century, people in the Hudson Valley lived with a concept of time that dated back to the waning middle ages." Then, following Landes, he notes the importance of technology in disseminating time consciousness to the Hudson Valley: "The development of long-distance trade increased the complexity of scheduling," "[t]rain schedules eventually exacted more self-control from individuals," and so it is "[w]ithin the realm of long-distance commerce we can discover the urban influence on the country-side." By the 1840s, when almost three-quarters of the valley's rural inhabitants owned a clock or watch, rural time consciousness was becoming more pronounced.<sup>31</sup> And it was during the 1830s and 1840s that rural and urban northerners began to demand louder public clocks to coordinate their increasingly punctual schedules. It was a trend that, according to Bruegel, expressed "[t]he need for more precise temporal definitions [which] was both a sign and a result of the changing social relations in the countryside where time evolved into a more precious resource."<sup>32</sup> Ultimately, when clocks and watches became cheap enough so that a majority of rural and urban dwellers could afford them, "their utility as timekeepers superseded their role as markers of social hierarchies." Consequently, Hudson Valley farm laborers began recording the number of hours they worked and calculated how much time the use of plank roads would save them in transporting their goods to market.<sup>33</sup> By qualifying Thompson, Gutman, and others, Bruegel argues that these rural forces provided the basis for the emergence of industrial time discipline in the American North.

IF BRUEGEL IS RIGHT in identifying the evolution of a rural time consciousness in the American North, then, by nineteenth-century standards at least, the region was quite exceptional. In the similarly sprawling Australian countryside, for example, mechanical time remained alien and largely irrelevant to its inhabitants. Attempts by Thompson's eighteenth and nineteenth-century British colonists to introduce

<sup>31</sup> Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon," 548, 549, 559.

<sup>32</sup> Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon," 553. He illustrates this point with the following example: "In 1830, an article in the *Daily Advertiser* of Albany, then a town of 24,000 inhabitants, illuminated the purpose when it complained that the two public clocks 'were almost useless to the business and laboring part of the community, from the circumstance of their not being heard throughout the city.'" Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon," 553.

<sup>33</sup> Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon," 553. Bruegel elaborates: "The rise of the new time consciousness involved a process of interiorization in which unfamiliar temporal notions replaced the traditional outlook shaped by seasonal rhythms. Omnipresent clocks on church steeples and pocket watches sustained this development." He also sees an acceptance of clock time by agricultural and industrial workers, an acceptance that "ultimately confirmed the rise of temporal notions that measured productivity rather than harvests." Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon," 554, 558. Generally, also see Winifred Rothenberg, "The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750-1855," *Journal of Economic History* 41 (June 1981): 283-314.



clock time to the bush failed. This is not to say that Aborigines had no sense of time. As Graeme Davison explains in his penetrating study, *The Unforgiving Minute: How Australia Learned to Tell the Time* (1993): "Aborigines were not strangers to ideas of divided time. In some ways, their ideas of time were more precise than those of the Europeans. They were more alert to the subtle changes in foliage, wind direction, tidal movement and bird migration that marked the passage of the year." "In their own terms," Davison argues, emphasizing the cultural and social function of time, "Aborigines were a punctual people, for they were obedient to the time-signals that mattered to them." "Their way of life," he concludes, "which was essentially seasonal and nomadic, created neither the means, nor the creed, for [Western] calendars or clocks."<sup>34</sup>

Efforts by colonizing and proselytizing European capitalists to inculcate rural Aborigines and settlers to the clock notwithstanding, many still operated on natural time in the 1870s: "In the bush, then, clock-time was largely subordinated to the natural cycles of the sun, moon and the seasons." Again, the comparison is made with Britain or, more precisely, Thompson's depiction of the British experience. "The clock-driven routines that officials had attempted to impose upon the felonry of New South Wales," observes Davison,

were closely akin to the new systems of factory discipline that industrialists were attempting to inculcate among the British working class. But the free, capitalist society which began to emerge on the crumbling foundations of convictism was of a very different character from that of industrial Britain. While the industrial revolution had concentrated Britain's population into towns and factories, Australia's settlers had been dispersed along a ragged frontier of far-flung sheep-runs. While the factory masters watched the clock, the squatters watched the sky. Beyond the coastal towns, the incentive to use clock-time faded as fast as the means of measuring it. The bushman rose at the call of the kookaburra—"the settler's clock" as it was known as early as the 1820s—and his labours were regulated more by the weather, the light and the seasons than by the hours of the day or even sometimes by the days of the week.<sup>35</sup>

As long as these natural time cues predominated, as long as rural inhabitants' needs were met by such cues and not subject to particularly coercive and potent external forces, the clock remained largely irrelevant to bush settlers. The absence of industrial wage incentives in the bush (Davison sees them mainly confined to the towns) meant that the clock had little cultural, social, or economic currency in a rural environment that contained its own, relatively punctual, form of time reckoning. "It was only toward the end of the century," notes Davison, "as the railway and the telegraph began to set the standard of time for the whole society, that the time notations in the farmers' journals became more consistently precise." And even when Protestant missions and schools peddled "whitefellas" time to Aborigines, they proved woefully ineffective in persuading them that the clock was

<sup>34</sup> Graeme Davison, *The Unforgiving Minute: How Australians Learned to Tell the Time* (Melbourne, 1993), 8, 9.

<sup>35</sup> Davison, *Unforgiving Minute*, 8–9, 25–29, 31, 33–34, 60–65, 28. Also see Richard N. Rosecrance, "The Radical Culture of Australia," in Louis Hartz, ed., *The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada, and Australia* (New York, 1964), esp. 304.

a fair or even useful arbiter of time.<sup>36</sup> Martin Bruegel's Hudson Valley, then, seems a world away from the Australian bush.

So, too, in Natal province, South Africa, nineteenth-century colonizing European capitalists failed to instill their own sense of time discipline among rural Zulus. Keletso Atkins has recently argued, "Like most preindustrial people, the Zulu used the moon and stars to keep track of time."<sup>37</sup> European capitalists found it impossible to impose anything like a modern time consciousness, Weberian or Marxian, on rural Zulu laborers. Efforts to convert rural Natal Africans to Western time amounted to little because, as Atkins explains, they were able to draw on their own, entrenched culture of time, which had long recognized nature as its legitimate arbiter.<sup>38</sup> Yet if nineteenth-century rural Zulus were able to reject Western ideas about time, those who moved to Natal's urban enclaves found their cultural assumptions about time subjected to different and more potent forces. "The situation," observes Atkins, "developed somewhat differently in the urban areas." She continues: "As these people came into contact with more industrialized societies, they became isolated from time cues in the natural environment . . . . Man-made signals replaced this natural performance and aided town workers in determining their temporal bearings."<sup>39</sup> While "[i]nfluences of the weekly rhythm ran shallowest in remote country districts . . . , [t]he reverse of this can be seen in the towns where the growing experience was toward an outward conformity to these new points of temporal references." Colonial urban public clocks and the insistence on wage labor had, it seems, the effect of shaping those Zulus who ventured to the province's cities into time-conscious workers, workers not so different from those in industrial-urban Britain, Australia, and the rural and industrial American North.

<sup>36</sup> Davison, *Unforgiving Minute*, 60–65, 31–32, 24–28. On the railway, see John Andrews, "The Emergence of the Wheat Belt in Australia to 1930," in Andrews, ed., *Frontiers and Men: A Volume in Memory of Griffith Taylor (1880–1963)* (Melbourne, 1966), 14, 18–20. Hints that a similar pattern prevailed among white laborers in nineteenth-century New Zealand are in John Miller, *Early Victorian New Zealand: A Study of Racial Tension and Social Attitudes 1839–1852* (London, 1958), 123–25. Aboriginal time reckoning possibly remained relatively unchanged until fairly recently. As Parkes and Thrift, writing in 1978, suggest: "The old cosmologies (and cosmogenics) may still survive in many small-scale non-urban cultures, for instance in the 'dream time' of the Australian aborigines, but diffusion of clock time from the cities is causing rapid acculturation to new systems of time reckoning." Parkes and Thrift, "Putting Time in Its Place," 126. This position is stated more forcefully still by Mike Donaldson, who stresses the importance of geography and seasonal rhythms in Aboriginal efforts to resist British exhortations to adopt clock time. See Donaldson, "The End of Time? Aboriginal Temporality and the British Invasion of Australia," *Time and Society* 5 (June 1996): 187–208.

<sup>37</sup> Keletso E. Atkins, *The Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money: The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843–1900* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1993), 80. See also Atkins, "'Kafir Time': Preindustrial Temporal Concepts and Labour Discipline in Nineteenth-Century Natal," *Journal of African History* 29 (1988): 229–44. For the possibility that pre-industrial Afrikaners found the British attempts to modernize South Africa similarly unpalatable, see Leonard M. Thompson, "The South African Dilemma," in Hartz, *Founding of New Societies*, 194–96.

<sup>38</sup> As one white missionary explained in 1855: "The month of service (their wages are paid monthly) begins with the new moon, but often before it is quite completed, they will come to their master, asking for their money, and although the month is not ended they will declare it is an appeal to the fact that the moon "inyanga file" is dead. They cannot understand there being more than 28 days in a month. It is impossible to make them believe there are 31." Atkins, *Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money*, 81, 86. Also see Edward T. Hall, *The Dance of Life: The Other Dimension of Time* (Garden City, N.Y., 1984), 3–4.

<sup>39</sup> Although she does add a caveat: "This, however, should not be taken to mean that migrant workers completely discarded their temporal identity or that no traces of it survived in the town milieu." Atkins, *Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money*, 86, 87.

"[A]t least by 1872, and perhaps well before that date," argues Atkins, "segments of the cities' black labouring population were perceiving time in discrete market as well as noneconomic terms—namely, regular work time, overtime, and leisure time."<sup>40</sup>

How, then, did the time consciousness of Australia's rural peoples, British agricultural laborers, and rural Natal Zulus remain relatively independent of colonial Western time discipline? And why, by contrast, did North American rural farmers not escape the strictures of the Protestant-inspired capitalist clock? It is important to note that neither the Protestant ethic-Weberian emphasis on rational time nor the capitalist/Marxian time-wage equation will be perceived as legitimate in a society where natural temporal cues outweigh mechanical ones, where the dominant discourse and value systems stressing the legitimacy and function of natural time are too ingrained to be influenced by outsiders' appeal to the idea of an abstracted, decontextualized, clock-defined time. Aborigines and white rural settlers in Australia, British agricultural laborers, and rural Natal Zulus were all nominally free laborers, and they were laboring in their own social and economic context, a context too grounded in its geographic, social, and cultural specificity for Protestant ethic industrial-capitalist constructions of time to be of much potency, relevance, or persuasion. In making this point, I should caution against an interpretation that focuses exclusively on European capitalists trying to impose a modern conception of time on native peoples and rural inhabitants. In some instances, as seems to have been the case in Australia, whites who settled rural regions embraced a natural, task-oriented consciousness of time that was not appreciably different from either the Aboriginal one or the one to which they had formerly adhered in the British countryside. This instance may well be a transfer of a pre-industrial, rural, eighteenth-century British understanding of time to the Australian bush and the concomitant reinforcement of that understanding by prevailing Aboriginal cultural norms of time. Such a transfer had, after all, occurred elsewhere, notably in eighteenth-century Virginia. Here, Mechal Sobel correctly discerns a pre-industrial British awareness of time melding with a similar, naturally defined African one to produce, for the eighteenth century at least, a pre-modern time consciousness.<sup>41</sup>

If this transvaluative aspect of time consciousness is borne in mind, a pattern emerges that might explain why some regions and peoples succumbed to clock time while others did not. At the most general level, it seems that where natural and task-oriented time rhythms are strong and rooted in a specific cultural, social, and economic context, they will endure even when attacked from the outside by clock-wielding, Protestant ethic-inspired capitalists. When removed from these contexts, however, as in the case of migration to towns, and when the technological and cultural forces promoting a clock consciousness begin to penetrate the countryside more forcefully and systematically, as was the case with the coming of

<sup>40</sup> She also notes: "[O]wing to a prolonged interaction with Dutch people at the fort, those Khoi who had become used to a life of punctuality, successfully acquired skills for measuring Western time. On the other hand, where the period of racial and cultural contact was less protracted, as in Natal, masters found it difficult to teach their laborers how to keep accurate count of the days from one monthly period to the next." Atkins, *Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money*, 88–89, 93–94.

<sup>41</sup> Sobel, *World They Made Together*, 15–70. Also see, for example, Donaldson, "End of Time?"



mechanical timepieces, the railroads, and clock-regulated bells, then clock time will gradually gain cultural and functional currency and begin to supplant a society's commitment to natural time. With the exception of the American North, clock consciousness took root most quickly and thoroughly in urban-industrial, free wage labor societies, where clock culture was peddled vigorously by European capitalists. As long as they remained in the countryside and as long as clock time remained confined to urban-industrial areas, Natal Zulus, Australian Aborigines and settlers, and British agricultural laborers retained their own understanding of time rooted in natural rhythms and less susceptible to the time-thriftiness associated with the capitalist work ethic. But where rural dwellers already shared in this ethic and where the forces of modern clock consciousness penetrated the countryside more readily (in the American North), capitalist managers found they had an easier time converting rural workers to the dictates of industrial-capitalist time. Everywhere, of course, clock time and natural time continued to coexist (though to varying degrees), and all workers, black and white, continued to resist clock time. But these ongoing battles should not serve to obscure the fact that, in comparative perspective, the nineteenth-century American rural North appears to have embraced a clock consciousness shared by industrializing and urbanizing nineteenth-century Britain, Natal, and Australia.

Two related factors might help to explain why this was the case. First, it could well be that northern industrialists were simply better proselytizing capitalists. Second, they were more successful because northern farmers appear to have shared a post-feudal, Protestant ethic-inspired evaluation of time with colonizing European capitalists. They were, after all, often one and the same. The culture of Bruegel's Hudson Valley farmers, of Hensley's Puritan New Englanders, of Thompson's British factory workers, and of Gutman's northern mill workers was very similar to, with respect to the social value attached to time at least, the managers' culture. What they fought over was less the definition of time than how much of it each party should have. Antebellum northern capitalists were preeminently successful in communicating clock consciousness to rural inhabitants because, quite simply, they had less cultural distance to span. They were, it seems, preaching to a sometimes recalcitrant, but nonetheless receptive, choir who appeared to have shared in the Protestant work ethic republican credo of time-thrift—values that had far less currency among rural Natalian, Australian, and, if Thompson is right, British inhabitants.<sup>42</sup>

Collectively, then, this literature on the evolution of time consciousness identifies several broad historical forces promoting a clock consciousness among eighteenth and nineteenth-century rural and, especially, industrial-urban managers and workers. If we accept the basic point that the larger forces of time's religious and

<sup>42</sup> Generally, see Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955); Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth*. This emphasis should not be taken to trivialize the class conflict between northern managers and workers. Although the two appear to have shared in a similar cultural appreciation of time, they nevertheless fought over what it was worth as well as a host of other issues that seemed to threaten the freedom of laborers. See Brody, "Time and Work"; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York, 1984); and the general discussion in James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (London, 1990), 20–33.

economic rationalization and commodification provided the essential impetus behind the rise of time discipline, then the specific historical developments that created a modern time consciousness among workers and managers in the nineteenth century probably consisted of the following: first, the dilution of God's time and its articulation with a mercantile work ethic stressing that time was money and that, as such, it should be saved, not wasted; second, the concomitant rise of urban clocks to regulate and coordinate personal and public temporal activity; third, the increase in the number of clocks and watches in any given population; fourth, the emergence of industrial wage-labor time discipline;<sup>43</sup> and, lastly, the advent of technologies such as the railroads, which disseminated urban and industrial time to the countryside and helped heighten a preexisting idea that punctuality and time-thrift were forms of religious, civic, and personal virtue.<sup>44</sup>

IF WE AGREE WITH Babette M. Levy, Edmund S. Morgan, and Perry Miller that "the Puritan Ethic" embodied "the values that all Americans held," southerners included, and if some of the aforementioned agencies behind the nineteenth century's drive toward clock time can be found in the antebellum South, were these forces in and of themselves sufficient (plainly, they appear to have been necessary) to push the non-wage antebellum slave South toward the adoption of clock time?<sup>45</sup> If not, what was it about slavery that rendered wage-labor industrialism unimportant while nevertheless encouraging planters to adopt clock time?

A brief examination of the activities and attitudes of southern merchants helps answer these questions. Because of their place in the Atlantic marketplace, eighteenth and nineteenth-century southern merchants appear to have developed a keen sense that time was money, that punctuality in business transactions was a virtue and necessity, not only from the requisites of their own trade but from their dealings with northern and European merchants.<sup>46</sup> Yankee merchants throughout

<sup>43</sup> As Allan Pred puts it, industrial and wage-labor time discipline "was an inevitable feature of the factory and large-scale shop mode of production because the capital-accumulation motivations and technology associated with that mode required the *daily paths of workers and productive property to be synchronized and 'synchronized,' or coordinated in time and space with considerable exactitude*" (emphasis his). See Pred, "Production, Family, and Free-Time Projects: A Time-Geographic Perspective on the Individual and Societal Change in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Cities," *Journal of Historical Geography* 7 (1981): 10.

<sup>44</sup> In other words, these forces, which may have operated at different times and with differing degrees and potency in each constituency and culture, are similar to the ones David Landes sketched in his explanation behind the emergence of a modern clock consciousness. See Landes, *Revolution in Time*; Thrift, "Owners' Time and Own Time," 56–84.

<sup>45</sup> Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 24 (January 1967): 4; Babette M. Levy, "Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 70, pt. 1 (April–October 1960): 86, 119, 308; Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 108, 138. For a different interpretation, see C. Vann Woodward, "The Southern Ethic in a Puritan World," in his *American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue* (Boston, 1971), 13–46. Also useful on presentism among the colonial elite is T. H. Breen, "Of Time and Nature: A Study of Persistent Values in Colonial Virginia," in his *Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America* (New York, 1980), 164–96. On the relative and varying importance of the Puritan ethic among different groups of colonial and antebellum southerners, see M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*, chap. 2.

<sup>46</sup> For evidence of a northern mercantile time-thrift, see Toby L. Ditz, "Shipwrecked; or, Masculinity Imperiled: Mercantile Representations of Failure and the Gendered Self in Eighteenth-Century

the colonial period, for example, coached their southern counterparts in the need for punctuality in business. As Boston merchant Jonathan Johnson advised Edward Telfair's Georgia mercantile firm in 1775, "let me however request of you to execute this order with the utmost punctuality & Expedition."<sup>47</sup> By 1802, however, the situation was reversed. Charleston merchant Thomas Aiton complained to his firm's parent company, William Stanley and Company of New York: "Three mails have arrived since we received yours by Post informing us of your intention to Send us by next Mail 2,000 dollars. We have neither received money nor letter." Aiton then warned: "Such Conduct may be attended with very serious circumstances if repeated. You know as well as us that the most strict punctuality is necessary in money matters."<sup>48</sup> Similarly, punctuality with credit payments became a point of pride, indeed, of virtue, for southern merchants. When Virginian George Carter failed to pay the credit on a note signed by Landon Carter in 1806, the latter complained that "you [have] done more injury to the respectability of my punctual habits in Fredericksburg than any I have ever had before."<sup>49</sup> While no doubt influenced by the presence of public, church-based time, the South's urban merchants, then, like their medieval forebears, developed their own partially secularized notion of time. Atlantic merchants, in short, bequeathed an important legacy to the antebellum South as, in fact, they had to the nineteenth-century Western world.

The most conspicuous source of this mercantile and civic time consciousness in the South was in its urban environs. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century southern towns constituted the physical space where secular and sacred time meshed. Although southern industry was woefully undeveloped in both centuries, its absence does not seem to have made the region's urban areas any less clock conscious. Few cities though there were in the South, those that did exist seem to have embraced and promoted an urban awareness of time that was little different from northern, British, Natalian, or Australian urban time.<sup>50</sup> Charleston's St. Michael's clock,

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Philadelphia," *Journal of American History* 81 (June 1994): 51–80; Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 6–7, 136–39, 345–49; and some of the caveats in Arthur H. Cole, "The Tempo of Mercantile Life in Colonial America," *Business History Review* 33 (Autumn 1959): 277–99.

<sup>47</sup> Jonathan Johnson, Boston, to [Edward Telfair], October 21, 1774, Edward Telfair Papers, 1764–1831, in Kenneth M. Stampp, ed., *Records of Ante-Bellum Southern Plantations from the Revolution through the Civil War*, microfilm, Duke University Library, Durham, N.C., ser. F, pt. 2, r. 10, fr. 537, p. 2 (hereafter, Stampp, *RASP*). Generally see Norman S. B. Gras, *Business History of the United States about 1650 to 1950's* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967), 1–77; Robert Walter Coakley, "Virginia Commerce during the American Revolution" (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 1944), 297–314; and T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 106–23.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Aiton & Co., Charleston, S.C., to William Stanley & Co., N.Y., February 18, 1802, Thomas Aiton & Co., Letterbook, February 18–June 19, 1802, typescript by Lucinda Lewis, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C. (hereafter, SCL).

<sup>49</sup> Landon Carter to George Carter, Oatslands, near Leesburg, Va., September 29, 1806, section 52, Correspondence of George Carter, folder 1, Carter Family Papers, 1651–1861, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va. (hereafter, VHS).

<sup>50</sup> On the South's lack of urbanization and industrialization generally, see Fred Bateman and Thomas Weiss, *A Deplorable Scarcity: The Failure of Industrialization in the Slave Economy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981); and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (New York, 1965).



installed in the 1760s, for example, was "a strong 30 Hour Clock, to show the Hour Four Ways, to strike the Hour on the largest Bell." In the antebellum period, civic authorities expanded the function of the church's time: "It will be noticed that it is 'to show the *Hour Four Ways*,' and this is all it showed till 1840, when, with the consent of the vestry, the City Council added minute hands."<sup>51</sup> One should not underestimate the aural and temporal power of these and similar church bells. The bells in London's St. Mary-le-Bow, for example, can be heard for six miles above ambient twentieth-century London noise, and presumably the South's church bells could perforate a quieter colonial and antebellum soundscape at least as far.<sup>52</sup>

In trying to evaluate the importance of urban church bells in promoting clock consciousness in the South, let us return to the significance and function of clock time. Certainly, bells had been important regulators and communicators of time in many societies, modern and pre-modern. But whereas medieval European monasteries had used aural time mainly (though not exclusively) for the express purpose of announcing God's time, clock bells in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were employed for additional, increasingly profane, purposes. The difference, of course, is best measured in degrees, not absolutes. In the urban environs of the American North, Natal, and Australia, particularly in the nineteenth century, aural time was used to announce not just God's time but increasingly to regulate the time of schools, markets, and factories.<sup>53</sup>

The South's use of aural time was no different. In the 1740s, for example, Charleston's church clocks were enlisted to announce and coordinate the city's market times. The aural dimension of this sacred-secular urban time was often recorded by contemporaries. It was said of Charleston's St. Philip's clock and bells in 1828, for example, "truly nothing can be more awe-inspiring than at the silent midnight hour to hear St. Philip's clock with deep funeral knell tolling another day." For this observer, it was the clock that was heard.<sup>54</sup> So, too, with bondpeople in southern cities. While in St. Louis during the 1840s, slave William Brown articulated precisely the same association of time with sound: "[W]e left the city just as the clock struck nine." Although never to lose its religious significance completely, aural church clock time, then, helped govern and coordinate the secular activities of the southern city and its inhabitants.<sup>55</sup>

Added to the mercantile and urban forces promoting a clock consciousness in the

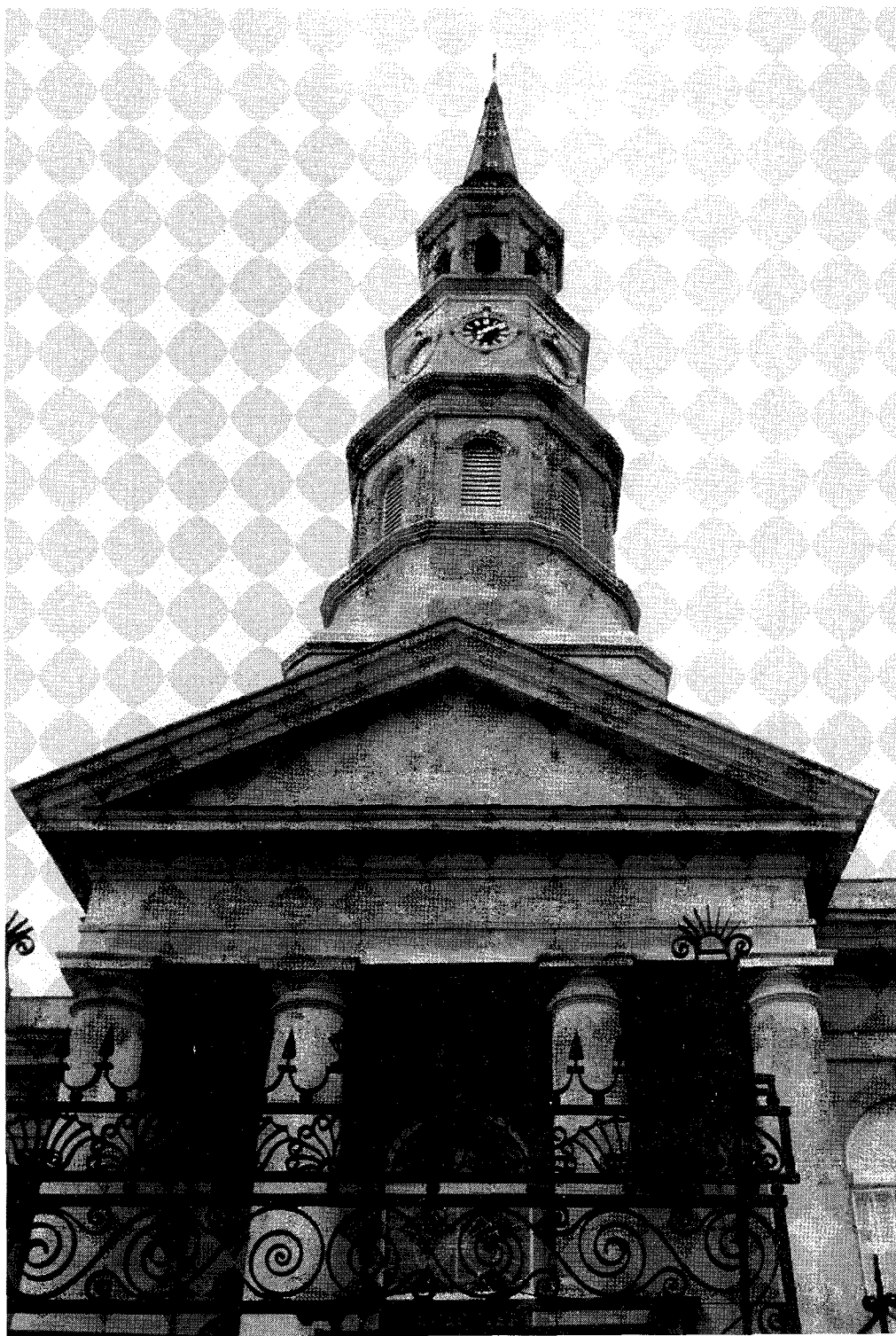
<sup>51</sup> Unidentified newspaper clipping, Series 3.2, Miscellaneous Items, Undated, John Ewing Colhoun Papers, 1774–1961, Southern Historical Collection, in Stamp, *RASP*, ser. J, pt. 3, r. 29, fr. 582. A picture of the four-faced clock may be found in Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham, Jr., eds., *The Early Architecture of Charleston*, 2d edn. (Columbia, S.C., 1970), 25.

<sup>52</sup> "Cockneys' Bow Bells Peal to a Wider Audience," [*Manchester*] *Weekly Telegraph* (April 6–12, 1994): 29. My thanks to Nelson D. Lankford of the Virginia Historical Society for bringing this to my attention. Generally, see Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 26–28, 59–66, 77.

<sup>53</sup> Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 59–66, 77; Brody, "Time and Work"; O'Malley, *Keeping Watch*, 39–40; Davison, *Unforgiving Minute*, 33–35; Atkins, *Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money*, 87.

<sup>54</sup> "St. Philip's Church," *Southern Literary Gazette* 1 (November 1828): 173; M. Smith, "Time, Slavery and Plantation Capitalism," 147 n. 9.

<sup>55</sup> *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Written by Himself* (Boston, 1847), 67, in William Loren Katz, ed., *Five Slave Narratives: A Compendium* (New York, 1968). Also see the description in Frank P. Albright, *Johann Ludwig Eberhardt and His Salem Clocks* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978), 8–9. On aural time in the eighteenth-century South, see Sobel, *World They Made Together*, 21. For the range and sources of nineteenth-century aural time obedience, secular and sacred, see M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*, chap. 1.



The power of aural and visual time. St. Philip's Church in Charleston, South Carolina, housed a clock and bell that helped regulate social and economic activity in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Copyright Tina Manley, 1996.

**TABLE**  
**Clock and Watch Ownership in Comparative Perspective,**  
**Great Britain and the United States**

<i>Years/Place</i>	<i>Number of Inventories Sampled</i>	<i>Percentage of Inventories with Clocks and/or Watches</i>
***BRITAIN***		
<i>Devon and Cornwall (clocks only):</i>		
1531–1699	266	3.0%
***UNITED STATES***		
<i>Rural North:</i>		
<i>Greene County, New York</i>		
1801–10	27	25.9%
1811–20	49	40.8
1821–30	46	63.0
1831–40	35	65.7
1841–50	41	73.2
<i>Urban South:</i>		
<i>Charleston District, South Carolina</i>		
1805–10	394	48.0%
1839–44	107	51.0
1863–65	56	66.0
<i>Annapolis, Maryland (clocks only)</i>		
1688–1709	17	5.8%
1710–32	72	29.1
1733–54	77	41.5
1755–77	89	42.7
<i>Rural South:</i>		
<i>Laurens County, South Carolina</i>		
1805–09	73	14.0%
1839–43	121	67.0
1863–65	125	71.0
<i>Anne Arundel County, Maryland (clocks only)</i>		
1688–1709	320	5.0%
1710–32	312	9.6
1733–54	384	14.3
1755–77	408	13.2

SOURCES: Devon and Cornwall figures from Nigel Thrift, "Owners' Time and Own Time: The Making of a Capitalist Time Consciousness, 1300–1800," in Allan Pred, ed., *Space and Time in Geography: Essays Dedicated to Torsten Hägerstrand* (Lund, 1981), 60; Greene County, New York, figures from Martin Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon: The Evolution of Time Consciousness in the Mid-Hudson Valley, 1790–1860," *Journal of Social History* 28 (Spring 1995): 551; South Carolina data from Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock* (forthcoming), appendix; Maryland data adapted from Paul A. Shackel, *Personal Discipline and Material Culture: An Archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1695–1870* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1993), 171, 180.

South was an increasing disposition on the part of white southerners, both rural and urban, slaveholding and non, to own timepieces, especially in the nineteenth century (see table). The increasing availability of clocks and watches, combined with a reduction in their relative costs in the early antebellum period, had an impact on southern rural and urban areas just as it did on northern ones.<sup>56</sup> And the basic

<sup>56</sup> See Mark M. Smith, "Counting Clocks, Owning Time: Detailing and Interpreting Clock and Watch Ownership in the American South, 1739–1865," *Time and Society* 2 (October 1994): 321–39.



reasons for increased watch and clock ownership in the South were the same as elsewhere. If we agree with Martin Bruegel that antebellum northern timepiece ownership was in part a result of heightening personal time discipline, the same was true in the South. By 1851, three entries in one southerner's diary could speak for the South generally: "Am to send for my carriage today at 5 PM . . . Mitchell & Allen family arrive from Glenroy a little before 2 PM . . . Am to call Board of Medical College to meet on Saturday 1 PM at Courthouse."<sup>57</sup>

Similarly, if the railroads were primarily responsible for the diffusion of the North's urban time consciousness, the same process is in operation in the antebellum South.<sup>58</sup> In 1834, for example, the Charleston & Hamburg railroad in South Carolina, at the time the world's longest railway under single management, achieved "the greatest possible regularity in the time of running Passenger Engines" by placing clocks at six of its stations. The chief engineer stipulated fines for unpunctual drivers: "regulations have been established fixing the hour of departure, . . . as well as that of the earliest time, at which they are permitted under a penalty of five dollars, to arrive at the following [station]." The engineer acknowledged that "[t]he only difficulty that has been found in carrying this into practice, has arisen from the want of a uniform standard of time at the different points," but by 1845 the railroad had improved enough to persuade the postal service that it could deliver the mail punctually. Trains failing "to arrive within the contract time" specified by the Post Office, after all, incurred hefty fines. The net effect of such time-specific forces as the railroad, not to mention the telegraph and mail, was to heighten southerners' awareness of clock time and need for punctuality.<sup>59</sup>

THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH, however, was not like everywhere else in one important respect: the peculiar institution. But rather than a fetter on clock consciousness and time-thrift, slavery proved to be a powerful stimulant in pushing southern planters toward the clock. The South's shift to clock time in the last thirty or so years of the antebellum period was undoubtedly due to railroads, urban time, mercantile time, and the other forces noted above. But there were also forces created by late antebellum slavery that helped master and slave adopt the clock. Whereas early

<sup>57</sup> Mitchell King Diaries, 1845–1861, Series 3, Diary, October 27, 1845–January 31, 1852, April 15, November 2, December 28, 1851, in Mitchell King Papers, 1801–1876, Southern Historical Collection, in Stamp, *RASP*, ser. J, pt. 3, r. 6, fr. 351, 368, 372, pp. 164, 199, 207; Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon," 553–55. Also see the important study by Paul A. Shackel, *Personal Discipline and Material Culture: An Archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1695–1870* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1993), 97–99.

<sup>58</sup> Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon," 549. Also see Carlene E. Stephens, "'The Most Reliable Time': William Bond, the New England Railroads, and Time Awareness in 19th-Century America," *Technology and Culture* 30 (January 1989): 1–24.

<sup>59</sup> "Report of the Chief Engineer, Horatio Allen," in Elias Horry, comp., *Annual Report of the Direction of the South Carolina Canal and Rail Road Company, to the Stockholders, May 6th, 1834* (Charleston, S.C., 1834), 12; [Eli Bowen], "The Post System," *De Bow's Review* 12 (March 1852): 247. On this and the postal service, see Stephens, "'Most Reliable Time,'" 4–5; and Eugene Alvarez, *Travel on Southern Antebellum Railroads, 1828–1860* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1974), 120–21. According to the *Farmers' Register*, the Charleston & Hamburg railroad started carrying local mail as early as 1833. See [A. A. Dexter], "General Description of Hamburg and Charleston Rail Road," *Farmers' Register* 1 (October 1833): 261–62. On the impact of these forces, see M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*, chap. 3; and, generally, Thrift, "Owners' Time and Own Time."

experiments with the timing of hired labor in the rural North and the emergence of free wage industrial-urban labor elsewhere promoted clock consciousness, southern slaveowners' bid for slave-based modernity provided a similar catalyst. The notion of pre-modern impulses in southern slavery is, thanks to the pioneering work of Eugene D. Genovese, well known and probably true.<sup>60</sup> But when it comes to conceptions of time, it appears that different impulses applied, impulses from both inside and outside the South's putatively non-capitalist slave regime. These forces were equally conducive to the planters' embrace of a time discipline that was not only just as sophisticated as the North's but actually more successful in transmitting clock time to the countryside than wage labor and industrialization had proven in Britain, Natal, and Australia.

As I have argued elsewhere, the fundamental push toward time discipline among the South's master class came in the 1830s.<sup>61</sup> With their time consciousness heightened by railroads and the postal service, and drawing on a long familiarity with the imperatives of mercantile and urban time, slaveholders of the 1830s began to push for more efficient agriculture and a better ordering of their slave work force. Surrounded by a world moving toward free wage labor capitalism, slaveholders were at once repulsed by the dangerous rise of a landless and politically volatile proletariat and eager to garb themselves in modern clothes.<sup>62</sup> The answer to this dilemma, or at least one part of it, was in the use of clock time. The nineteenth century's most obvious icon of modernity, the clock and the time it kept, was simultaneously modern but controlling, at once an engine for economic efficiency and a tool of social discipline. In the context of the late antebellum period, when slaveowners aimed to modernize slavery without threatening its fundamentally conservative social relations, the clock proved particularly attractive. Not only could clock time be spliced with more traditional forms of social control like the whip and the old, even revered, urban practice of sounding time, not only was clock time perceived to be in harmony with that arbiter of southern agriculture, nature, but the clock could be recruited to help create a modern, efficient, and disciplined slaveholders' regime. It would, ideally, be a regime that borrowed the discipline of the factory—a free wage labor clock without importing wage labor's associated, essentially mobocratic, tendencies. In a society that coveted profit and enslavement, efficiency and order, clock time—owned and controlled exclusively by masters—proved irresistibly alluring.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Genovese, *Political Economy of Slavery*; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*; and with Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism* (New York, 1983). For an exceptionally thorough and thoughtful review of the literature that pinpoints the modern and pre-modern characteristics of the Old South, see Drew Gilpin Faust, "The Peculiar South Revisited: White Society, Culture, and Politics in the Antebellum Period, 1800–1860," in John B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen, eds., *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographical Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham* (Baton Rouge, La., 1987), 78–119.

<sup>61</sup> M. Smith, "Time, Slavery and Plantation Capitalism."

<sup>62</sup> Consult especially the persuasive study by Eugene D. Genovese, *The Slaveholders' Dilemma: Freedom and Progress in Southern Conservative Thought, 1820–1860* (Columbia, S.C., 1992). See also the penetrating discussion in David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York, 1984).

<sup>63</sup> On the efficiency of antebellum slavery, see the now-classic statement by Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*. On the belief of antebellum southerners in the legitimacy of recruiting the clocks associated with the past in an effort to embrace the clock time of the future, see M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*.

As Bertram Wyatt-Brown has pointed out, in their efforts to “modernize, to improve the ‘home system,’ so that its foundations were no less secure, no less progressive than those on which free labor rested,” masters looked, of all places, to the free but materialist North.<sup>64</sup> Specifically, they turned to northern agricultural societies and scientific journals, they noted Benjamin Franklin’s counsel that time is money, and then they reinterpreted this advice in the context of their slave society. A reprint from the *Boston Cultivator* in the *Southern Planter* for January 1850, for example, suggested that all agriculturalists, southern ones included, should allow “twelve working hours to a day,” for “he who by rising at eight instead of five O’clock in the morning, thereby loses three hours daily, parts with one-fourth of his means of supporting himself and family: ten years’ labor lost on the course of forty years!”<sup>65</sup> The careful harvesting of this time was essential for profit, and the responsibility rested, in the first instance, with the planter. Moreover, efforts to inculcate an internal time discipline among some planters appear to have succeeded. “My plan for working,” revealed one small slaveholder in 1836, “was formed by necessity.” Owning few slaves, he was obliged to organize his own time efficiently: “As soon as it was light enough to see, I hitched up and drove briskly until breakfast time—took out and fed while I ate, and for which I only allowed forty-five minutes—worked till one o’clock—rested an hour and a half when cool, two hours when warm.”<sup>66</sup>

If such examples failed to persuade planters, sarcasm was employed: “The old adage, that ‘time is money,’ may do well for the face of a Yankee clock, but it is altogether beneath the philosophy of *Young America*. Therefore, lie in bed til your breakfast is ready, and be sure to go a fishing every Saturday evening.”<sup>67</sup> Those who did follow the Yankee way in their use of time were applauded publicly. One Alabama planter, for instance, was lauded not just because he “enforces a strict discipline among his negroes” but because the principles of progressive farming were “carried out with the most perfect clock-like precision, to the great benefit of master and servant.”<sup>68</sup> And one reason why punctuality was considered a good thing in the South was probably the same reason nineteenth-century Americans generally considered it healthy—it was virtuous and essentially republican. If studies stressing the South’s commitment to republicanism, civic virtue, and personal honor are correct, then the following exhortation for subscribers to pay the *Southern Cultivator* on time in 1843 makes a good deal of sense:

<sup>64</sup> Bertram Wyatt-Brown, “Modernizing Southern Slavery: The Proslavery Argument Reinterpreted,” in J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds., *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (New York, 1982), 28. Note, too, the excellent study by Laurence Shore, *Southern Capitalists: The Ideological Leadership of an Elite, 1832–1885* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986). For a different emphasis on agricultural reform, see Drew Gilpin Faust, “The Rhetoric and Ritual of Agriculture in Antebellum South Carolina,” *Journal of Southern History* 45 (November 1979): 541–68. If the reformers’ calls for planters to adopt clock time are characterized as largely rhetorical, then it must be said that the entries in actual plantation journals and the poignant testimony of slaves and former slaves outlined below suggest that this rhetoric had some real effects.

<sup>65</sup> [*Boston Cultivator*], “Early Rising,” *Southern Planter* 11 (January 1851): 21–22. Also useful in this context is R. Keith Aufhauser, “Slavery and Scientific Management,” *Journal of Economic History* 33 (September 1973): 818–21.

<sup>66</sup> J. L., “Large Products of Small Farming,” *Tennessee Farmer* 1 (January 1836): 218–19.

<sup>67</sup> Clod Thumper, “Maxims for Young Farmers and Overseers,” *Southern Planter* 17 (November 1857): 671, emphasis in original.

<sup>68</sup> [*Soil of the South*], “The Bachelor Farmer,” *Southern Cultivator* 12 (July 1854): 208.



Punctuality gives weight to character. "Such a man has made an appointment, and I know he will keep it." This conviction generates punctuality in you; for, like other virtues, it propagates itself. Appointments become debts . . . Punctuality in *paying the printer*, is a shining virtue, and is one of the requisites to the character of a good member of the community.<sup>69</sup>

Practically, this advice was translated at the plantation level in a variety of ways. In some instances, planters bought time-saving machinery, especially cotton gins, which promised to clean five hundred pounds "in 31 minutes."<sup>70</sup> Equally, planters tried to import factory methods directly to the plantation. Again, the aping of the North was obvious. Lowell mills, for instance, became models of efficiency, and planters were encouraged to emulate the factory's use of clock-regulated labor. The *Southern Agriculturalist*, for example, published one southerner's account of a visit to Lowell in 1845 and advised "all those who are politically or otherwise unfriendly to the factory system, to read the following article." The visitor, from Kentucky, was impressed by the fact that "[t]he very few persons that were occasionally seen at all, hurried to and fro, as if their time was precious," enthused over "the most perfect order, system, and regularity . . . everywhere exhibited," and praised the factory's use of aural time control: "At 12 o'clock, M., the factory bells chimed merrily, and the whirl of the spindles, the clatter of the looms, and the hum of the drums and wheels all ceased."<sup>71</sup> In their efforts, then, to realize the ideal of time discipline and precise temporal coordination on their plantations, masters turned to the watch and the clock. Plantation clock time often mimicked the southern urban and northern factory form: it was communicated through sound. Bells and bugles, for instance, were rung or blown "at 9 o'clock, P.M.," when "every servant is required to return to his own cabin."<sup>72</sup>

Sometimes, to be sure, nature intruded, but not as much as might be expected. Natural time and clock time did, of course, coexist on plantations; slaveowners' journals are eloquent on this point. Virginia planter George Llewellyn Nicolson, for example, took his temperature readings by the sun in one journal entry ("Thermometer 18 [degrees] at Sunrise") but also measured work done by the clock: "Filled ice House by 11 O'clock."<sup>73</sup> Certainly, nature could be cruel and rush frazzled planters. William Fanning Wickham of Virginia could on one day in June 1828 congratulate himself that "[t]he corn is I think forward for the time of year,"

<sup>69</sup> [Selected], "Punctuality," *Southern Cultivator* 1 (May 10, 1843): 79. Also see John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America 1776-1900* (New York, 1976), 53-106. On southern republicanism, consult Lacy K. Ford, Jr., *The Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry 1800-1860* (New York, 1988); and J. Mills Thornton III, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978). On southern codes of honor, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982).

<sup>70</sup> See the advertisements for cotton gins made in England and Mississippi, ca. 1857, in Foreign Office Papers, FO 84/1027: 146, 155, Public Records Office, Kew, London; and, for example, [*The Mobile Register*], "Improved Cotton Gin," *Southern Agriculturalist*, n.s., 5 (February 1845): 79.

<sup>71</sup> T. S. K., "The Factory System," *Southern Agriculturalist*, n.s., 5 (February 1845): 49-51.

<sup>72</sup> Foby, "Management of Servants," *Southern Cultivator* 11 (August 1853): 226, 228.

<sup>73</sup> George Llewellyn Nicolson Diary, January 1-December 31, 1859, in *Clayton's Pocket Diary for 1858*, entries for January 23 and 25, 1858, VHS. On June 30, 1858, Nicolson "bought a clock." Other factors also influenced the rhythm of the work year. For a case study, see Wayne K. Durrill, "Routine of Seasons: Labour Regimes and Social Ritual in an Antebellum Plantation Community," *Slavery and Abolition* 16 (August 1995): 161-87.



Cupolas, like the one at the top of this water tower on the Milford plantation, Sumter County, South Carolina, housed bells that proved crucial in communicating the sound of plantation clock time. Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1960, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.

and four days later complain: "Finished the harvest early this morning—We should have been done some days sooner, but the weather this week has been so intensely hot that the reapers could make little progress." Nature proved difficult the next year, too. In January 1829, Wickham lamented, "The wheat in general is very backward." In March, he moaned, "Nearly a weeks work has been entirely lost by rain & bad weather." Yet Wickham did his best to minimize the impact of nature's unkind vagaries, and he often recruited the clock to regulate the work and time that he could control. In July 1830, he used clock time to describe his agricultural operations: "Began yesterday at eleven OClock to thresh wheat." On other occasions, lost time to nature was minimized by forward planning and time harvesting: "We are later to sow wheat this year than I have ever been before—but by continuing to plough in the cornfield we shall be forward in our preparation—& no time shall be lost." When circumstances looked propitious, when it seemed as though he could exploit the window of time granted by nature, Wickham made the most of time and measured his tasks, in this case sowing wheat, to the hour: "Last night we had sown 588 bushels of wheat—we have got on better than ever before & the season has been most favorable to sowing—we have not lost an hour's work."<sup>74</sup> When nature could cost time, when it could expand and contract it, planters believed that agricultural operations were more likely to be completed in time if they paid close attention to time, its passage, and the clock.

In some respects, in fact, the vagaries of nature and the strictures they placed on planters' time were important for heightening masters' desire to make the most of time. Planters respected nature and its merciless control of time and, rather than trying to control it, looked instead to natural rhythms for inspiration. Even the most ardent scientific reformers of the 1830s agreed and counseled that "if we would catch the true spirit of improvement, we must bow at nature's shrine, and consult her oracles."<sup>75</sup> The seasons still, as they always would, dictated planting and harvesting cycles, and planters deemed this proper and correct. But within these larger rhythms, the clock could be recruited, not to supplant nature but rather to complement and exploit its sometimes frenetic rhythms.<sup>76</sup>

For some planters, the rhythm of the agricultural year, with its slack times, harried periods, and seasonal variations, did require a work schedule that was more flexible than that provided by a clock-defined, standard working day. But significantly, when planters most needed efficiency in slaves' labor, they invoked the clock and rendered all time into masters' time. Among the rules and "Privileges" on Richard Eppes's Hopewell, Virginia, plantation, for example, was the following fiat issued to his bondpeople in 1857: "You will work from sunrise until sunset but when a press longer. Three quarters of an hour will be allowed you to breakfast and one hour and a quarter to dine from the month of October until April. One hour to breakfast and one hour and three quarters to dine from April until October." In other words, during the busiest but hottest seasons, when Eppes needed intensive

<sup>74</sup> William Fanning Wickham Diary, 17 vols., 1828–1880, vol. 1, 1828–1830, June 24, 28, 1828, January 2, March 20, 1829; vol. 2, 1830–1836, July 23, 1830, October 2, 1835; vol. 7, 1858–1862, October 24, 1858, August 16, 1861, VHS.

<sup>75</sup> J. R. Wardsfork, "Follow Nature," *Farmers' Register* 3 (November 1835): 432.

<sup>76</sup> For more detail, see M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*, chap. 4.



and efficient labor the most, he seemed to give his slaves more time off, measured to within fifteen minutes. Yet these "apparently long breaks for meals and rest, especially during the summer," ought not, as one econometrician has recently contended, "be attributed to the philanthropic instincts of the planters." The effect of giving longer, clock-regulated recuperative breaks in the South's sweltering months actually increased slaves' efficiency at precisely the time when masters needed their people to labor most intensively. Moreover, that Eppes awarded his slaves an additional forty-five minutes to eat in the summer is hardly testimony to paternal magnanimity when we bear in mind that southern summer days were, on average, over three hours longer than winter ones. Eppes, in short, could afford to allow his hands more time to breakfast and lunch in the summer not only because it made economic sense but simply because there was more daytime to bestow. Plainly, then, all hands were primed for efficiency at all times, literally. And even if those times changed marginally during the year, they were still measured by the clock. All time was Eppes's time, and that time was clock regulated. Rule VI of Eppes's regulations reads: "You will be allowed to have half of every Saturday leaving your work at 12 O.C. except when a press then it will not be allowed you."<sup>77</sup> When nature hindered the completion of one agricultural task, plantation labor could be reallocated in order to save time. As William Fanning Wickham noted in 1861: "The interruptions from the weather cause us to get on slowly with the wheat, but not much time is lost, as the ploughs are running when we cannot thresh."<sup>78</sup>

The time spent cultivating some crops had to be more carefully monitored than when growing other staples. Tobacco, for instance, "requires a great deal of labor and attention to produce it of a fine quality." And quality tools were essential in the tobacco planter's fight against losing time:

how much labor is often lost by giving a hand an indifferent axe or worn out hoe, . . . How much time is often lost in sending to a neighbor's to borrow a spade, or to grind axes for want of a grindstone at home. Half the time lost in this way in the course of a year would if employed in some useful labor more than purchase a spade and grindstone.<sup>79</sup>

But whatever the crop, time lost was a pressing worry for masters. While individual planters were certainly free to impose their own temporal parameters and devise their own work regimes to suit their crop and labor force, all shared in an appeal to the clock as an arbiter of plantation order. In other words, while certain crops

<sup>77</sup> "Privileges of the Negroes on the Island Plantation," Rules V and VI, in the "Code of Laws, Rules, and Regulations," ca. 1857, section 69, Eppes Family Papers, 1722–1953, VHS; John F. Olson, "Clock Time versus Real Time: A Comparison of the Lengths of the Northern and Southern Agricultural Work Years," in Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery; Technical Papers*, 2 vols. (New York, 1992), 1: 235, 222. The reference to the island is probably Eppes Island in Charles County, Virginia. See *The Virginia Landmarks Register*, Calder Loth, ed., 3d edn. (Charlottesville, Va., 1986), 82–83.

<sup>78</sup> Wickham Diary, vol. 7, 1858–1862, August 16, 1861, VHS. Also see Olson, "Clock Time versus Real Time," 227; Ralph V. Anderson and Robert E. Gallman, "Slaves as Fixed Capital: Slave Labor and Southern Economic Development," *Journal of American History* 64 (June 1977): 24–46.

<sup>79</sup> A Maryland Planter, "Essay on the Cultivation of Tobacco, and the Management of the Plantation," *Farmers' Register* 9 (March 1841): 184.

demanding particular work hours at particular points in the year, all crops, because they were cultivated by slaves, were clock regulated to some extent. It was more the labor and to a lesser extent the crop that was being timed and regulated.

If crop cycles could be coordinated by the clock, so could the specific stages and components of agricultural production. Amelia County, Virginia, planter James Powell Cocke, for example, commenced threshing wheat "at 10 Ock" in August 1854, "[f]inished sowing [the winter] wheat about 12 OCI" in November 1854, and in July of 1856 "[b]egan my wheat Harvest at 10 OcK A.M."<sup>80</sup> So, too, with the human cogs of the plantation machine. In published plantation journals, owners reveal how they attempted to cultivate among overseers the habit of making precise, clock-oriented daily journal entries and provided advice on how long slaves should reasonably spend on particular aspects of plantation agriculture. Before the running of the plantation could be rendered orderly, the overseers themselves had to acquire the habit of time discipline: "The operations, events and remarks of each day should be recorded in the evening of the same day, and not put off until forgot, or until necessarily omitted for want of time. Attention to keeping up the Journal will soon become a habit." Once the overseers had acquired this discipline, then so could the laborers, and managers were urged to regulate rising, work times, and breaks by the clock. Time for kindnesses could then be found or created within the clock-defined working day, regardless of crop:

Notice them, encourage and reward such as best perform their duties. Even a word of kindness, if judiciously used, will effect much. At other times respite from labor for a few hours of any day, or at the end of the week, may be granted, and when such loss of time will not materially affect the plantation operations.<sup>81</sup>

Within these broad parameters, more minute distinctions were made. Certain workers had their own work time defined for them. Plowmen and their teams, for example, "should never be actually at work over ten hours a day, the balance of the time should be given to rest, feeding, and careful attendance at the stables." The rationale behind this ten-hour limit was again clock defined and inspired by the need to make sure that slaves worked intensively: "As much work can be done in ten hours, if the horses are in order, as in 12 or 14, worked in the ordinary slow and out of heart style." For planters who were assigning their slaves tasks and who wanted to know how to get the most out of the ten hours, other advice was forthcoming: "A man or boy with a good horse and plough, ought to plough about 1 1/3 acre per day—flush—for if he works 10 hours, and cut and turn a furrow 9 inches wide, he will be required to walk at the rate of 3 miles per hour to accomplish this task." Oxen or horses could be accommodated in the time-distance-work formula:

Having given the width of the furrow-slice cut by any plough, the number of hours at work, and the rate at which the team travels per hour, the surface that such plough and team can

<sup>80</sup> Emphasis mine. James Powell Cocke, "Woodland" plantation, Diary, 1836, 1851–1857, August 25, 1854, November 1, 1854, July 23, 1856, Cocke Family Papers, 1770–1860, VHS.

<sup>81</sup> *Plantation and Farm Instruction, Regulation, Record, Inventory and Account Book: For the Use of the Manager on the Estate of Philip St. George Cocke, And for the better Ordering and Management of Plantation and Farm Business in Many Particulars; Second Edition, with additions* (Richmond, Va., 1861), 3–4, 5, 6, in Philip St. George Cocke Papers, 1854–1871, VHS.

plough per day, may be calculated . . . An ox team will travel twenty miles a day; and hence may be calculated the quantity of hauling which ought to be done at any given distance; making the proper allowance for the time necessary to load . . . A horse team will travel 25 miles a day.<sup>82</sup>

The introduction of the clock to the plantation field made temporal coordination and regulation under southern slavery very similar to that being enforced in free wage labor, industrializing societies. Clock-regulated bells and bugles especially were one way to regulate the work times of laborers slave and free. Compare, for example, the following two statements, the first by a southern slaveowner in 1860, the second depicting the regulation of work time in English factories in 1833. The southern slave, apparently, was "not overworked; . . . He goes out when it is light enough to work, at 8 o'clock takes his breakfast, at 12 o'clock his dinner, at 2 o'clock goes to his work again, . . . [at] 9 or 10 o'clock goes to bed." Similarly, child laborers in Leeds "commenced at six o'clock; at nine, half an hour for breakfast; from half past nine till twelve, work. Dinner, one hour; from five till eight, work; rest for half an hour. From half past eight till twelve, (midnight,) work; an hour's rest."<sup>83</sup>

If aural clock time was one weapon in the masters' arsenal to fight for progress, regulated slave behavior, and increased productivity, the watch was another. It was especially suited to gauging the economic productivity of labor. Because antebellum "laborlords," as Gavin Wright has called Old South planters, sought to maximize output per hand rather than yield per acre, the saving and manipulation of slaves' labor time was of great importance.<sup>84</sup> Although, as John F. Olson has pointed out, slaves worked fewer clock-time hours per year than free laborers, North and South, slaves nevertheless "worked more intensively per hour" because their masters were able to regulate their productivity with the watch backed by the whip. According to Olson, "slaves on plantations using the gang system worked 94 per cent more (harder) each hour than did free men." This level of intensity was achieved because slaveholders, like nineteenth-century managers elsewhere, came to recognize that work and leisure regulated by clock time was a means to increase and maintain the

<sup>82</sup> Inevitably, a few of the nuances were sometimes lost in translating the ideal to the field. But the following journal entries made in the same plantation manual suggest that the counsel concerning the centrality of the clock was not lost on overseers: "All hands stripping & packing today finish stripping by twelve oclocke . . . Finish weeding corn by twelve o'clocke then went to working peas . . . All hands cutting oats until twelve oclocke then ploughed corn & worked tobacco . . . hauling & threshing wheat commenced upto twelve o'clocke in No. 5 field." See *Plantation and Farm Instruction, Regulation, Record, Inventory and Account Book*, 5, 6, 15–16; March 19, June 1, July 5, August 5, 1861, in Cocke Papers, VHS.

<sup>83</sup> [An Alabama Planter], "Plantation Life in the South—A Picture of Comfort," *Southern Cultivator* 18 (June 1860): 183; [Fraser's Magazine], "Laborers in English Factories," *Farmers' Register* 1 (August 1833): 188, 189. For photographic evidence of bell towers on antebellum southern plantations, see John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), 42, 92, 114, 152, 199, 219. For more on communicating plantation-house clock time to the field, see M. Smith, "Time, Slavery and Plantation Capitalism," 152–54.

<sup>84</sup> Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the Civil War* (New York, 1986), 17–19; *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1978), 43–88. Also see Jacob Metzger, "Rational Management, Modern Business, and Economies of Scale in the Ante-Bellum Southern Plantations," *Explorations in Economic History* 12 (1975): 123–50; and Aufhauser, "Slavery and Scientific Management."



productivity of labor. Of course, if slaves did work so much harder per hour than free workers who were similarly regulated by the clock, one must assume that the whip *coupled* with the clock or watch was a better regulator of productivity than the watch and wage incentive. But planters, while undoubtedly linking the two in their discourse, tended to emphasize the role of the clock alone in maintaining productivity. Georgia planter James Thomas, for example, described how he gave his bondpeople a five-minute break every thirty minutes because he found that such respites from labor increased the amount of work performed by his slaves 15 percent.<sup>85</sup> Other planters also devised procedures to “ascertain the actual cost of any specific work,” when “the time it occupies being known.” Examples were disseminated in southern agricultural journals. “The *daily labor of a team*,” reported the *Farmers’ Register* in 1834, “must necessarily be regulated by the manner in which it is employed, as well as by its strength.” “In some southern and midland counties,” the writer explained, “the carters who generally sleep in the house, rise at four in the morning, feed, clean, and harness the horses, get breakfast, and are ready to go a-field at six-o’clock, or after seven in the winter, when they work till two, thus making at the utmost a yoking of eight hours.”<sup>86</sup> Some antebellum plantation journals had sections like “Work Timed by Watch” and entries detailing that “[i]t takes exactly five minutes to run a furrow,” as well as notations documenting that a particular piece of plantation work “took Josey & Adam about 1/2 hour.” The avowed ideal that clock-regulated plantations would render the coordination of plantation labor “like clock-work” was more often than not realized.<sup>87</sup>

WE NEED NOT RELY SOLELY on planters’ records to verify that clock time was an important arbiter of work and life on antebellum southern plantations. Slaves remembered the clock and watch and testified that they had come to accept, albeit grudgingly, timed agricultural labor under slavery. Although they originally came from societies where natural time was predominant and that same reliance on natural time remained important to them, southern slaves, like nineteenth-century urban-industrial workers, found their reliance on sun and stars as exclusive arbiters of time attacked and, ultimately, undermined.<sup>88</sup> Whereas rural workers in nine-

<sup>85</sup> Olson, “Clock Time versus Real Time,” 234, 235; James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture 1732–1860* (Athens, Ga., 1964), 201.

<sup>86</sup> “Labor,” *Farmers’ Register* 2 (June 1834): 51.

<sup>87</sup> “Work Timed by Watch,” August 1843, Anon., Plantation Journal, Barnwell District, S.C., 1838–1844, August 1843, SCL. John Berkley Grimball Diary, March 7, 1863–March 13, 1865, Series 2: Typed Transcriptions of Diary, 1832–1883, Folder 21, Typed Transcriptions Volume 4, John Berkley Grimball Diary, 1832–1883, Southern Historical Collection, in Stamp, *RASP*, ser. J, pt. 3, r. 16, fr. 396. A Georgia-Alabama planter, 1851, quoted in *Advice among Masters: The Ideal in Slave Management in the Old South*, James O. Breeden, ed. (Westport, Conn., 1980), 66. Evidence suggests that the task system was subject to clock time, too; see M. Smith, “Time, Slavery and Plantation Capitalism,” 155–56.

<sup>88</sup> Secondary works on this subject that note the role of natural rhythms in African time measurement include Thomas C. McCaskie, “Time and the Calendar in Nineteenth-Century Asante: An Exploratory Essay,” *History in Africa* 7 (1980): 179–200; and Earl McKenzie, “Time in European and African Philosophy,” *Caribbean Quarterly* 19 (September 1973): 77–85. According to Mechal Sobel, most West African societies shared this view and understanding of time; see *World They Made Together*, 18. A contemporary account of African time conceptions is in Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior of Africa* (1796; rpt. edn., New York, 1983), 246.

teenth-century Natal, Britain, and Australia were either slow to accept the legitimacy of the clock or able to reject it, American slaves appear to have succumbed more readily to their masters' admonitions concerning clock-regulated plantation labor. On the one hand, this is surprising because, some black slave drivers excepted, very few slaves actually owned a mechanical timepiece, something E. P. Thompson and others believe to have been important for the inculcation of clock consciousness among workers.<sup>89</sup> But, on the other, it is of little surprise, especially when one considers how masters enforced slaves' obedience to the clock and how potent the aural power of time had proven in all societies, the South's included. Masters' two-pronged method to foist time obedience on their bondpeople, aurally communicated clock time backed up by the discipline of the whip, suggests that wage incentives, fines for lateness, and industrialization were not always necessary for the successful inculcation of clock time.

As has been noted, not all plantations at all times could establish a work regime committed wholly to regular clock hours. Different crops required different types of work at different times of the year, resulting in slack times and intense periods of work.<sup>90</sup> But, as we have seen, slaveowners diversified their crops so that labor was always employed in some capacity. Whatever the crop or season, clock time, though of varying length, was still an important monitor of plantation labor. The importance planters attached to clock time, even within the undulating seasonal and working rhythm of the southern plantation, was not lost on slaves. As former Virginia slave Clara Robinson put it: "We raise terbaccer, corn, an' wheat. We raise our own meat too. When I wuked in de fiel, I digged crops." This variety notwithstanding, she still recalled a clock-defined aspect to her plantation work: "Go to work 'round five er six an' git off after dark."<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline," 56–90; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 291–92. The majority of slaves did not own clocks or watches, although it is, of course, difficult to say so authoritatively since, as chattel, any possessions slaves might have accumulated were not recorded in probate inventories. Ex-slave Tob Davis of Texas probably spoke for the majority of slaves: "Dey don't have de watches dem deys fo' de nigger so dey can't tell de time." *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, George P. Rawick, ed., 41 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1972–79), supp. ser. 2, vol. 4, Texas Narratives, pt. 3, 1082; and J. F. Jackson's testimony, supp. ser. 1, vol. 1, Alabama Narratives, 212. Watch ownership might have been more common among South Carolina and Georgia low country slaves because the task system enabled them to accumulate money and hence personal property. For one Georgia slave who claimed ownership of a watch after the war, see Philip D. Morgan, "Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1880," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 39 (October 1982): 588 n. 94. Occasionally, slaves stole watches when running away. See Advertisements for Jim, Jacob, and Tony in the *Georgia Messenger*, November 15, 1848, August 13, 1831, July 3, 1850; Joseph P. Reidy, *From Slavery to Agrarian Capitalism in the Cotton Plantation South: Central Georgia, 1880–1880* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 27, 259 n. 38; Jonathan Prude, "To Look Upon the 'Lower Sort': Runaway Ads and the Appearance of Unfree Laborers in America, 1750–1800," *Journal of American History* 78 (June 1991): 124–59. On the whole, however, slaveholders were understandably reluctant to encourage widespread timepiece ownership among slaves. Like the earliest British industrialists, they feared watch-owning bondpeople would quickly become time-negotiating workers, an intolerable prospect on all but the smallest scale. On this, see M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*, chaps. 4–5; and Nguyen, "Spatialization of Metric Time," 36.

<sup>90</sup> Similarly variable rhythms prevailed in antebellum northern factories. See O'Malley, *Keeping Watch*, 38–39.

<sup>91</sup> *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves*, Charles L. Perdue, Jr., Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips, eds. (Charlottesville, Va., 1976), 237. Of course, when nature's time demanded that a crop of any type needed harvesting, work time could always be extended. Sometimes this meant preempting dawn with the clock and horn. "If they forcin' wheat or other crops," recalled Elizabeth Sparks, "they start to work long fo' day. Usual work day began when the horn blow an' stop when the

Because of the ubiquity of the clock in plantation affairs, slaves of the antebellum period as well as former slaves interviewed in the 1930s recalled clearly that clocks and watches were used to regulate their labor.<sup>92</sup> Slaves who were timed in the field by their master's watch, for example, remembered the time pressure of work. A fugitive slave of the 1850s, Moses Grandy, acknowledged that on his North Carolina plantation, work and work breaks were watch regulated: "The overseer stood with his watch in hand, to give us just an hour; when he said, 'Rise,' we had to rise and go to work again."<sup>93</sup> Moreover, being hectored by the timepiece in this way seems to have made slaves punctual. If other masters were anything like Lue Bradford's Texas owner, slaves' compulsion was understandable. "They would have to work until the horn sounded before they could stop for noon. In the morning the field boss would have the record book and each person was supposed to report before starting for work and all were punished who were late." The rationale for such a practice was clear to her: "This encouraged punctuality."<sup>94</sup> Others, like John Washington of Virginia, recalled that during the 1850s if he "had any desire to go out again in a reasonable time," the time specified by his master on his "permission" slip enabling him to leave the plantation "must be punctually obeyed." According to Lu Lee of Texas, the slave knew when to return: "[The] nigger would get a pass and come over and stay with he gal and then he would say, 'I am sorry but it is that certain time and I got to go.'"<sup>95</sup>

Born of their own experience with public, urban time, planters realized the power of communicating time through sound and so regulated plantation operations with clock-governed bells and horns. Cole Thomas of Texas explained at some length the system of rising by bugle on his plantation and the method his master used to ensure that it would be heard:

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horn blow. They git off jes' long 'nuf to eat at noon." See Rawick, *American Slave*, vol. 16, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia, and Tennessee Narratives; vol. 17, Virginia Narratives, 51.

<sup>92</sup> On the various methodological problems in using narratives recorded in the 1930s in particular, see Eugene Genovese, "Getting to Know the Slaves," *New York Review of Books* (September 21, 1972): 16-19; Norman R. Yetman, "The Background of the Slave Narrative Collection," *American Quarterly* 19 (Fall 1967): 534-53; C. Vann Woodward, "History from Slave Sources," *AHR* 79 (April 1974): 470-81; and Paul D. Escott, *Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 3-17. In this case, however, the contemporary accounts complement the narratives, which suggests that the 1930s testimony is not as flawed as is sometimes assumed.

<sup>93</sup> *Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy, a Slave in the United States of America* (Boston, 1844), 17, in Katz, *Five Slave Narratives*. Also see Rawick, *American Slave*, supp. ser. 1, vol. 12, Oklahoma Narratives, 277; supp. ser. 2, vol. 7, Texas Narratives, pt. 6, 2833; vol. 7, Oklahoma and Mississippi Narratives, 311.

<sup>94</sup> Lue Bradford's testimony cited in John B. Cade, "Out of the Mouths of Ex-Slaves," *Journal of Negro History* 44 (January 1935): 312. On the task, see the testimony on 326. Factory slaves had a scarcely more developed sense of time. Compare these accounts with that of John Washington, who in 1860 went to work in a Virginia tobacco factory: "We began Work at 7. Oclock in the Morning Stopped from 1. to 2. O'clock for dinner. Stopped Work at 6 P.M. If we chose to make Extra Work We began at any hour Before 7. and worked some times till 9. P. M." See John Washington, *Memoir, "Memories of the Past,"* n.d., 1 vol., microfilm, r. 1: 66, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Also see the evidence in Charles B. Dew, "Disciplining Slave Ironworkers in the Antebellum South: Coercion, Conciliation, and Accommodation," *AHR* 79 (April 1974): 405-13; and the suggestions in Olson, "Clock Time versus Real Time," 236.

<sup>95</sup> Washington, "Memories of the Past," 55; testimony of Lu Lee in Rawick, *American Slave*, supp. ser. 2, vol. 6, Texas Narratives, pt. 5, 2298. See also *The Fugitive Blacksmith; or, Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, New York, Formerly a Slave in the State of Maryland, United States* (London, 1849), 5-7, in Katz, *Five Slave Narratives*.



We has ter git up early every day in de year, rain or shine. De slaves was woke up every mornin at four thirty by a slave blowin a horn it was his job ter gits up and blow a bugle and den he would go ter work in de fiels wid de rest of de slaves. Dar was no danger of you not wakin up when de bugle blowed cause he blows it long and loud. He allus gits up of a mornin and gits his bugle down and comes out and climbs up on a platform wintah and summah and blows his bugle. Dis platform was about eight or ten feet tall.<sup>96</sup>

"All the stock men worked in the field also—so many hours," remembered Cora Carroll of Mississippi. She explained: "They had a bell for them to go to work in the morning, a bell for them to get up by, and another one for noon, and another in the evening when they would knock off for dark." And it was through the constant reinforcement of time through sound that planters developed in their slaves a keen understanding of the precise time at which plantation affairs occurred: "[At] half-past eleven they would send the older children with food to the workers in the field," recalled one South Carolina ex-slave.<sup>97</sup>

Slaves' obedience to the sound of plantation time was a product not simply of the imperious quality of the bell; it had just as much to do with the way masters ensured obedience to their sounding of the times. Former slave Bill Colins felt that the "large plantation bell which rang every morning at four o'clock" had a despotic quality, because "[t]he bell called and said, get up I'm coming to get you," and he understood that if slaves "did not answer the call the overseer would whip them." Controlling both the tools of time and of violence, planters ensured bondpeople's obedience to the sound of time with the whip. Jerry Boykins of Texas hinted at such a connection. "A big ole brass bell rang every mornin' at four o'clock on the plantashun," recalled Boykins, adding, "an' when that bell begin its racket, every darky roll out his bed, don't you forget!" John Barker was more explicit: "Maybe dey puts you on a task dis mawnin' and dat dere task got to be finished by seben o'clock dis evenin' an' if it ain't, dey whip you."<sup>98</sup> Indeed, William Brown's 1847 testimony accords with later recollections by ex-slaves. On his tobacco and hemp Missouri plantation, field hands "were summoned to their unrequited toil every morning at four o'clock, by the ringing of a bell, hung on a post near the house of the overseer. They were allowed half an hour to eat their breakfast, and get to the field." Once there, aural plantation time, like the factory bell, signaled the beginning of work. The whip substituted for the free wage labor fine for those who were dilatory: "At half past four, a horn was blown by the overseer, which was the signal to commence work; and every one that was not on the spot at the time, had to receive ten lashes from the negro-whip, with which the overseer always went armed." Lateness was measured in minutes. "My mother was a field hand,"

<sup>96</sup> Rawick, *American Slave*, supp. ser. 2, vol. 3, Texas Narratives, pt. 2, 797.

<sup>97</sup> Rawick, *American Slave*, supp. ser. 2, vol. 1, Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Washington Narratives, 81; Annie L. Burton, *Memories of Childhood's Slavery Days* (Boston, 1909), 5, in *Six Women's Slave Narratives* (New York, 1988). Similarly, Betty Cofer testified to the way that this awareness of time served to hurry slaves in their labor: "On one plantation the field hands had to hustle to get to the end of the row at eleven o'clock dinnertime, because when the cooks brought their dinner, they had to stop just where they was and eat." In Belinda Hurmence, ed., *Before Freedom: 48 Oral Histories of Former North and South Carolina Slaves* (New York, 1990), 57.

<sup>98</sup> Rawick, *American Slave*, supp. ser. 2, vol. 3, Texas Narratives, pt. 2, 881; supp. ser. 2, vol. 2, Texas Narratives, pt. 1, 373, 165.

explained Brown, "and one morning was ten or fifteen minutes behind the others in getting to the field." The punishment was as predictable to Brown as wage docking was to tardy industrial workers: "As soon as she reached the spot where they were at work, the overseer commenced whipping her." Plantation clock time and physical violence, then, went together.<sup>99</sup>

What differentiated slaves from Thompson's industrial laborers was that bond-people succumbed more readily to the dictates of clock time. Unlike free laborers, slaves could not engage fully in a debate over the worth and sanctity of their time. Certainly, they resisted masters' efforts to regulate their work by clock and watch. Some ran away, thus depriving masters of their labor time; others, most notably house hands, feigned ignorance of clock time altogether; and many attempted to carve out their own niches of free time. At most, some slaves negotiated with their masters over how much time was theirs to have. But even this kind of negotiation does not appear to have been widespread, and when it did occur it is surely testimony to the fact that slaves, like Thompson's industrial workers, were debating masters on their own terms, that is, negotiating about time as masters defined it.<sup>100</sup> Most slaves' efforts to resist plantation clock time were unsuccessful because the master could always resort to the whip to enforce punctuality to the clock. The slaves' inability to enter the protracted battle over the legitimacy of the clock as an arbiter of work and rest is revealed most graphically in their almost frenetic responses to the sound of the plantation clock. While it is unlikely that this sense of time was ever internalized to the degree that nineteenth-century industrial-urban workers internalized time, it is nevertheless true that slaves' obedience to the clock was remarkably similar to the time discipline of northern, British, Australian, and Natalian urban-industrial workers. Slaves' obedience to plantation time, for example, appears especially heightened when compared to the behavior of rural Natal Zulus and Australians, who appear to have been able to rely on their own measures of time. In comparative perspective, slaves as clock-conscious workers

<sup>99</sup> *Narrative of William W. Brown*, 14–15. For corroborative evidence, see Rawick, *American Slave*, supp. ser. 2, vol. 3, Texas Narratives, pt. 2, 575; supp. ser. 2, vol. 2, Texas Narratives, pt. 1, 133, 398–99. A similar practice is described in Austin Steward, *Twenty-Two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman* (1856; rpt. edn., New York, 1968), 15.

On fines under the factory system, Marx's account is still the best. See his evidence and discussion in *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy; Volume One*, Ben Fowkes, trans., 3 vols. (New York, 1976–81), 1: 550–51, n. 9. Especially revealing in this context are Friedrich Engels's observations (quoted by Marx) on the English factory system in the 1860s: "The slavery in which the bourgeoisie holds the proletariat chained is nowhere more conspicuous than in the factory system. Here ends all freedom in law and in fact. The operative must be in the mill at half past five in the morning; if he comes a couple of minutes too late, he is fined; . . . The despotic bell calls him from his bed, his breakfast, his dinner." Also see the illuminating discussion in Stephen C. Crawford, "Punishments and Rewards," in Fogel and Engerman, *Without Consent or Contract*, 2: 536–45.

<sup>100</sup> M. Smith, "Time, Slavery and Plantation Capitalism," 164–65; Nguyen, "Spatialization of Metric Time," 42–45. On the idea of CPT or "Colored Peoples' Time" and the way in which African Americans might have used this ostensibly white stereotype concerning putative black indolence to resist the strictures of the white man's clock in the nineteenth and especially the twentieth century, see M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*, chap. 5. For the eighteenth century, Betty Wood's most recent work is very useful on slaves' time; see her *Women's Work, Men's Work: The Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1995), 12–30. Also see Neville Hall, "Slaves' Use of Their 'Free' Time in the Danish Virgin Islands in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Caribbean History* 13 (1979): 21–43. For hints that house and skilled slaves enjoyed greater flexibility in defining their own hours, see Crawford, "Punishment and Rewards," 544.

ranked alongside northern rural farmers and industrial workers rather than with British agricultural laborers, rural South African Zulus, or Australia's rural inhabitants, not least because their masters proved among the most effective, if ruthless, enforcers of clock time in the nineteenth-century world.

THERE ARE SEVERAL WAYS to interpret the above evidence. First, one might argue that if the South-as-non-capitalist scenario is correct, then the rise of clock time in any historical context is not an accurate indicator of modernity. This I am inclined to reject, not least because I am unwilling to refute Weber and Marx so cavalierly. A second interpretation that is rather more convincing raises some very interesting possibilities. If we agree that an emphasis on clock time, time-thrift, and punctuality is a legitimate and accurate talisman of a modern time consciousness, then we can argue for one or more of several conclusions. First, it seems that antebellum planters were more successful than British, Australian, and Natalian nineteenth-century capitalists in achieving a modern clock consciousness in a rural environment. In the British instance, this is rather hard to swallow, and it may well be that we simply do not yet know enough about the presence of a rural time consciousness in nineteenth-century Britain to say with any real authority that planters and slaves were comparatively more clock conscious than their rural British counterparts. Second, it seems that African-American slave culture was less able to resist the imposition of clock time than was rural Australian or Zulu culture. This interpretation, however, should not be overemphasized, since it is likely that, as recent studies have suggested, southern white culture was not external to African-American culture; rather, the two evolved in a complex, symbiotic relationship, living off of and shaping one another.<sup>101</sup> And yet, with regard to the culture of antebellum time consciousness, this is one area where African-American culture was transformed by Euro-American attitudes toward time. Because colonial planters were themselves just beginning to appreciate the regulatory power of the clock, Euro-American time conceptions had not always prevailed, as Sobel has demonstrated for eighteenth-century Virginia. By the 1830s, however, the situation had changed. Although the slave mode of production was still in place, southern masters were trying to fulfill new cultural and economic imperatives. The specific forces promoting clock consciousness in the antebellum South rendered slaves more American than African and masters more modern than pre-modern. Once planters in their bid for slave-based modernity had embraced the clock, slaves found themselves more susceptible to masters' insistence, backed as it was by the whip and aural time obedience, on the legitimacy of clock time. What varying degrees of free wage labor failed to do to rural Australian, Zulu, and British workers, the whip and clock-regulated plantation bell succeeded in doing to southern bondpeople. Had these forces been less powerful, had African conceptions of time been less diluted by a comparatively long association with white culture, which, by the late eighteenth century, was beginning to move toward the

<sup>101</sup> See, for example, the thoughtful essays in Ted Ownby, ed., *Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South* (Jackson, Miss., 1993).



use of the clock, then southern slaves would probably have been able to resist clock time more effectively.<sup>102</sup> The main factor in converting slaves to clock time, however, was not so much their long and intimate contact with whites compared to that experienced by Natalian and Australian natives. Rather, it was due in larger part to the redoubtable power of the slaveholders' late antebellum regime in forcing the conversion.

There is, after all, a parallel experience of prolonged cultural interaction in American history that has not resulted in the victory of Euro-American conceptions of time. Although admittedly sketchy, available evidence suggests that Native Americans still eschew white, capitalist time conceptions and can do so not because of some fanciful notion that their culture is stronger or more enduring than that of African Americans but simply because Native Americans do not appear to have been subjected to efforts to convert them to the clock that were as protracted, concerted, and wholesale as those experienced by southern slaves. Even though late nineteenth and early twentieth-century mission schools did attempt to instill clock consciousness among Native American students in ways that were remarkably similar to planters' attempts to indoctrinate their slaves to the clock, there is some evidence to suggest that these efforts did not engender the long-term commitment to the clock hoped for by "civilizing" missionaries. As David Wallace Adams has pointed out, Indian school authorities recognized that "[u]ntil the students' concept of natural time was supplanted by that of clock time, . . . it would be next to impossible to develop in them an appreciation of promptness and punctuality, key values in civilized life." However, like Australian Aborigines, who were also subjected to missionary efforts to render them sensible to clock time, Native Americans, once they had left the missions, found the clock largely absent from their lives and mainly irrelevant, if not antithetical, to their world. A few years' education about clock time, no matter how vigorously enforced, quickly lost its currency when mission students returned to the "tribal fold," where "old cultural alligiances" were reawakened. The difference between African Americans and Native Americans in this instance is not, of course, absolute. It is nonetheless revealing, however, that once African Americans left slavery, their consciousness of the clock remained with them.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Sobel, *World They Made Together*, 15–64.

<sup>103</sup> Quotations from David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence, Kan., 1995), 120, 278; note, too, the observations on 276, 336. Also see Bernard L. Fontana, "The Melting Pot That Wouldn't: Ethnic Groups in the American Southwest since 1846," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 1 (1974): esp. 20; Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893–1920* (Norman, Okla., 1996), 105, 113–15; and Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1861–1909* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 55–56. Plainly, it is not the duration of cultural interaction per se that is critical here. Rather, one needs to examine for how long and under what conditions the specifics of clock time and consciousness were taught or enforced. It is worth bearing in mind, as Norbert Elias notes, that a child growing up even in a "highly time-regulated" society "needs from seven to nine years to 'learn time.'" See Elias, *Time*, 139.

Evidence suggesting that earlier attempts to indoctrinate Native Americans did not tend to focus on imposing clock consciousness and that Indians were therefore able to rely on their own conceptions of time may be found in Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1976), 365–75; James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford, 1981), 137; and, for the eighteenth century, Joseph-François Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*, E. H. Lemay, ed., 2 vols. (1724; rpt. edn., Paris,

Viewed in comparative perspective, then, the slave South was evidently one of the few rural regions in the nineteenth-century world to be affected by a modern clock consciousness. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the slave South either shared or imported most of the forces that had promoted time discipline in other nineteenth-century societies. Second, what it refused to import, free wage labor in factory or agricultural form, mattered less than we have sometimes been led to believe.<sup>104</sup> The slaveholders' drive for a qualified, clock-defined modernity was sufficient to impel both masters and their chattel toward a clock consciousness that was little different from, and in some ways more advanced than, the northern or British form.<sup>105</sup> The whip coupled with the sound of clock time proved as effective in the South as the Protestant work ethic/free wage labor/industrial combination had in the North. Just as the capitalist time consciousness apparent on Martin Bruegel's antebellum northern farms accompanied and in some ways preceded northern industrialism, so the Old South's time-based plantation capitalism foreshadowed the coming of southern nominally free wage labor after the Civil War.<sup>106</sup> Nor should this be considered especially unusual. As a variety of recent studies have demonstrated, modern industry is, after all, simply one of the outcomes of an evolving, often non-industrial capitalism, and the distance between wage and chattel slavery might not be as great as we have sometimes assumed.<sup>107</sup> If the time consciousness of the antebellum South is considered modern, then we may add to these formulations by suggesting that the postbellum South's transition to free wage labor was in some ways prefigured by a clock consciousness both nurtured from without and nourished from within the Old South's slave regime.<sup>108</sup>

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1983), as cited in Elias, *Time*, 150–52. But note, too, the suggestive remarks in Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1988), 223, 227, 259. On the ability of Native Americans, the Iroquois and Sioux in particular, to maintain their commitment to their own constructions of time until the mid-twentieth century, see Elias, *Time*, 137–39, 150; and Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (Garden City, N.Y., 1959), 21, 25.

Native Americans sometimes found leaving the clock-regimented environment of the mission school disorienting, which might illustrate just how peripheral clock time was to the non-mission, Native American environment in the early twentieth century. According to Juanita (Cherokee), for example, who entered Chilocco Indian School in 1929 at age 12: "There were schedules all over the place. You had to have a schedule or you never would know where you belonged. It was very hard when I left there because there were no schedules, there were no bells ringing and whistles blowing, I didn't know what to do . . . That was one of the big complaints that I heard from kids who left Chilocco, especially if they spent a lot of years there." Quoted in K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994), [28]. Plainly, however, this subject deserves and demands more research, and the thesis put forward here is merely suggestive, not prescriptive. On the Australian Aborigine experience with missionary schools, see Davison, *Unforgiving Minute*, 24–28. On the time consciousness of southern freedpeople, see Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*, chaps. 5–6.

<sup>104</sup> For a historian who emphasizes the centrality of wage labor in defining a particular mode of production as "capitalist," see Genovese, *Political Economy of Slavery*.

<sup>105</sup> Also see James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York, 1983).

<sup>106</sup> Regarding the North, this is the logical conclusion to be drawn from Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon."

<sup>107</sup> See, for example, P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688–1914* (London, 1993), 1–52, and the idea of "gentlemanly capitalism" especially. For a collection of essays that explore in fruitful and constructive ways the similarities and differences between slavery and wage labor, see the special issue "The Wages of Slavery: From Chattel Slavery to Wage Labour in Africa, the Caribbean and England," Michael Twaddle, ed., *Slavery and Abolition* 14 (April 1993): 1–12, 207–26.

<sup>108</sup> For the postbellum South, see M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock*, chap. 6.

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## The Social Nation and Its Futures: English Liberalism and Polish Nationalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Warsaw

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BRIAN A. PORTER

FOR MOST POLISH INTELLECTUALS, the world ended in 1863, as the conceptual framework that had sustained them for a generation disintegrated. Ever since the final partition of their state between Russia, Prussia, and the Habsburg empire in 1795, the disempowered Polish gentry had struggled to regain an autonomous public space, and intellectual life had revolved around the question of how best to attain this goal. The first half-century of statelessness left a legacy of futile diplomacy, momentary autonomy under Napoleonic sponsorship, a failed uprising in 1830, and a seemingly endless list of hopeless conspiracies. When another insurrection was launched in 1863, the moment of national salvation appeared to have arrived. This time, Polish nationalists told themselves, things would be different; this time, the whole population would rise, and independence would surely be won. After more than a year of violence, however, that dream remained distant. The defeat of the "January Uprising" not only brought unprecedented material destruction and loss of life but seemed to negate the ideals, beliefs, and hopes that had sustained so many for so long.<sup>1</sup> To make matters worse, out of the ashes arose not a phoenix but something distressingly mundane: liberalism.

Western liberals—particularly English liberals—were extolled by many in Warsaw in the late 1860s and 1870s, but when their work was translated, it was repositioned within a specifically Polish debate. The liberal voices of Western Europe were brought into Poland just as the very definition of the nation was being adjusted to the needs of an era in which revolt no longer seemed possible. Polish liberalism, as a result, took on a particular shading. It was more than *laissez-faire* economics, "bourgeois" values, social modernization, and anticlericalism—above all, liberalism gave Polish writers a new way to describe the nation and to imagine its future. The Warsaw liberals removed the nation from the political mode of

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<sup>1</sup> For an English language history of the 1863 revolt, see R. F. Leslie, *Reform and Insurrection in Russian Poland, 1856–1865* (London, 1963). The Polish-language literature on this topic is too vast to list. One can begin with the classic by Stefan Kieniewicz, *Powstanie styczniowe*, 2d edn. (Warsaw, 1983). A good general history of partitioned Poland is Piotr Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795–1918* (Seattle, Wash., 1974).

discourse within which it had been embedded for decades and transposed it to a social framework.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the nation-as-public-actor became the nation-as-social-collective. In the early nineteenth century, Polish nationalists had located the nation within a world of conflict and struggle, in which self-determined historical agents could apply the force of will to solve their problems. The nation itself had been a "subject" that could "act," usually on behalf of universal principles like "freedom" and "justice." After the disastrous uprising of 1863, the world in which this vocabulary made sense was shattered, and the nation was placed within a new "social" frame of reference. In this environment, when one discussed the nation, one addressed issues of "structure," "process," and "identity"; agency and will were de-emphasized, and eventually delegitimized. The nation became a "society" rather than a "cause" and was transformed from a historical actor into a community, subject to the laws of nature.

Both contemporaries and historians have suggested that these changes led Warsaw liberals to sever the bond between nation and state, between nationalism and the quest for independence.<sup>3</sup> I will argue that this was not the case. Although most Polish intellectuals repudiated political agitation after 1863, they were able to remain within a nationalist tradition by creatively interpreting a liberal teleology in a way that allowed them to sustain their desire for, and belief in, Polish statehood. This rhetorical maneuver was possible because the English liberals so admired in

<sup>2</sup> The idea of a "mode of discourse" or "mode of thinking" is from Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 86–87. When one speaks of "imagining" the national future, the obvious citation is the now classic book by Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983). See also Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (New York, 1990); Richard G. Fox, ed., *Nationalist Ideologies and the Production of National Cultures* (Washington, D.C., 1990); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); Marjorie Ringrose and Adam J. Lerner, eds., *Reimagining the Nation* (Philadelphia, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> For this view, see Stanislaus A. Blejwas, *Realism in Polish Politics: Warsaw Positivism and National Survival in Nineteenth Century Poland* (New Haven, Conn., 1984), 140; Andrzej Jaszczuk, "Liberalny pozytywizm w Królestwie Polskim i w Petersburgu, 1870–1905 r.," in *Tradycje liberalne w Polsce: Sympozjum historyczne* (Warsaw, 1993), 27–37; Jerzy Jedlicki, *Jakiej cywilizacji Polacy potrzebują: Studia z dziejów idei i wyobraźni XIX wieku* (Warsaw, 1988), 300; Leslie, *Reform and Insurrection*, 247; Wojciech Modzelewski, *Naród i postęp: Problematyka narodowa w ideologii i myśli społecznej pozytywistów warszawskich* (Warsaw, 1977), 27–32, 120–22; Andrzej Walicki, *Poland between East and West: The Controversies over Self-Definition and Modernization in Partitioned Poland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 28–29; Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (New York, 1982), 340–41. Much of this discussion revolves around the problematic but pervasive dichotomy made famous by Adam Bromke, *Poland's Politics: Idealism vs. Realism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). The positivists are said to be "realists" because they gave up the active quest for independent statehood.

Other works on positivism include Celina Bobińska, "Spór o ujęcie pozytywizmu i historyków pozytywistów," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 61 (1954); Krzysztof Groniowski, "Spór o pojęcie 'pracy organicznej': Polemiki ideowe warszawskich pozytywistów," in *Wiek XIX: Prace ofiarowane Stefanowi Kieniewiczowi w 60 rocznicę urodzin*, Barbara Grochulska, Bogusław Leśnodorski, and Andrzej Zahorski, eds. (Warsaw, 1967), 367–82; Anna Hochfeldowa and Barbara Skarga, "Polska myśl filozoficzna w epoce pozytywizmu," in *Filozofia i myśl społeczna w latach 1865–1895*, Hochfeldowa and Skarga, eds. (Warsaw, 1980), 9–100; Hochfeldowa and Skarga, eds., *Z historii filozofii pozytywistycznej w Polsce: Ciągłość i przemiany* (Wrocław, 1972); Halina Kozłowska-Sabatowska, *Ideologia pozytywizmu galicyjskiego, 1864–1881* (Wrocław, 1978); Janina Kulczycka-Saloni, ed., *Pozytywizm* (Warsaw, 1971); Henryk Markiewicz, *Idee patriotyzmu i demokracji w literaturze pozytywistycznej* (Kraków, 1969); Markiewicz, *Pozytywizm* (Warsaw, 1978); Irena Pietrzak-Pawłowska, "Praca organiczna wobec wielokapitalistycznych przemian w Królestwie Polskim," *Przegląd historyczny* 54 (1963); Ewa Warzenica, *Pozytywistyczny "obóz młodych" wobec tradycji wielkiej polskiej poezji romantycznej (lata 1866–1881)* (Warsaw, 1968); and Ryszard Wroczyński, *Pozytywizm warszawski: Zarys dziejów oraz wybór publicystyki i krytyki* (Warsaw, 1948).

Warsaw were translated and appropriated in surprisingly innovative ways and were utilized creatively to solve some distinctly Polish problems. By exploring the intersection of liberalism and nationalism in Poland, we can see how a political space (the state) could be retained within a world-view that rejected political action.

Most scholars seem to agree that "political" goals are a necessary part of any nationalist program. Elie Kedourie's definition, now more than thirty years old, remains widely accepted: a nationalist doctrine "holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government."<sup>4</sup> Even those who have recognized that there are many different styles of nationalism have still focused on competing visions of the ideal nation-state.<sup>5</sup> This concentration on political aspirations is perhaps heuristically useful, insofar as it helps us distinguish between "modern" (political) nationalism and other forms of "ethnic" identity. However, for this very reason, it compels us to overemphasize the linkage between the concept of "the nation" and the construction of "modernity" and to imagine a single narrative of nationalism and nation-building, a single historical trajectory from "pre-modern" forms of identity to the triumph of the nation-state. This narrows our vision, obscuring the diverse ways in which "the nation" has been employed in a variety of discursive frameworks, for a variety of purposes. Specifically, this approach makes it difficult to interpret those who repudiate political contestation while still placing something called "the nation" at the center of their rhetoric. If such people are discussed, they are typically relegated to a "preparatory" or "preliminary" stage of a nationalist movement; they are the ones who lay the "cultural" foundation for those who will ultimately create the nation-state.<sup>6</sup> An examination of the Polish case will link a group of seemingly

<sup>4</sup> Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 3d edn. (London, 1960), 9. A similar, "political" definition of nationalism can also be found in Peter Alter, *Nationalism*, Stuart McKinnon-Evans, trans. (London, 1985), 17; John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (New York, 1982), 3; Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 105; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990), 9–10; R. Minogue, *Nationalism* (New York, 1967), 154; Theodor Schieder, *Nationalismus und Nationalstaat: Studium zum nationalen Problem im modernen Europa* (Göttingen, 1991), 24–26; Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nationalism Old and New* (Sydney, 1965); Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (London, 1971), 21; Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (New York, 1986). East European scholars have long complained about the broad usage of the term "nationalism" in English-language scholarship, because in most languages of the region "nationalism" is reserved for chauvinistic, xenophobic ideologies, with "patriotism" or "the national movement" used in less value-laden contexts. See Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe," in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York, 1996), 62; and Andrzej Walicki, *The Three Traditions in Polish Patriotism and Their Contemporary Relevance* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988).

<sup>5</sup> This approach, first stated by Hans Kohn, has also become well established in the literature. See Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York, 1956), 3; Kohn, *Prelude to Nation-States: The French and German Experience, 1789–1815* (Princeton, N.J., 1967); Boyd C. Shafer, *Faces of Nationalism: New Realities and Old Myths* (New York, 1972); Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Carlton J. H. Hayes, *The Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York, 1931); Hayes, *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York, 1960); John Plamenatz, "Two Types of Nationalism," in Eugene Kamenka, ed., *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea* (New York, 1976), 22–36.

<sup>6</sup> In addition to those just cited, see Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, Ben Fowkes, trans. (Cambridge, 1985). In the same tradition, see Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London, 1977). Eley and Suny, while still equating "modern nationalism" with "political claims," offer an excellent critique of the teleology that so often



apolitical intellectuals to a broader nationalist discourse in a less teleological manner. The Warsaw positivists insisted that the nation could exist without political form (without a state) and thrive without openly pursuing independence. Nonetheless, a simplistic political/apolitical, state/culture dichotomy conceals more than it reveals. Liberalism manifested itself in Poland as a solution to a paradox: how to dream of independence while insisting that states did not matter and political action was futile. As we will see, there were many ways to position the nation in history, many ways to imagine the nation and its future.

FROM THE PARTITIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY until the uprising of 1863, the Polish nation was defined within a world of contestation, struggle, and above all will. On the one hand, independence was to be regained through an active struggle for emancipation; on the other, the nation itself was described as a historical subject, possessing its own power of volition and action. The poet and operatic librettist Józef Wybicki offered one of the most famous articulations of the need for national struggle in 1797, just after the partitions. A song he wrote then became enormously popular and in the twentieth century was to serve as Poland's national anthem.

Poland has not yet died  
As long as we live,  
What foreign force has taken from us  
We will reconquer by the sword!<sup>7</sup>

Here, the nation was less a community than a goal, an objective. As a later verse proclaimed, "We will cross the Vistula, we will cross the Varta, [and then] we will be Poles." The future tense is significant: the essence of the Polish nation could only be realized when the émigré nationalists returned to their homeland and liberated their country. The nation of Wybicki was closely—indeed, definitionally—linked to the concept of action.

In 1830, Poles did try to "reconquer by the sword" that which had been taken from them, by staging the first of the nineteenth-century uprisings. As intellectuals tried to give meaning to this revolt—and then to make sense of its failure—they embraced the language of romantic idealism and made Poland the subject of history, its driving force. After the insurrection was crushed and the dream of immediately regaining the political "body" was lost, Poland was relocated within the act of violent revolt itself. For the poets Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Słowacki, the

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characterizes this narrative. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, "Introduction: From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation," in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 10–11. The best critique of the application of a modernization narrative to the study of nationalism is Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> The lyrics offered here were the original ones; they have been altered several times since then. On this song, see Ignacy Chrzanowski, "Nasz hymn narodowy—Pieśń Legionów," in Chrzanowski, *Optymizm i pesymizm polski: Studia z historii kultury* (Warsaw, 1971), 250–74. My interpretation of Wybicki's mazurka reflects how the song was generally understood in Poland from the 1830s onward; Wybicki's original intentions were likely somewhat different. I thank David Althoen for pointing out this probable disjuncture.

philosopher Maurycy Mochnacki, the literary critic Kazimierz Brodziński, and a host of lesser-known authors, to be part of the nation was not simply to possess a particular sort of identity but to participate in a transcendent collective that was engaged in a timeless struggle on behalf of justice and freedom.<sup>8</sup> Although romantic authors, in Poland as elsewhere in Europe, exalted the folkways of the peasantry and gave a new public meaning to language, the messianic idealism that penetrated romantic nationalism in Poland ensured that the link between ethnicity and the nation would remain tenuous.<sup>9</sup> As Mochnacki put it, "The nation is not a collection of people living on a territory defined by certain borders. Rather, the essence of a nation is the collection of all concepts and feelings regarding religion, political institutions, legislation, customs."<sup>10</sup> Elsewhere, in a speech before the Polish senate, he declared that only "the great idea of political independence . . . constitutes Poland today."<sup>11</sup>

Newspaper articles, parliamentary speeches, patriotic songs, political posters, and manifestos all contained this imagery in the 1830s, '40s, and '50s; all articulated the conviction that to be Polish meant something more than just to speak Polish, and that "Poland" extended beyond the boundaries of the Polish tongue and the walls of the Polish Catholic Church. The nation was not merely a community engaged in a struggle for independence: it embodied the very concept of independence. This message was distilled into a slogan that appeared on Polish banners from the earliest days of the 1830 revolt: "For Your Freedom and Ours" (usually written in both Polish and Russian for added emphasis). Authors from a variety of political and philosophical perspectives developed complex historiosophies of the nation to flesh out this universalist agenda. The common denominator was an image of Poland as a spiritual essence that existed beyond the mundane but that both drove and gave meaning to the struggle for emancipation. "The Nation" became an agent of history, and the Polish nation was destined to liberate the world from injustice.

The most famous of these narratives came from Mickiewicz, who popularized the evocative metaphor of Poland as "the Christ of Nations." Just as Christ came to save the world from sin, so Poland came to save the world from inequity; just as Christ died on the cross only to rise again and bring salvation, so was Poland

<sup>8</sup> Some of the best works on Polish romanticism, with many references to the authors mentioned here, include Marcei Handelsman, *Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej* (Warsaw, 1923–26); Mieczysław Inglot, "Narodowość a literatura w polskiej krytyce literackiej okresu romantyzmu," in *Idee i koncepcje narodu w polskiej myśli politycznej czasów porozbiorowych*, Janusz Gockowski and Andrzej Walicki, eds. (Warsaw, 1977), 61–83; Marian Serejski, *Naród a państwo w polskiej myśli historycznej* (Warsaw, 1973), 99–160; Jerzy Szacki, *Ojczyzna, naród, rewolucja: Problematyka narodowa w polskiej myśli szlachecko-rewolucyjnej* (Warsaw, 1962), 116–250; Józef Ujejski, *Dzieje polskiego mesjanizmu do powstania listopadowego włącznie* (Lwów, 1931); Andrzej Walicki, "Mesjanistyczne koncepcje narodu i późniejsze losy tej tradycji," in Gockowski and Walicki, 84–107; Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism*; Andrzej Zieliński, *Naród i narodowość w polskiej literaturze i publicystyce lat 1815–1831* (Wrocław, 1969).

<sup>9</sup> As Jerome Blum has pointed out, for all the importance that the romantics gave to language, they still subordinated it conceptually as a representation of the *Volksgeist*. Characteristically, romantic nationalists were unapologetic about creating languages out of disparate dialects so as to unite an "unrealized" nation. Jerome Blum, *In the Beginning: The Advent of the Modern Age; Europe in the 1840s* (New York, 1994), 85–86. For an excellent example of this process, see Peter Brock, *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe* (Toronto, 1976).

<sup>10</sup> Maurycy Mochnacki, *O literaturze polskiej w wieku dziewiętnastym* (Warsaw, 1830), in Mochnacki, *Poezja i czyn: Wybór pism*, Stanisław Pieróg, ed. (Warsaw, 1987), 301.

<sup>11</sup> As cited by Ujejski, *Dzieje polskiego mesjanizmu*, 253.

crucified and so would Poland rise again to redeem humanity. The biblical language of Mickiewicz's influential volume, *The Books of the Polish Nation and the Polish Pilgrimage* is striking: "For the Polish nation did not die. Its body lay in the grave, and its soul had gone from the earth . . . But on the third day the soul will return to the body, and the nation will rise again and free all the peoples of Europe from slavery."<sup>12</sup> The crucial feature of this passage (and this entire book) was its grammar: the nation was not the object but the subject of the sentence. Wybicki had called upon Poles to fight for the nation, but Mickiewicz's nation was itself the source of will, the motive force behind the national struggle. These two related concepts—struggle and will—bracketed nearly all discussions of the nation in Poland in the early nineteenth century, making it possible to imagine and give meaning to revolt.

An insurrection against Russian rule finally came in 1863, but it was quickly suppressed.<sup>13</sup> This defeat proved to be more devastating than anything the Poles had experienced since the partitions themselves. The patriotic intelligentsia was decimated, as thousands of insurgents were killed in the fighting, deported to Siberia, or forced to flee abroad. The Russians not only proclaimed martial law but transformed the very nature of their occupation. The vestiges of self-rule that had survived to that point were eliminated, and the entire administrative and judicial apparatus was re-staffed with Russian officials. Police surveillance was increased to unprecedented levels, and even the most trivial displays of national sentiment (let alone nationalist activity) were punished. Worse yet, within a few years, a brutal campaign of russification began. Even the very name of Poland was banished from official use: since 1815, an administratively distinct "Polish Kingdom" had existed within the Russian empire, but now this territory was to be called derisively "The Vistula Lands." In this environment, rebellion or resistance became literally unimaginable. After 1863, then, most Polish intellectuals turned away from the agenda of "national action." Instead of continuing what seemed a futile struggle for independence, they searched for ways to attain whatever could be attained within the imperial framework. In the Russian partition, this approach was articulated mainly by a group of young liberal writers, the so-called Warsaw Positivists. The vocabulary of liberalism enjoyed an almost hegemonic ascendancy among the intelligentsia of Russian Poland in the late 1860s and 1870s. On the one hand, liberalism helped Poles make sense of the rapid industrial expansion transforming the urban landscape, particularly in Warsaw.<sup>14</sup> At the same time—and even more important—it gave Poles a way to talk about a new agenda for the nation.

<sup>12</sup> Adam Mickiewicz, *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (1832; rpt. edn., Warsaw, 1986), 49.

<sup>13</sup> Russia occupied the vast majority of the old Polish Republic, including the capital, Warsaw. While nationalists were also active in the Habsburg and Prussian partitions, nearly all Poles considered the Russian partition to be the heartland of the past and (they hoped) future Poland.

<sup>14</sup> For a general overview of the social and economic transformation of Russian Poland in the late nineteenth century, see Ireneusz Ihnatowicz, Antoni Mączak, and Benedykt Zientara, *Spółeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku* (Warsaw, 1979), 457–94; Stanisław Kalabiński and Ryszard Kołodziejczyk, eds., *Warszawa powstaniowa, 1864–1918* (Warsaw, 1968); Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Struktura demograficzna narodu polskiego w latach 1864–1914," in Zanna Kormanowa and Irena Pietrzak-Pawłowska, eds., *Historia Polski*, vol. 3, part 1 (Warsaw, 1963), 92–110; Anna Żarnowska, *Robotnicy Warszawy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* (Warsaw, 1985).



The label “positivist” can be misleading, particularly for a reader familiar with the history of this term in Western Europe.<sup>15</sup> For some, this might evoke images of Auguste Comte (who coined the expression), with his religion of the *grande être* and his vision of a carefully managed society. The Warsaw Positivists, however, vigorously disavowed any allegiance to the French philosopher. Aleksander Świętochowski, the most prominent Polish publicist of the 1870s and 1880s, recalled in his memoirs:

They were not positivists in the strict sense of the word, because they were not disciples of Comte, from whom they took only a methodology of limiting research within the boundaries accessible to the human mind, excluding all metaphysics. Their main masters, Lyell, Mill, Spencer, Darwin, Vogt, and others, though retaining a certain bond with the philosophy of Comte, did not belong to the students of his school, or rather to the believers of his faith. They called themselves evolutionists, and that was the only accurate name for the Polish positivists.<sup>16</sup>

As suggested here, British liberals such as John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Charles Darwin stood at the center of the Polish “positivist” pantheon.<sup>17</sup> This list of names could be extended, but even a casual survey of the positivist press would reveal a marked Anglophilia. Polish intellectuals after 1863 were looking for two things: a “modern” language to help them describe their increasingly “modernizing” world and a way to escape the program of “national action” that had (they believed) inspired the insurrection. As translated and appropriated in Poland, English liberalism seemed to offer this combination. Of course, “English liberalism” was a diverse phenomenon, more a loosely bounded discursive space than a clearly defined “ideology.” What, then, did the Poles find when they looked to Albion? Świętochowski’s eulogy for Darwin helps us approach this question: “For the orthodox, Darwin was perhaps the most threatening sage in history; no one in our century has gained so many scientific victories, no one has brought about so many intellectual revolutions.”<sup>18</sup> Świętochowski pitted “science” against “the orthodox” and described it as a force for “revolution.” At the same time, he

<sup>15</sup> For somewhat dated but still useful surveys of European positivism, see D. G. Charlton, *Positivist Thought in France during the Second Empire, 1852–1870* (Oxford, 1959); Leszek Kołakowski, *Positivist Philosophy from Hume to the Vienna Circle*, Norbert Guterman, trans. (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1972); Walter M. Simon, *European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century: An Essay in Intellectual History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1962).

<sup>16</sup> Aleksander Świętochowski, *Wspomnienia*, Samuel Sandler, ed. (Wrocław, 1966), 17. The literary critic Piotr Chmielowski even claimed that he and his friends had embraced the “positivist” label only because it sounded fashionable and because they could not come up with anything better. Piotr Chmielowski, *Zarys literatury polskiej z ostatnich lat szesnastu* (Wilno, 1881), in Chmielowski, *Pisma krytycznoliterackie*, Henryk Markiewicz, ed. (Warsaw, 1961), 277.

<sup>17</sup> Nearly everyone who has studied Warsaw positivism has emphasized the importance of Mill, Spencer, and Darwin in Poland. See Maria Brykalska, *Aleksander Świętochowski redaktor Prawdy* (Wrocław, 1974), 9; Markiewicz, *Pozytywizm*, 47; Warzenica, *Pozytywistyczny “obóz młodych,”* 33. Although Charles Lyell and Karl Vogt are mentioned in this passage from Świętochowski’s memoirs, they were never discussed by the positivists with the frequency and enthusiasm granted to the Mill, Spencer, and Darwin. The only other contemporary to earn comparable attention—as we will see below—was Henry Thomas Buckle.

<sup>18</sup> Aleksander Świętochowski, “Liberum veto,” *Prawda* 2 (April 29/17, 1882), in *Publicystyka społeczna i oświatowa*, Zenon Kmiecik, ed. (Warsaw, 1987), 72–73. Note: legal Polish periodicals used both Russian and European dating, the former being twelve days behind. Which came first depended on the journal; I will follow the practice of each publication.

paradoxically envisioned a revolution without action, without will. In fact, he did not really want revolution but evolution, as suggested in the passage cited above. "Evolution" proved to be a useful term, suggesting both a scientific theory and a depoliticized vision of progress. The positivists exploited both facets of the word and wrapped them together to form what they thought of as liberalism.

On one level, "science" signified a monistic philosophy that posited the unity of all existence and thus implied that laws of universal applicability could be discovered. What these laws were could be debated—indeed, such debates served only to reinforce the underlying conviction that "nature" and "society" were part of a single totality. As one of the earliest expositions of positivist thought in Poland put it, "Thanks to the positivist method, the physical world is tied to the social world; the unity dissolved by the centuries is returned. Just as those two worlds belong to each other, so must the sciences occupied with them belong to each other, [and] stand as one science."<sup>19</sup> But this "science" was not merely a way to obtain knowledge: it was a foundation from which to build a better world. One Polish positivist explained, "the most magnificent product of science is the cleansing, elevating, and ennobling of ideals, along with the provision of the means to realize them."<sup>20</sup> Another declared, with even greater clarity, that science was a means to discover "the basic laws that ought to guide our actions."<sup>21</sup> These "noble ideals" dictated by "science" turned out to be quintessentially liberal: the positivist press discussed women's rights, Jewish emancipation and assimilation, the role of the church, and the virtues and vices of industrial development. On this level, their arguments were familiar and could be heard in London, Paris, or Berlin as well as Warsaw. In Poland, however, the debates were much more than a translation of well-established polemics, because the entire discussion was superimposed on a dispute about the nature and direction of the national cause. The positivists were not just trying to bring liberalism to Poland, they were especially trying to create a national liberalism (though they did not use this expression) that would make sense after 1863.

Adam Wiślicki, the editor and publisher of the positivists' organ, *The Weekly Review* (*Przegląd tygodniowy*), hoped to shift attention away from "high politics" (the "abstract" problems of international diplomacy or the conflicts of ruling elites) and toward "little politics" (the newest methods of raising sheep, spreading literacy, financing higher education, and building railroads).<sup>22</sup> The novelist Bolesław Prus put it best many years later when he declared that it was no longer possible either to "live with a smile or die with honor." Instead, it was necessary to "work, work,

<sup>19</sup> Franciszek Krupiński, "Szkola pozytywna," *Biblioteka warszawska*, 3 (July–September 1868), in Hochfeldowa, *Filozofia i myśl*, 1: 237.

<sup>20</sup> "Idealy," *Niwa* 49 (December 20, 1873/January 1, 1874): 1–4.

<sup>21</sup> Julian Ochorowicz, *Wstęp i pogląd ogólny na filozofie pozytywna* (Warsaw, 1872), 64, 94. See also Bolesław Prus, "Nasze grzechy," in Wroczyński, *Pozytywizm warszawski*, 105–06; and Al. G. [Prus], "Szkic programu w warunkach obecnego rozwoju społeczeństwa," *Nowiny* (March 11/23–March 18/30, 1883), reprinted in Hochfeldowa, *Filozofia i myśl*, 1: 188–89. *Nowiny* did not carry a volume number. This piece is also reprinted in Bolesław Prus, *Wybór kronik i pism publicystycznych*, Zygmunt Szwejkowski, ed. (Warsaw, 1948), 40–50.

<sup>22</sup> Adam Wiślicki, "Wielka i mała polityka," *Przegląd tygodniowy*, 4 (March 21/April 2, 1871): 106.

work.”<sup>23</sup> For Poland to be a space for “work” rather than a space for “action,” the definition of the nation had to be reconsidered. Poland was transformed into something that could be worked on—and reimagined as an empirically identifiable society. To quote Prus again, from an attack he mounted against the old romantic nationalists:

These people [the romantics] do not really love our landscapes, and they have contempt for the peasants, the artisans, the merchants . . . This means that these people do not love the *real* country and society in which we live and which constitute the *real* human fatherland, but are in love with some sort of mental construct built from distant memories and vague desires. For that *unreal* country and society they are indeed prepared for sacrifices and exertions, which, however, do not bring the least benefit to the *real* land and its inhabitants.<sup>24</sup>

This “real land” and this “real country and society” defined the positivist nation. It was concrete, visible, and tangible—the stuff of science, not the stuff of poetry. Poland was now a community of Poles, not a transcendent “national spirit” moving through and driving history.

Having transformed the nation from an ideal into a thing, the positivists were able to describe it with the rhetoric of “science”; and, once subjected to the “laws” of science, the nation lost the power of volition it had possessed in Mickiewicz’s world. Even the individual lost the power to act in the positivists’ universe. Świętochowski stated this most strongly in an 1872 article that (not coincidentally) summarized the work of Herbert Spencer for a Polish audience. “Naturally,” Świętochowski wrote, “*will* is only another manifestation of a general process,” and the “free will of a certain ‘I’” was no longer a viable category for those who understood modern science.<sup>25</sup> Władysław Kozłowski, Spencer’s main popularizer and disciple in Poland, was even more adamant in his repudiation of autonomous volition, arguing that “the doctrine of free will” has “absolutely no meaning in real life . . . [and] does not have the slightest influence in the development of human relations.”<sup>26</sup> After painting such a deterministic universe, the positivists had to make it possible to “work,” even if one could not “act”—and this is where the rhetorical tools of liberalism proved so useful.

Liberalism had a lot to offer someone who wanted to depoliticize the world: power, wealth, progress, and prosperity were all said to result from scientific principles or natural laws, as the infamous “invisible hand” replaced the active contest of wills with faceless economic and social rules. Wealth and power did not

<sup>23</sup> Bolesław Prus, “Kronika tygodniowa,” *Kurjer warszawski* 67 (April 3/15, 1887): 2, reprinted in Prus, *Wybór kronik*, 120–23.

<sup>24</sup> Bolesław Prus, “Najogólniejsze ideały życiowe,” in Hochfeldowa, *Filozofia i myśl*, 1: 232, emphasis mine. The editors do not offer a specific citation for this essay, except to note that it came from *Kurjer Codzienny*.

<sup>25</sup> Aleksander Świętochowski, “Herbert Spencer (Studium z dziedziny pozytywizmu): II, Psychologia,” *Przegląd tygodniowy* 7 (June 18/30, 1872): 204. Significantly, Spencer’s writing is highly polemical, while Świętochowski’s translation/summary is more self-confident. Compare Świętochowski’s article with the original: Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Psychology*, 3d edn. (New York, 1920), 1: 495–504. It would seem that Świętochowski has quoted from the expanded 2d edition, published in 1870. As far as I could ascertain, this book was never translated into Polish. When J. K. Potocki translated *Principles of Sociology* in 1889, he declared that there was no need to publish Spencer’s outdated writing on biology or psychology. See “Od Redakcyi ‘Głosu,’” in Herbert Spencer, *Zasady socjologii*, J. K. Potocki, trans. (Warsaw, 1889), 1.

<sup>26</sup> Władysław Kozłowski, “Determinizm a wolna wola,” *Prawda* 6 (December 25/13, 1886): 620–22.



accrue to those with political authority but to those who adopted specific patterns of behavior and correctly applied the "Principles of Political Economy" (a title for many nineteenth-century books). All this facilitated a discussion of how one might "work" without defying the rules of "science"—how one might strengthen Poland's society and economy without risking another rebellion. Świętochowski demonstrated how this conceptual framework allowed one to introduce individual and collective volition, only to subordinate it once again. "Everyone is the blacksmith of his own fate—that maxim is just as valuable in social life as in individual life. Let us not search, therefore, for any dreamed-of friend or savior but place all our trust in our own strength; let us not consider ourselves a chosen nation, the happiness of which is the obligation of all others, but [instead, a nation] destined for the hard and difficult conditions of existence." To become the "blacksmith of one's own fate" did not, however, suggest any course of public action. Quite the contrary, Świętochowski believed that it was necessary for Poles to turn away from "politicizing" (*politykowanie*) and begin "conducting a policy [based on] the interests of our society, a policy that is open, pure, [and] feasible within the bounds of the currently existing laws."<sup>27</sup> Political action was not possible, but work within the existing legal framework was. Poles could neither engage in a political struggle nor wait for others to do so on their behalf; they had to renounce both "will" and "passivity" and get to work. Elsewhere, Świętochowski wrote, "When the community falls because of the ruinous negligence, laziness, and backwardness of its members, no complaints about hurt feelings will manage to ward off its dissolution. Happiness and prosperity must be constructed. Every phenomenon has its natural source and its natural consequences, and no force will change the logic of events."<sup>28</sup> There is room in this argument for work—for the "construction of happiness and prosperity," for the development of the economy—but there is no space for the sort of political action that stood at the center of Mickiewicz's rhetoric, no opportunity to "change the logic of events." One simply had to do what one could and hope the "natural consequences" would lead to a better world. There was no Christ of Nations in the world of the positivists, no miracles, no moments of salvation, no revolutions, no sudden resurrections. Instead, there was only "work at the foundations."<sup>29</sup> The difference between action and work paralleled that between politics and economics, between the insurgent and the entrepreneur, and above all, between the "ideal" and the "real." The positivists' critique of free will was not just a philosophical argument, it was embedded within a quintessentially liberal shift away from the public realm, toward the "private" world of work.

But if one could no longer fight for national liberation, what did it mean to "build" for the nation? Could the positivist program possibly lead to independence? Their opponents would declare that it could not, that there was no meaningful difference between this ambiguous concept of "work" and overt collaboration.

<sup>27</sup> Aleksander Świętochowski, "Polityka własna," *Przegląd tygodniowy* 11 (August 29/October 10–October 5/17, 1876), in Wroczyński, *Pozytywizm warszawski*, 132.

<sup>28</sup> Aleksander Świętochowski, "Praca i modlitwa," *Przegląd tygodniowy* 7 (August 13/25, 1872): 266.

<sup>29</sup> The phrase "work at the foundations" comes from a series of articles written by Świętochowski and his lesser-known colleague, Leopold Mikulski, in 1873. "Praca u podstaw," *Przegląd tygodniowy* 8 (February 25/March 9–June 3/15, 1873). These important essays are reprinted in Świętochowski, *Publicystyka społeczna*, 83–94; and Wroczyński, *Pozytywizm warszawski*, 95–99.

Scholars have been less judgmental, but there is a general consensus that however patriotic the positivists may have been, they considered political independence to be of secondary importance—desirable, perhaps, but not necessary. There is indeed evidence for this argument, mainly in the writings of Świętochowski. In 1881, at a particularly difficult moment in both his personal life (his son had just died) and his public life (he was struggling to find an audience for his new weekly, *Prawda* [The Truth]), Świętochowski wrote two infamous articles: “I Think, Therefore I Am” and “Political Directions.” Both of these provoked angry accusations that the author had abandoned the national cause.

“Political Directions” is the most infamous, because it appeared in a volume of essays dedicated to the novelist Zygmunt Miłkowski, an officer in the 1863 rebellion and a well-known author of romantic, patriotic novels (under the pseudonym T. T. Jeż). Here, Świętochowski did declare that the nation was a social collective with no political consequences. “From the liberal position, the mere loss of our own political institutions does not seem to us to be a misfortune at all. The happiness of a community, according to us, is not unconditionally dependent upon its political strength and autonomy but on the possibilities of participating in universal civilization and advancing our own.”<sup>30</sup> The international order, he continued, was based on the law of the jungle, and there was no use pretending that this was not the case. Poles had to recognize that their state had been subjugated, and cultivate material progress without resorting to pointless conspiracies. Not unreasonably, most people understood this essay to be a repudiation of the very idea of independence. Both his enemies and friends reacted with horror, and Jeż took offense that such an essay could be published in a volume dedicated to him. Świętochowski himself later claimed that he had been misunderstood.<sup>31</sup> He may have been right—if we place this article in the context of Świętochowski’s other writings from the same time, we find that his argument was more subtle than it would at first seem. In a piece written several months earlier, he again seemed to turn away from any political agenda: “As is known, a political map is not an ethnographic map . . . State independence is, so to speak, a title, a tool that one can lose without losing the real characteristics of one’s essence. A king deprived of his throne ceases only to be a king, not a man; similarly, a nation deprived of its political independence ceases only to be a state but not a nation.”<sup>32</sup>

Clearly, Świętochowski conceptually disengaged the terms “state” and “nation,”

<sup>30</sup> Świętochowski, “Wskazania polityczne,” in *Ognisko: Książka zbiorowa wydana dla uczczenia 25 letniej pracy T. T. Jeża* (Warsaw, 1882), 51. This is the only example of Świętochowski’s writing available in English (although the translation used here is my own): Krystyna M. Olszer, ed., *For Your Freedom and Ours: Polish Progressive Spirit from the 14th Century to the Present*, 2d edn. (New York, 1981), 118–23. For a reprint of the Polish text, see Świętochowski, *Publicystyka*, 94–101.

<sup>31</sup> On the reaction to “Wskazania,” see Świętochowski’s *Wspomnienia*, 109–12. Jeż’s own response came in very guarded terms, since it was submitted to *Prawda* and thus to the Russian censors. T. T. Jeż, “List Jeża (Odpowiedź na Ognisko),” *Prawda* 3 (February 10/January 29, 1883): 61. For Jeż’s uncensored defense of the tradition of insurrection, see Zygmunt Miłkowski, *Odpowiedź na adresy młodzieży polskiej* (Krakow, 1883); and *Rzecz o obronie czynnej i o skarbie narodowym* (Paris, 1887). Significantly, when Świętochowski advertised *Ognisko* in *Prawda*, he emphasized its “sincere and serious liberalism,” but when summarizing its contents he mentioned every contribution except his own. Knowing Świętochowski, this could not have been modesty. “Jubileuszowy podarek,” *Prawda* 3 (January 8/20, 1883): 25–26.

<sup>32</sup> Aleksander Świętochowski, “Myśle, więc jestem,” *Prawda* 1 (January 1/December 20, 1881): 1–2.

identifying the former with a discredited politics and the latter with culture and society. But this does not mean that he severed all ties between the state and the nation. Quite the contrary: Świętochowski believed that although the nation was not defined by the state, it nonetheless had to regain its independence. Compounding metaphor upon metaphor (a style of writing made necessary by the censors), he continued his argument. "We do not deny that a person with a revolver in his pocket is safer from violence than one with understanding in his head; this does not mean, however, that those who are deprived of a revolver feel that they are deprived of life. *Yes, a plant needs a certain atmosphere, a certain warmth and moisture; but that atmosphere, that warmth and that moisture do not constitute its essence.*"<sup>33</sup> If the state (with the ability to enforce its will through armed force) was to the nation as moisture and air were to plants, then one could hardly claim that Świętochowski had denigrated the value of independence; he had simply severed the definitional link between them. This, however, was nothing new. Świętochowski was merely reclaiming Wybicki's first verse ("Poland has not yet died, as long as we still live") while jettisoning the subsequent call to battle. But the ambition to statehood was just as important for the positivists as it was for the romantics. Later that summer (1881), Świętochowski made this argument as explicit as possible (in the legal, censored press), when he tried to distinguish between his position and that of the Galician conservatives, who were openly and enthusiastically loyal to the Habsburg empire. They wanted Poles, as Świętochowski put it, "to reject the hope as well as the desire to obtain an independent existence." Świętochowski could not accept such resignation. "These political moralists," he wrote, "believe that with people, just as with vessels, one can pour out some feelings, convictions, aspirations, and pour in some others from one day to the next." It was both impossible and, more important, inappropriate. Emphasizing a novel terminological distinction, Świętochowski wrote that Poles should not surrender their "*dreams*, because those are beneficial and inspirational, but [only their] *illusions*, which are harmful and murderous." To stop "dreaming" would lead to "abdication."<sup>34</sup>

THE "DREAM" OF INDEPENDENCE, then, was important for the positivists, even if they had difficulty saying so in the legal press of the Russian empire. But their problem was not simply one of censorship: in some ways, their own scientific rhetoric posed an even greater challenge, because the denial of the "national will" and the call to "work" made it difficult to imagine how they might obtain independence. How could Poland win back its state without any "action"? The positivists may have retained the goal of statehood, but they had deprived Poland of any obvious means of liberation. The solution to this dilemma would be found, once again, within the framework of liberalism. Specifically, by appealing to a liberal teleology that linked socioeconomic progress with prosperity and power, the positivists were able to imagine a world in which independence would be the result of a "scientific" and

<sup>33</sup> Świętochowski, "Myśle," 2, emphasis added.

<sup>34</sup> "Precz z marzeniami," *Prawda* 1 (June 6/18, 1881): 289–90. The juxtaposition of "dreams" and "abdication" is from Aleksander Świętochowski, "Bałamuctwa," *Prawda* 3 (February 10/January 29, 1883): 61–63.



"historical" process, not the product of willful action. The key to this scheme was the term Świątochowski highlighted above: evolution.

But there was a problem here. When one spoke of evolution in the 1860s, one could not avoid the work of Herbert Spencer, a towering figure in European intellectual life at the time and the exponent of a complex historiosophy that linked liberal ideals with "scientific laws" about "evolution." The Warsaw Positivists, moreover, made no attempt to avoid Spencer: he may not have been the most prestigious liberal of the nineteenth century, but after reading the Warsaw press one would be forgiven for thinking that he was.<sup>35</sup> Spencer's work offered the positivists just the blend of science and liberalism they wanted, and by evoking his prestigious name they could easily justify their turn away from insurrection to "work." Unfortunately, he also passed along some unpleasant expressions such as "the struggle for survival." Most English liberals, comfortable within the British empire, tended to describe big nations as definitionally more "progressive" than small ones and thus to justify conquest and empire.<sup>36</sup> As Spencer put it,

The forces which are working out the great scheme of perfect happiness, taking no account of incidental suffering, exterminate such sections of mankind as stand in their way, with the same sternness that they exterminate beasts of prey and herds of useless ruminants . . . [W]hat are the pre-requisites to a conquering race? Numerical strength, or an improved system of warfare, both of which are indications of advancement.<sup>37</sup>

Many contemporaries thought that this argument justified violence and brutality, and both Spencer's name and the term "Social Darwinism" came to suggest an amoral acceptance of the law of the jungle.<sup>38</sup> This is, of course, a caricature:

<sup>35</sup> One scholar has even felt it necessary to point out that Spencer was not the only source of influence on the positivists. Anna Hochfeldowa, "Neokantyzm okresu pozytywizmu i jego wpływy w Polsce," in Hochfeldowa, *Z historii filozofii pozytywistycznej*, 138.

<sup>36</sup> Even John Stuart Mill was prone to do so. See his essay, "Of Nationality, as Connected with Representative Government," in *Considerations on Representative Government*, in *Utilitarianism, Liberty, and Representative Government* (New York, 1950), 490–91. Curiously, although Mill had something to say about the issues examined here, he was not discussed by the Poles in this context. I found no references to this chapter from *Representative Government*, nor to his writings on India (which could also be problematic for a Polish reader). Mill was read in Poland primarily as a logician and an economist; Spencer was the social theorist. For more on how Mill was appropriated in Poland, see my article, "The Construction and Deconstruction of 19th Century Polish Liberalism," *Studia polityczne* (forthcoming).

<sup>37</sup> Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics, or The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified and the First of Them Developed* (London, 1851), 416.

<sup>38</sup> For this reason, even Spencer's friend Thomas Huxley decided to reject the "struggle for existence" in favor of an ethical evolution that transcended "nature." T. H. Huxley, "The Struggle for Existence in Human Society," in Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics, and Other Essays* (New York, 1896), 203. See also "Evolution and Ethics," 1–86. On Spencer's reaction, see J. D. Y. Peel, *Herbert Spencer: The Evolution of a Sociologist* (1971; rpt. edn., Brookfield, Vt., 1992), 150. For more on the Spencerian conception of "evolution," see Fabrizio Battistelli, "War and Militarism in the Thought of Herbert Spencer," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 34 (1993): 192–209; J. W. Burrow, *Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory* (Cambridge, 1966), 180–226; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution*, 2d edn. (New York, 1962), 222–26; Peel, *Herbert Spencer*, 130–65, 192–223; Jay Rummey, *Herbert Spencer's Sociology* (New York, 1966), 134–37; David Wiltshire, *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford, 1978): 200, 243–56; Robert M. Young, "Herbert Spencer and 'Inevitable' Progress," *History Today* 37 (August 1987): 18–22. For a more general discussion of the concepts of aggression and war in nineteenth-century thought, see Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalization of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), esp. chap. 8, "The Biology of War," 75–87; Bernard Semmel, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore, Md., 1993).

Spencer was a committed pacifist, and much of his work can be read as a critique of militarism. He could not accommodate a bloody vision of struggle in perpetuity, so he saved himself by positing a moment after which violence would fade from the human condition, made unnecessary by a higher stage of “moral” development.<sup>39</sup> However, even as Spencer proposed a better future for humanity, he never really abandoned his equation between competition, size, and progress. “After this stage has been reached, the purifying process, continuing still an important one, remains to be carried on by industrial war—by a competition of societies during which the best, physically, emotionally, and intellectually, spread most, and leave the least capable to disappear gradually, from failing to leave a sufficiently-numerous posterity.”<sup>40</sup> Spencer perceived the market as “industrial war,” a more civilized version of the violence and brutality of an earlier age. More important, the result was the same whether the means was actual war or just “industrial” conflict: the “purifying process” that destroys “inferior races,” still defined (albeit no longer exclusively) as the “physically” weak and demographically smaller.

The Poles understood how dangerous such arguments could be. Świętochowski once seemed to embrace the idea of struggle, but eventually he recognized its liabilities. Note the Spencerian language in this 1881 essay: “Every nation that does not die but lives and progresses must be aggressive [*zaborczy*], if not by arms, then with civilization . . . [Fate] has opened before us a wide field for industrial-mercantile conquest, which we have not yet sufficiently taken advantage of, and which can bring us a surer victory than that [program] on which we have so far placed our hopes.”<sup>41</sup> By 1883, however, Świętochowski not only repudiated such rhetoric but described it as a betrayal of liberal ideals. He did not associate the dark side of liberalism with his favored British authors; instead, he blamed the Germans for perverting an otherwise virtuous ideology. Writing against the backdrop of the *Kulturkampf*, Świętochowski complained that German liberals understood “freedom” to mean only the “unlimited domination of force—any kind of force.” “Who would have predicted,” he lamented, “that the term liberalism would eventually serve to hide the most disgraceful violence?”

Large capital, large nations, large civilizations, according to [the German liberals], ought to absorb small ones with impunity . . . That the poor, the weak, the uneducated also want to live—this does not concern them, and does not even awaken their compassion . . . They do not see in [smaller societies] anything other than vanishing species. That is the blindness of brutal snobbery, the adornment of the most base instincts with scientific truths, of dishonor with the appearance of fairness.<sup>42</sup>

It was easy enough to blame the Germans for this “distortion,” but unfortunately the Poles’ beloved Spencer said more or less the same thing. Moreover, the troublesome concept of “struggle” proved too useful to abandon, because the

<sup>39</sup> Spencer, *Psychology*, 2: 577.

<sup>40</sup> Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961), 180. For another example of Spencer’s equation between size and progress, see *The Principles of Sociology*, 3d edn. (New York, 1897), 1: 466–69. Peel claims that this reference to “industry” as another form of militancy reflected the pessimism of Spencer’s last years, but in fact this idea appeared in his earlier work as well. See Peel, *Herbert Spencer*, 217.

<sup>41</sup> Świętochowski, “Wskazania,” 54.

<sup>42</sup> Aleksander Świętochowski, “Liberalne bankructwa,” *Prawda* 3 (April 16/28, 1883): 193–94.

positivists were convinced that only “evolution” and “the survival of the fittest” could promise them a future of independent statehood without rebellion. But to construct such an argument required that Spencer be translated and appropriated creatively. The positivists found three ways to both retain Spencer and avoid the conclusion that Poland, as a smaller nation absorbed within large and militarily powerful empires, was destined to remain subjugated. The first was the easiest and most obvious but the least common: to accept the general thrust of the Spencerian world-view but to argue explicitly against his emphasis on struggle. This was the path chosen by one of the most prominent Polish positivists: the novelist Bolesław Prus. Although Prus evoked Spencer as the inspiration for his own “first principles,” he went on to question a central aspect of the master’s argument. “There exists today a fashionable theory of ‘the struggle for existence,’ according to which everyone ought to quarrel with everyone else. Even though the struggle for existence is a very wide-spread and necessary fact of nature, to elevate it to the height of an exclusive principle is simply stupid.”<sup>43</sup> In fact, Prus continued, nature was not governed by struggle but by the principle of mutual support and cooperation. Development comes most quickly when organisms collaborate, when they “exchange services” so as to work together for a better future. Often, the easiest way to challenge the violent subtext of English liberalism directly was to discuss Ireland, which both *Przegląd tygodniowy* and *Prawda* did regularly.<sup>44</sup> For example, an author named Józef Szyff provocatively titled his 1881 essay on this topic, “The Social Struggle for Existence.” He complained that “we” (presumably, Polish liberals) were so enamored with the English as to ignore their oppressive rule in Ireland. For him, the use of force against an occupied nation could never be justified, whatever the broader issues involved.<sup>45</sup>

However consistent such arguments might have been for a patriotic Pole, few liberals were willing to confront Spencer directly. An alternative solution was to recast Spencer in their own image, softening his edges with some selective, and sometimes creative, translating. The Poles did not actually have to misrepresent Spencer; given the diversity and sheer quantity of his writing, they merely had to be careful which Spencer they read. In other words, they had to pay attention to Spencer’s distaste for militarism but avert their eyes from his glorification of conquest; they had to concentrate on his End of History, without talking much about how he got there. The Spencer who emerged from the pages of the positivist press, then, was a much nicer Spencer than most of his English readers knew.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Prus, “Szkic programu,” 192.

<sup>44</sup> This topic had the added benefit of allowing them to talk about “independence” and “the nation” without provoking the censors. Alsace, South Africa, and the Balkans were also popular themes in the positivist press, for similar reasons.

<sup>45</sup> Józef Szyff, “Społeczna walka o byt,” *Prawda* 1 (February 7/19, 1881): 86–88.

<sup>46</sup> The positivists’ version of Spencer was the only Spencer most Poles knew, since none of his major works were translated until the mid-1880s. Their survey of Spencer included a series of articles by Aleksander Świętochowski, “Herbert Spencer (Studium z dziedziny pozytywizmu),” *Przegląd tygodniowy* 7 (April 2/14–July 23/August 4, 1872); and an irregular series by Władysław Kozłowski, “Charakter współczesnej filozofji: Poprzednicy Spencera,” *Ateneum* 3 (September 1878); “Pierwsze zasady,” *Ateneum* 1 (January 1879); “Podstawy socjologii i stanowisko w niej Herberta Spencera,” *Ateneum* 2 (April 1881); “Etyka Spencera I,” *Ateneum* 3 (July 1883); and “Etyka Spencera II,” *Ateneum* 1 (January 1884). All of the Kozłowski essays are reprinted in Kozłowski, *Pisma filozoficzno-psychologiczne* (Lwów, n.d.). The earliest translations of Spencer are *Klasyfikacja wiedzy*, A. Nał,



Kozłowski directed his Polish audience's attention away from the image of the strong conquering the weak, of small nations being submerged into large ones. His Spencer was the philosopher of *The Data of Ethics* and *First Principles*; even when Kozłowski turned to questions of social evolution, he chose not to discuss the more dangerous *Social Statics* or *The Study of Sociology*.<sup>47</sup> Kozłowski's Spencer was the advocate of altruism and social harmony, not the prophet of the war of all against all. According to Kozłowski, Spencer believed that

life in general is a struggle for existence, first of all a struggle with the forces of nature, and then with competitors for those same rewards. Among this general struggle of individuals against individuals and races against races, all efforts aimed at extending the life of the individual and preserving the species would appear pointless. They achieve positive results only when individuals stop harming each other and hindering each other in their efforts and moreover, through mutual agreement and collaboration, begin to help each other.<sup>48</sup>

This reading allowed Kozłowski to argue that, with time, conflict itself would cease. When this happened, the strongest nations (Kozłowski mentions the Germans directly, but any reference to the Russians had to remain implicit) would no longer dominate the earth. Programs of denationalization, in which rulers placed "strength above law," were just perversions of the true doctrine of "realism."<sup>49</sup> Spencer's struggle for survival, in Kozłowski's hands, became the foundation for international cooperation and harmony. In order to place the Spencer of "altruism" on an international plane, one had to avoid the Spencer of "industrial war."

In an 1881 book by the novelist Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism*, we find an even gentler Spencer. Orzeszkowa offered page after page of selective citations in order to transform Spencer into an advocate of "love" and "peace." Violence and strength, according to her Spencer, were detriments to human progress, not instruments of evolution. She described as "false patriotism" all national sentiments based on "international hatred" or "national self-exalta-

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trans. (Warsaw, 1873); *O wychowaniu umysłowem, moralnem, i fizycznym*, Michał Siemiradzki, trans. (Warsaw, 1879); *Szkice filozoficzne* (Warsaw, 1883); *Wstęp do socjologii* [a retitled edition of *Study of Sociology*], Henryk Goldberg, trans. (Warsaw, 1884); *Zasady Etyki*, Jan Karłowicz, trans. (Warsaw, 1884); *Jednostka wobec państwa* (Warsaw, 1886); *Pierwsze zasady*, J. K. Potocki, trans. (Warsaw, 1886); *Zasady socjologii*, J. K. Potocki, trans. (Warsaw, 1889–90). The original publication dates for Spencer's works are *Social Statics* (1850); *Principles of Psychology* (1855); *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical* (1861); *First Principles* (1862); *Principles of Biology* (vol. 1, 1864, vol. 2, 1867); *Study of Sociology* (1873); *Principles of Sociology* (parts 1–3, 1876; part 4, 1879; part 5, 1882; part 6, 1885; parts 7–8, 1897); *Principles of Ethics* (part 1, 1879; parts 2–3, 1892; part 4, 1897; parts 5–6, 1893); *Man versus the State* (1884).

<sup>47</sup> When he did discuss *First Principles*, he mentioned Spencer's arguments about small entities being absorbed into larger ones but placed this within the context of the formation of collectives with internal heterogeneity. Władysław Kozłowski, "Pierwsze zasady," *Ateneum* 1 (January 1879), in Kozłowski, *Pisma*, 39–75. See also the essay by the translator of *Study of Sociology*, Henryk Goldberg, "Co—i jak—w socjologii," *Prawda* 4 (February 2/January 21–February 4/16, 1884). Goldberg gives close attention to Spencer's discussion of all the ways in which bias can distort the study of sociology but does not even mention the last section of the book, in which Spencer's brutality comes forth so strongly. Equally significant is the attention given to *Principles of Ethics*, published in Polish translation in 1884 by a "publishing cooperative" including Chmielowski, Prus, Świętochowski, and several other leading positivists (but, curiously, not Kozłowski), with financial assistance from Eliza Orzeszkowa. The book received an unprecedented front-page advertisement from *Prawda*.

<sup>48</sup> Kozłowski, "Etyka Spencera II," in *Pisma*, 228.

<sup>49</sup> Kozłowski, "Etyka Spencera I," in *Pisma*, 206.

tion," offering two full pages of citations from Spencer to demonstrate that "hatred" was a dangerous force in society and had to be supplanted by "love." Insofar as Orzeszkowa retained the struggle for survival at all, she relegated it to a "distant, dark past" (recall that Spencer had located peace in a *future* "industrial" society). Nations were not formed by conquest, according to Orzeszkowa, but through a recognition of certain common traits such as language, mutual "sympathy," and physical and "psychological" similarities. Such communities then "placed themselves under the leadership of a single individual and a single law," in order to better defend themselves against a variety of dangers. Only in passing did Orzeszkowa mention that the communities thus formed might engage in "defense or acquisition." War played only an indirect role in her scheme, as one of the many threats such "natural" communities would face.<sup>50</sup>

But none of this really addressed the central problem. To critique or soften the idea of struggle might imply that the Russian and German conquest of Poland had been wrong, but what could one do about it? "Action," traditionally understood, had already been precluded. "Work" remained, but how could this overcome force? Spencer offered no help here: for him, violence had to be met with violence, and "industry" could only take over after war had been transcended on all sides.<sup>51</sup> The solution to this dilemma necessitated a very different approach than that developed by Kozłowski and Orzeszkowa, with a different sort of liberal teleology. The Spencerian concept of "struggle" was retained but recast in the image of another member of the positivists' pantheon: Henry Thomas Buckle. Few thinkers enjoyed such prominence in their own day and such oblivion afterward as Buckle, but although his fame among Anglophones proved temporary, it continued to grow in Eastern Europe.<sup>52</sup> His only book, the incomplete *History of Civilization in England* (1856–1861), was translated into Polish in 1862.<sup>53</sup> The positivists eagerly embraced Buckle's ideas, and thanks to their efforts he became one of the most popular foreign writers in Poland by the 1870s. Buckle made his first appearance in *Przegląd tygodniowy* in 1868, when an essayist positioned him alongside Darwin as one of the great scientific pioneers of the century.<sup>54</sup> Walery

<sup>50</sup> Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Patryotyzm i kosmopolityzm: Studium społeczne* (Wilno, 1880), 12, 125–32, 155–58. Feliks Bogacki made a similar argument in a review of Rudolf Jhering's *Der Kampf ums Recht* (1872), which argued that power was the measure of all things. This was only true, Bogacki insisted, in the distant past, among "wild" tribes. Feliks Bogacki, "Zródła prawa, według Rudolfa Jheringa," *Przegląd tygodniowy* 12 (April 10/22–17/29, 1877).

<sup>51</sup> Spencer, *Social Statics*, 410–11.

<sup>52</sup> George Bernard Shaw believed that Karl Marx and H. T. Buckle would be the only two nineteenth-century writers whose legacy would survive, a judgment that, based on the secondary literature about each of them, is at best only half right. Shaw's comment is cited by Semmel, *Liberal Ideal*, 48. On Buckle, see Giles St. Aubyn, *A Victorian Eminence: The Life and Works of H. T. Buckle* (London, 1958); Alfred Henry Huth, *The Life and Writings of Henry Thomas Buckle* (New York, 1880); John M. Robertson, *Buckle and His Critics: A Study in Sociology* (London, 1895); Semmel, "H. T. Buckle: The Liberal Faith and the Science of History," *British Journal of Sociology* 17 (September 1976).

<sup>53</sup> On the initial reception of Buckle in Poland, see Warzenica, *Pozytywistyczny "obóz młodych"*, 27–28.

<sup>54</sup> Ernest Śnieżawski, "Buckle i Darwin," *Przegląd tygodniowy* 3 (September 8/20, 1868). The early enthusiasm for Buckle in *Przegląd tygodniowy* was accompanied by an embarrassing testimony to Wiślicki's poor knowledge of English (or sloppy editing). In reviewing the Polish translation of Buckle's *History*, the paper praised not only Buckle but "Bocckle" and "Bouckle" as well, and placed him (them?) alongside such great Englishmen as "Tindhal," "Layell," "Haeskley," "Macaulay," "Drapper," and (at least he got these right) Darwin and Mill. Henryk Elzenberg, "Henryk Tomasz Bocckle," *Przegląd tygodniowy* 2 (March 26/April 31, 1867).

Przyborowski even believed that the positivist movement “had its source” in Buckle’s work.<sup>55</sup>

Buckle’s fame in Poland did not reflect an appreciation of his unapologetic support for *laissez faire* or even his anticlericalism. Rather, the Poles liked Buckle because he offered them a “scientific” vision of history in which the best educated and the most liberal, rather than the strongest, would be victorious. Above all, for Buckle, “victory” meant independence. Buckle based his work on the same naturalistic monism that characterized all the positivists, and he employed the same style of argumentation. However, he differed from Spencer in two ways. First, he shifted the focus of analysis from “society” to “history,” and in so doing he made “the nation” his principal actor. That is, he moved from Spencer’s grand vision, mapped out chronologically and spatially over all of human existence, to a tighter focus on documented European historical time. Even more important, he reconceptualized the engine of progress, negating the power of violence in favor of intellectual development. Buckle therefore demonstrated how the language of scientism could be used to describe a world of “culture” rather than “conquest.”

Like Spencer, Buckle constructed a teleology ending in a liberal utopia. He envisioned a future world of free thought and democracy, and he defined progress as the antithesis of both “superstitious” religion and conservative politics.<sup>56</sup> Both Spencer and Buckle employed the idea of evolution, but where the former placed “struggle,” the latter inserted “doubt.” “Until doubt began,” he wrote, “progress was impossible.”<sup>57</sup> Buckle made thought dependent on material forces, but he in turn made historical progress dependent on ideas. He was thus able to repudiate the violence and conquest that his more famous colleague had been forced to accommodate. Great changes in government, Buckle argued, were brought about “not by any external event, nor by a sudden insurrection of the people, but by the unaided action of moral force—the silent, though overwhelming, pressure of public opinion.”<sup>58</sup> In shifting the focus from violence to ideas, Buckle found a way to retain his respect for the small, militarily weak, but “civilized” community, and he negated the force of conquest.

The foreign spoiler works mischief; he cannot cause shame. With nations, as with individuals, none are dishonored if they are true to themselves . . . And, even in a material point of view, such losses [those caused by pillage] are sure to be retrieved, if the people who incur them are inured to those habits of self-government, and to that feeling of self-reliance, which are the spring and the source of all real greatness. With the aid of these, every damage may be repaired, and every evil remedied. Without them, the slightest blow may be fatal.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Eksdziennikarz [Walery Przyborowski], *Stara i młoda prasa: Przyczynek do historii literatury ojczystej (1866–1872)* (St. Petersburg, 1897), 9; Andrzej Feliks Grabski, “Warszawscy entuzjaści H. T. Buckle’a: Z dziejów warszawskiego pozytywizmu,” *Kwartalnik historyczny* 76 (1969): 856; Aleksander Świętochowski, “Liberum veto,” *Prawda* 2 (January 23/February 4, 1882), in *Liberum veto*, 261.

<sup>56</sup> Henry Thomas Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*, 2d edn. (New York, 1875), 2: 472. Compare this with the pessimism expressed on 1: 109.

<sup>57</sup> Buckle, *History of Civilization*, 1: 96, 242.

<sup>58</sup> Buckle, *History of Civilization*, 1: 358.

<sup>59</sup> Buckle, *History of Civilization*, 2: 105. On Spencer’s growing doubts that war had yet been supplanted by industry, even in England, see Pick, *War Machine*, 77–79. There is no doubt that Spencer

Buckle, therefore, represented an alternative to the brutality implied by “the struggle for survival,” and this was precisely how he was appropriated by his Polish readers. Władysław Zawadzki, in the introduction to his own translation of *The History of Civilization*, regretted Buckle’s “Protestant” world-view (that is, his anticlericalism) but was convinced that the book’s argument about evolution made it a masterpiece. According to Zawadzki, Buckle believed that “the essential condition of civilization is *knowledge* . . . Knowledge and civilization are nearly synonymous. The progress of knowledge is the only condition for the progress of humanity.” For Zawadzki, Buckle articulated a vision of the future in which the most intelligent, rather than the mightiest, would prevail.<sup>60</sup> Zawadzki’s translation quickly came to the attention of Adam Wiślicki, who gave the book an enthusiastic review in *Przegląd tygodniowy*. His reading of Buckle placed an unusually strong emphasis on “intelligence,” going so far as to suggest that it provided a solution to the implications of natural law itself. “The progress of civilization is the result of a reduction of the influence of the laws of nature and an increase in the influence of intellectual laws. Since the measure of civilization is the triumph of the spirit over the external world, intellectual laws are more important than the laws of nature for the progress of humanity. The study of the laws of European history merges with the study of the laws of human thought.” Buckle, concluded Wiślicki’s review, offered an explanation of how “intellectual progress” and “virtuous acts negate the self-defeating acts of warriors, and evil decreases.”<sup>61</sup> Bolesław Limanowski, writing for *Przegląd tygodniowy* in 1869, drew similar conclusions from Buckle’s work. Buckle has taught us, Limanowski wrote, that progress was “drawn from the spring of knowledge” and that one could find the cure to society’s ills if one simply “studied.” “Woe to the blind! In the struggle with those who see clearly, he will always fall . . . The more fierce the struggle, the wider the field on which it is conducted, the more alert must be one’s consciousness. And this draws its strength from the treasury of knowledge that humanity has gathered over many centuries of historical work.”<sup>62</sup>

The editors of *Niwa*, another positivist journal, took the same approach. “Buckle asserts,” they wrote in 1874, “that in human history it is mainly and predominantly the intellect that develops . . . [T]he ideal of society ought to be only (or primarily) the increase of education and intellectual development.” *Niwa* then used this idea to redefine the concept of “force,” which became for them the “harmonious union of physical force and mental-moral force, which in turn must necessarily be based on justice.”<sup>63</sup>

Świętochowski himself demonstrated a Bucklean reading of evolution in an important series of essays from 1882, provocatively titled “The Struggle for

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saw war as a destructive force for a truly liberal society, but Pick overstates Spencer’s devotion to peace by missing the historical trajectory of his argument.

<sup>60</sup> Władysław Zawadzki, “Przedmowa tłumacza [sic],” in Henryk Tomasz Buckle, *Historja cywilizacji w Anglii* (Lwów, 1864–68), 1: no pagination; and Zawadzki, “Wiadomość o życiu Tomasza Henryka [sic] Buckla,” *Historia cywilizacji w Anglii*, 3: xiii.

<sup>61</sup> “Systemat historyczny Buckla,” *Przegląd tygodniowy* 2 (November 19/December 1, 1867): 386.

<sup>62</sup> Bolesław Limanowski, “Przegląd życia społecznego,” *Przegląd tygodniowy* 4 (October 19/31, 1869): 369. This was part of a series of essays, running from September 28/October 10 to November 9/21, 1869.

<sup>63</sup> “Ideały II,” *Niwa* 3 (February 15, 1874): 74.



Existence.” Directly contradicting Spencer’s implication that numerical strength was a mark of progress, Świętochowski used the rhetoric of science and nature to de-emphasize physical strength.

If every species searched for and did not find a means to defend its existence, there would exist only lions, tigers, and elephants among animals, and strong, huge states among people . . . It is a fatal error in our political-social reasoning to compare our own society with others [and] explain its victory only [by referring to] physical superiority, to numbers and armies. If the strongest state possessed only many armed people, it would quickly succumb to complete destruction. No Krupp could make such armaments as would kill Copernicus, and no Moltke could vanquish Mickiewicz or Matejko.

These concluding references were transparent: the German armaments manufacturer and the German general were placed against the Polish scholar, poet, and painter. Military might was contrasted with artistic and scientific talent; strength was cast as inferior to intellect; the large conquering nation was located beneath the small conquered nation. To cultivate all these qualities, Świętochowski continued, required work, which “constituted the primary force in the struggle for existence” and “determined the fate of nations.”<sup>64</sup>

This was the central message of Warsaw positivism, the point where liberal scientism and nationalism intersected. Repeatedly, *Prawda*, *Niwa*, and *Przegląd tygodniowy* stressed that the mind was stronger than brute force and that victory in the struggle for survival would come to the most “civilized” and “intelligent,” not to the one with the greatest army. This was not capitulation in the quest for independence but a quintessentially liberal way of continuing that battle by other means. The key to this argument was the positivists’ vision of history, as demonstrated by the very title of an 1882 series in *Prawda*: “An Attempt at a New Historiosophy.” The author, Ignacy Radliński, not only allowed the “intelligent” nation to survive but actually declared that it enjoyed primacy over other nations. More important, he linked this reasoning with a surprisingly clear argument in favor of independent statehood. He embraced the concept of struggle, which “just lies in the nature of things,” but he believed that only “primitive” nations substituted “strength” for the more potent assets of “law” and “work.”<sup>65</sup> Radliński’s commitment to statehood was clear: he described it as the principal means of regulating the struggle for survival so as to ensure that it did not degenerate into mere violence. For a state to serve as an instrument of progress in this way, Radliński continued, it had to evolve from “the correct development of history” and be a “faithful reflection of the nation.” If it was the product of “a social catastrophe, usually a fatal war,” then it necessarily “originated from outside, and as something imposed, was alien to society. In this case, instead of regulating relations and returning harmony, it itself becomes an expression of the struggle for existence, it itself violates that harmony, upsets order, and negates progress.” Even when the

<sup>64</sup> Aleksander Świętochowski, “Walka o byt I (Praca),” *Prawda* 3 (January 6, 1883/December 25, 1882): 1. Poles consider Copernicus a national hero. Matejko was Poland’s most famous nineteenth-century painter.

<sup>65</sup> Ignacy Radliński, “Próbka nowej historyozofii VI,” *Prawda* 2 (May 15/27, 1882): 247. This series did not directly comment on Buckle, concentrating instead on the work of Gustave Le Bon. Buckle was the most popular of those offering an escape from the Spencerian version of struggle, but he was not the only source for this “new historiosophy.”

conquering power possessed a superior civilization, such as in the case of Britain and India, it would rarely succeed, both because it could never be seen as a product of the society, and because in such cases even advanced nations were prone to violence and corruption. When the victorious power was less civilized, then progress was that much less likely.<sup>66</sup> Radliński closed with a call to his countrymen that explicitly included the concept of “work” in this “new historiosophy.” “If the key to happiness is in anyone’s hands, that key can only be work. Work carried mankind above the world from which he originated; work created culture, changed and adapted nature itself to its needs; with work, [mankind] broadens its knowledge, ennobles itself, elevates future generations.”<sup>67</sup>

Here was the entire argument of the Warsaw Positivists summarized in a few sentences. The purpose of work was to advance knowledge and to further progress, and this task was in turn placed within a “new historiosophy” that promised victory in the struggle for existence to those who followed such a program. The Russian and German empires no longer enjoyed any primacy in this scheme—as they did in Spencer’s equation between size and progress—because few would argue that Russia or Germany were among Europe’s more “progressive” nations. The Poles, moreover, had long thought of themselves as a more developed, more “European” counterpart to the “backward,” autocratic, “Asiatic” Russians (the deployment of such orientalist categories has long been a feature of Polish political rhetoric). If Buckle was right, then Poles only had to cultivate and demonstrate their “superiority” in order to negate the effects of the partitions. They need not think of themselves as one of the “small nations” destined for absorption into a larger neighbor; if they could only shake off the shackles of conservatism and “superstition,” their cultural preeminence would solve all their problems, and “every damage could be repaired, every evil remedied.” In other words, they could use a Bucklean teleology to recast themselves, the conquered nation, as the “European” power destined to rise above the “Asiatic” Russians.<sup>68</sup> Even though the nation’s present might be “work,” its future would certainly be the state.

FROM THE LATE 1860s TO THE EARLY 1880s, positivism set the parameters of public life in the Russian partition of Poland. Literature and theater were stamped with the ideals and rhetoric of positivism, and the next generation of the Polish intelligentsia was raised to speak the language of “science.” This is not to say that all Poles became positivists but only that the concerns of the positivists became the main objects of debate, thus forcing conservatives (and others) to meet the liberals on their own ground. Everyone seemed compelled to talk about positivism, even

<sup>66</sup> Radliński, “Próbka nowej historyzofii VI,” 248.

<sup>67</sup> Ignacy Radliński, “Próbka nowej historyzofii VII,” *Prawda* 2 (June 10/May 29, 1882): 274.

<sup>68</sup> This image of cultural superiority may have had a weak structural similarity to Mickiewicz’s national messianism, but the entire discursive framework was different. The romantic nationalists based Poland’s claim to greatness on its status as victim, as the emblem of freedom destined to suffer at the hands of evil neighbors. Their eschatology was directly rooted in Judeo-Christian ideas of martyrdom and sacrifice, and the imagery did not depend on a collective “other,” since the enemy was “evil,” not “Russia.” For the positivists, on the other hand, Poland’s superiority arose from its cultural and economic proximity to “the West,” understood here as the “civilized” and “modern” world. Poland was no longer the martyr or even the missionary; it was now “Europe,” confronting “the East.”

when disagreeing with Świętochowski, Prus, Kozłowski, or Wiślicki. More important, Poland's conservatives were just as opposed to "national action" as were the positivists, so the polemics between them could never touch the central issue of "work."<sup>69</sup> But the constellation of liberalism and "science" described here arose from a specific situation—the aftermath of 1863—and it could only survive in its original form as long as the memory of the insurrection remained fresh. The arguments in *Przegląd tygodniowy* about "work" were not persuasive to those who were too young to recall the destruction of 1863, who knew only a world of russification and national oppression. Such people longed for a return to "action," and their voices grew louder throughout the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>70</sup>

The repudiation of "work" at the end of the century, however, was not accompanied by an abandonment of positivist rhetoric: instead, the ideas described in this article were retained but reconfigured. From the socialists to the new radical Right, nearly all the ideological formations of the turn of the century would appropriate from the positivists the vocabulary of "science" and the concept of "struggle." Unfortunately, once disengaged from its liberal moorings, the "struggle for survival" was no longer tempered by the polite restraint described here. The positivists would watch in horror as Spencer was taken from them, reinterpreted, and turned into the prophet of violence that they had worked so hard to suppress.<sup>71</sup> By the turn of the century, a brutalized "Social Darwinism" would emerge, and the words of a young nationalist named Roman Dmowski would characterize a new way of talking about Poland's place in history: "[My philosophy is one] of national struggle and oppression. Perhaps. But what of it, if that struggle and that oppression are realities, and universal peace and universal freedom are fictions?"<sup>72</sup> The positivists had avoided the uglier sides of Spencer by exploiting the teleologies of mid-nineteenth-century liberalism, but they would soon learn how easy it was to deploy the same vocabulary to describe a much darker world.

For all their differences, the romantics of the 1830s, the positivists of the 1870s, and the radical Right nationalists of the *fin de siècle* all participated in the discourse of nationalism in Poland. We obscure the complex relationships between these diverse ideological formations if we define nationalism in terms of the overt pursuit of political autonomy, or the mobilization of "the masses" in the construction of the nation-state. The concept of "the state" did indeed play a role in Polish nationalism throughout the nineteenth century, but the relationship between "nation" and "state"—and how to get from one to the other—was continuously being reconfigured. The positivists rejected political contestation in favor of "cultural" or "social" development, but they can only be understood if we position them within a tradition of national thought—not as mere "precursors" or "cultural nationalists" preparing the ground for later activists with more openly political goals but as participants in

<sup>69</sup> On the politics of the aristocracy at the end of the nineteenth century, see Andrzej Szwarc, *Od Wielopolskiego do Stronnictwa Polityki Realnej: Zwolennicy ugody z Rosją, ich poglądy i próby działalności politycznej (1864–1905)* (Warsaw, 1990).

<sup>70</sup> For a general survey of the return to "action" in the 1880s, see Bohdan Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych* (Warsaw, 1971); and Roman Wapiński, *Pokolenia Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1991).

<sup>71</sup> Ironically, both *First Principles* and *The Principles of Sociology* would be translated and published not by the positivists but by a younger generation of intellectuals who used Spencer in their rebellion against the positivists.

<sup>72</sup> Roman Dmowski, *Myśli nowoczesnego polaka*, 7th edn. (London, 1953), 87.

a century-long debate over the definition of the nation and its place in history. Such debates were much more than tactical arguments over how best to obtain the nation-state, because the way one located the nation in historical time shaped how one conceived of the nation itself.

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*Review Essay*  
Stories in History:  
Cultural Narratives in Recent Works in European History

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SARAH MAZA

STORYTELLING, or in academic parlance “narrative,” has returned to the historical discipline with a vengeance. The current “revival of narrative” was prophesied some seventeen years ago in an article of that title by Lawrence Stone, who accurately predicted the end of the hegemony of structural, material-determinist, and quantitative approaches to history.<sup>1</sup> Stone’s famous piece was somewhat confusing as to what form this revival was going to take, and understandably so, given the many different guises “narrative” in history has indeed adopted since the late 1970s. The return of narrative has influenced, for instance, metahistorical reflections on historical writing by the likes of Hayden White.<sup>2</sup> The rise of “microhistory” has given social historians license to recount the lives of the humble and obscure, in a form attractive to undergraduates and lay readers, at the same time as biographies of monarchs and military leaders have fallen out of fashion.<sup>3</sup> Stories are currently being used to illuminate intimate, even unconscious, levels of past lives under the

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence Stone, “The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History,” *Past and Present* 85 (1979): 3–24. Subsequent contributions to the debate about the place of narrative in historical writing have included James West Davidson, “The New Narrative History: How New? How Narrative?” *Reviews in American History* 12 (September 1984): 322–34; and William J. Cronon, “A Place for Stories: Nature, History and Narrative,” *Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1347–76.

<sup>2</sup> Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, Md., 1973); and White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978). More recent examples include Lionel Gossman, *Between History and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); and Jacques Rancière, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge*, Hassan Melehy, trans. (Minneapolis, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> Some of the most notable microhistories, a genre first practiced by historians of Italy in both Italy and the United States, include, in European history Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1980); Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Judith C. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 1986); Gene Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986). For an overview and a sampling of works by Italian scholars, see Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds., *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore, 1991). Some examples in U.S. history are Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife’s Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard* (New York, 1990); Paul E. Johnson and Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias* (New York, 1994); and Michael Grossberg, *A Judgment for Solomon: The d’Hauteville Case and Legal Experience in Antebellum America* (New York, 1996). In Chinese history, see

rubric of "subjectivity," and their central role in forging national consciousness has also been acknowledged and explored.<sup>4</sup> Because many historians have come to realize in the last few years that a focus on the story is both intellectually innovative and rhetorically appealing, such contributions (including my own) often hover strategically on the cusp between crowd-pleasing traditionalism and postmodern self-consciousness: in the current context, a historian like Simon Schama can publish an avant-garde meditation on historical narration, *Dead Certainties*, hard on the heels of a very old-fashioned chronicle of the French Revolution.<sup>5</sup>

This essay addresses a particular instance of the turn to "narrativity," the appearance in the last decade or so of studies that in different ways examine the historical appeal, meaning, and effects of a story or a set of stories within a precise historical setting: some of the best-known instances in European history are Natalie Zemon Davis's study of the narratives presented to the king in sixteenth-century France by petitioners seeking a pardon for a violent offense; Lynn Hunt's use of a Freudian myth, the "family romance," to explain the cultural meaning of the French Revolution; and Judith Walkowitz's reading of tensions in *fin-de-siècle* London through "narratives of sexual danger," accounts of child prostitution and serial murder.<sup>6</sup> As these examples suggest, the genre draws mainly on literary or judicial sources and, in many of the best instances, addresses the overlap between the literary and the judicial. "Literary sources," in the widest possible sense of that expression, include oral narratives such as folk tales, both "high" and "popular" fictions, historical writing, stories for performance such as screen and stage drama, and certain forms of journalism. The judicial sources are those that rely heavily on storytelling, such as witnesses' depositions, published arguments and pleas, lawyers' briefs, and accounts of trials in newspapers, pamphlets, and other media.<sup>7</sup> In this essay, I will discuss such works almost exclusively in European history (and especially French history), since that is my area of competence; however, the trend

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Jonathan D. Spence, *The Death of Woman Wang* (New York, 1978); and Spence, *The Question of Hu* (New York, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> On subjectivity, see, for instance, Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality, and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1994); and Patrick Joyce, *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994). On nationalism, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); or Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> Simon Schama, *Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations* (New York, 1991); and Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York, 1989). Another instance of a work combining traditional narrative and postmodern experiment is John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992).

<sup>7</sup> For the sake of clarity, I am not including in my discussion, however, works that center on a single trial used to shed light on the culture in which it took place. That category includes implicitly most of the microhistories cited above or, to mention a fine example of the genre, Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992). Such studies may touch on aspects of the trial that draw on, or feed into, fiction, but their focus is on a real event. The books dealing with judicial matters that are included here are those that examine courtroom storytelling generically, such as Davis's *Fiction* or my own recent work on prerevolutionary French courtroom literature.

outlined here has appeared in most other fields of history, producing an equally rich crop of books and essays.<sup>8</sup>

Scholars in many different fields—literature, history, anthropology, and more recently legal studies—have been interested in plots that recur insistently within a culture, in one or more media: the seduction of a lower-class woman by an upper-class rake, for instance, or the murder of a father by his son. To call such stories “fictions” is not specific enough, especially now that postmodernism has forced on us the awareness that all emplotted accounts, history and journalism included, are “fictions” in the sense of narratives made and shaped by their authors. Literary scholars usefully distinguish “literature,” a special category of texts with aesthetic properties, from the generic stories that recur in a culture, which they call “cultural thematics” or “cultural narratives.”<sup>9</sup> It is to the latter that historians have recently been drawn, although the use of properly “literary” texts by historians is an interesting subject, which still remains for the most part unexamined.

The emergence of a genre of history writing that centers on these “cultural narratives” is obviously connected to other developments of the last fifteen years: the interest in cultural patterns that is the essence of the “new cultural history,” the influence of Foucauldian “discourse analysis,” the awareness of textuality leading to the much-ballyhooed “linguistic turn,” and a general postmodern skepticism about the boundary between “fact” and “fiction.”<sup>10</sup> Unlike most of these, however, the use of generic stories, or “cultural narratives,” as a way into a society and culture has provoked no outpouring of commentary. Yet the recourse to “stories-in-history” raises a host of intriguing questions about how to read such texts and how to connect them to their context(s). Which kinds of stories have historians selected and why? How can one determine that a story is “representative” of a culture or of a group within that culture—and, conversely, how can historians avoid the assumption that a widespread, dominant narrative is shared by all groups, in the same way? If, as recent developments in cultural history suggest, cultural products and practices are performative as well as reflective (a novel or a ritual does not just reflect social experience, it also constructs it), how can we assess the effect of a story or group of stories on the world around them? And, finally, if narrative and storytelling have traditionally been the purview of literary scholars, which literary theories and practices can historians make use of, and how?

In this essay, I will explain the emergence of “cultural narratives” and assess some

<sup>8</sup> I hope the preceding footnotes make clear that this historiographical development has spawned an equally distinguished group of works in other fields; lack of time, space, and especially competence have led me to limit my discussion to works in European history, with the exception of the Smith-Rosenberg article addressed below. In U.S. history, for instance, important works partly or entirely concerned with cultural narratives include Ramon A. Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991); June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993); James Goodman, *Stories of Scottsboro* (New York, 1994); and Karen Halttunen’s forthcoming book on the Gothic imagination in eighteenth and nineteenth-century America.

<sup>9</sup> On cultural narratives in legal and literary sources and the distinction between cultural narrative and literary text, see Brook Thomas, *Cross-Examinations of Law and Literature: Cooper, Hawthorne, Stowe, and Melville* (Cambridge, 1984).

<sup>10</sup> For general discussions of these developments, see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), chaps. 13–16; Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), introduction; and Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994), chap. 6.

of the methodologies this trend has involved by connecting it to three recent historical traditions. The first is the convergence of anthropology and social history, influential in the 1970s; the second is feminism, including the use by some feminist historians of deconstructive methods; the third is, more broadly, the trend toward interdisciplinary cultural studies, the context in which the always uneasy dialogue between historical and literary studies is being carried on right now. Although I have separated these three traditions for analytical purposes, they have overlapped a great deal in the work of many historians, including most of those whom I discuss below.

INNOVATIVE METHODOLOGIES often appear in fields where conventional sources are unavailable. Storied sources featuring "cultural narratives" have long been a staple of the history of popular culture, in part because of the lack of the more conventional sources (personal writings, records of religious and cultural institutions) available for other social groups. Historians of illiterate communities, unless they are lucky or shrewd enough to find a book-happy Menocchio, tend to go in search of peasants' and other workers' mental universes in the stories they told and listened to. The earliest studies on this model amounted to little more than an enumeration of the subjects of chapbooks.<sup>11</sup> By contrast, Robert Darnton's widely read essay on Old Regime rural culture, "Peasants Tell Tales: The Meaning of Mother Goose," drew a great deal of attention upon its publication because Darnton delved inside the stories, searching for patterns of culture in formal analogies between tales, or between the stories and the context that spawned them.<sup>12</sup>

Darnton's essay on French rural folk tales, first published in 1984, is still lively and absorbing. But reading it a dozen years later, one is mostly struck at how much has changed in historians' grasp of cultural products and practices and how these changes affect our understanding of the link between text and context. Darnton's source in this piece is the corpus of French folk tales collected in the nineteenth century, which had probably been circulating in the countryside for several hundred years. Working with the classifications drawn up by folklorists, Darnton points to the recurrence of certain plots and motifs, but he is especially concerned with the details and assumptions that make these tales strange to the twentieth-century reader and different from similar tales in other parts of the world. What, he asks, can these particular versions of "timeless" stories tell us about a fairly specific time and place—the French countryside in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

These forgotten versions of childhood classics feature a great deal of violence: routine cruelty, killings, cannibalism, child abuse. Above all, Darnton identifies as a central motif a desperate economic vulnerability, which translates into obsession with food. When a character in these stories is given three wishes, he or she will most likely ask for a sausage or a plate of beans rather than money or love; Tom

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, Robert Mandrou, *De la culture populaire aux 17<sup>e</sup> et 18<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1964); or Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), chap. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Darnton, "Peasants Tell Tales: The Meaning of Mother Goose," in *The Great Cat-Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984), 9–72.



Thumb, "Le Petit Poucet," opens with a rural couple so wretchedly famished that they turn their children out of the house to fend for themselves or, more likely, starve. Darnton then sketches out what social historians, working from other sources, have discovered about the French rural world before the 1750s. Sure enough, the brutality and obsession with food in the tales turn out to express the attitudes of a society in which land was scarce, diseases were endemic, and killer famines swept through communities at least once a generation.

Darnton is explicitly critical, in the same volume, of approaches to culture that view it as derivative from socioeconomic conditions; he specifically rejects the Annales School's relegation of culture and mentalities to the *troisième niveau*, the small and decorative top layer of the wedding cake.<sup>13</sup> Yet his own interpretive strategy in this piece is to ask what concrete experiences most peasants would have had in common and, once these are identified—scarcity, hunger, recurrent epidemics, high mortality—to explain the ways in which the tales express material conditions in storied form. The folk tales, in Darnton's reading, rise ethereally out of a concrete world of empty stomachs and hard work—they illustrate that world but do not act on it. At best, it seems, these tales allowed the downtrodden to identify with the trickster protagonists who outwitted ogres, priests, or seigneurs. Although Darnton invites us to imagine how these yarns were "performed" by rural storytellers—gestures, dramatic pauses, sound effects—he does not view the tales as in any way "performative."<sup>14</sup>

I bring up Darnton's essay in part because it was, and still is, widely read and in part because it allows us to assess how broader changes in approaches to cultural history have affected historians' recourse to storied sources such as folk tales. Like other prominent social historians in the 1970s and 1980s, Darnton drew his methodology from cultural anthropology. In Darnton's case, the debt was explicitly to his Princeton colleague Clifford Geertz, whose collection of essays, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, inspired, more than any other work, the first generation of "new cultural historians."<sup>15</sup>

In the 1970s and 1980s, Geertz was one of the main influences behind the "linguistic turn," as he frequently couched his influential semiotic concept of culture ("man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun") in textual terms. "The culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong."<sup>16</sup> Unlike Michel Foucault, with whom he shares so much, Geertz deliberately removes considerations of power from his "thick descriptions," characterizing his analysis of the Balinese theater state as "a poetics of power, not a mechanics,"<sup>17</sup> and his famous reading of the Balinese cockfight as "a problem not in social mechanics but in social semantics."<sup>18</sup> Geertz's efforts to

<sup>13</sup> Darnton, *Great Cat-Massacre*, 257–59.

<sup>14</sup> The current interest in the "performative" dimension of language and other cultural practices, which will be further discussed below, was inspired by the rediscovery of J. L. Austin's classic *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

<sup>15</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973).

<sup>16</sup> Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 5, 452. On Geertz's textual approach to culture, see Aletta Biersack, "Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond," in Hunt, *New Cultural History*, 75–82.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted by Biersack, "Local Knowledge," 81.

<sup>18</sup> Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 448.

distinguish his work from that of functional anthropologists resulted in an "aestheticization of culture" that to this day influences the writing of cultural history.<sup>19</sup> "Poetry makes nothing happen," Geertz once wrote, quoting W. H. Auden;<sup>20</sup> under the pen of a 1980s Geertzian historian, folk tales make nothing happen either, no matter how "thickly" they and their context are described. In this approach, stories, a point of entry into a larger cultural aesthetic, dramatize patterns of culture while remaining trapped within them.

Geertz and his followers often started at a point of crisis within a society—a sheep raid, a cat massacre—yet the function of that crisis was not to resolve a cultural tension but to illuminate "normal" patterns of culture by generating "social texts" for the anthropologist or historian to read. Other anthropologists influential with historians have espoused a more active, or "performative" view of culture. Victor Turner's theory of "social drama," for instance, holds special appeal for historians interested in the social impact of narrative.<sup>21</sup> What Turner calls "social dramas" are the matrices through which individuals and societies define or redefine their beliefs—ranging from the dramas that punctuate life in the Ndembu villages in Zambia, where Turner did much of his field work, to the Dreyfus case or Watergate in recent history. The crises through which societies assert or change their values are commonly dealt with by means of ritual or juridical processes, which create the narratives through which people understand and integrate the crisis. Social drama, writes Turner, is "the experiential matrix from which many genres of cultural performance, beginning with redressive ritual and juridical procedures and eventually including oral and literary narrative, have been generated."<sup>22</sup>

Turner's archetypal social drama unfolds in four stages: breach, crisis, redress, and a final settlement consisting either in reintegration or in recognition of the schism. At the heart of the social drama, the phase of ritual or juridical "redress" usually involves passage through a "liminal" stage, in which normal rules are suspended and transgression occurs, clarifying social norms and making way for the reintegration of social values. The concept of "liminality," which Mary Douglas also helped disseminate, has been of great use to social historians, most conspicuously those interested in rituals such as carnival or charivari. But it has also drawn the attention of historians interested in cultural narratives, since so much popular literature involves liminal characters: criminals, tricksters, con artists, prostitutes, servants, Jews, witches, and other marginal types.<sup>23</sup>

A cultural analysis that focuses on crisis and resolution may afford more room for ambivalence or polyvalence than does the static Geertzian "thick description." A case in point—to stray briefly outside of European history—is Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's reading of the Davy Crockett myth, as it was first retailed in American

<sup>19</sup> Biersack, "Local Knowledge," 75–82; Gabrielle Spiegel, "History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 69 (1990): 64–66.

<sup>20</sup> Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 443.

<sup>21</sup> Victor Turner, "Social Dramas and Stories about Them," in W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *On Narrative* (Chicago, 1981), 137–64; for a fuller treatment, see Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974).

<sup>22</sup> Turner, "Social Dramas," 154.

<sup>23</sup> See Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966).

popular almanacs in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>24</sup> This essay, published around the same time as Darnton's piece on folk tales, is informed by Turner's and Douglas's concepts of structure and disorder, pollution, and liminality.<sup>25</sup> Smith-Rosenberg resorts to the Davy Crockett tales not because, as was the case for Darnton, other sources are lacking but because they reveal emotions and impulses that could not be openly acknowledged or acted on by writers and readers. Stories serve here to delve into the psyche, rather than to explore unknown historical territory.

Like Darnton, Smith-Rosenberg (writing some fifteen years ago) holds to the primacy of the material base: the concrete backdrop determining the Crockett myth is the rapid industrialization and urbanization of Jacksonian America, the intended audience the "bourgeois male." Central to Smith-Rosenberg's reading of the tales is the concept of liminality, which serves to establish the overall homology between text and context. Crockett is a compound of liminalities: a rebellious adolescent, an outcast, an instinctual creature living on the border between the human and animal worlds. What this welter of marginalities expresses, the author proposes, is the dangerously transitional nature of a social world, Jacksonian America, shifting from an agrarian to a mercantile world. But the Crockett tales, in Smith-Rosenberg's reading, do not just express the realities of a social world, as do Darnton's folk tales, they also serve to deny it. These myths of wild, violent frontier life negated the growing reality of big-city life; Crockett's bold, deliberate rebellion against his father substituted for the actual erosion of family ties, especially the father-son relationship, by the prosaic forces of industrialization.<sup>26</sup> The nineteenth-century bourgeois male, Smith-Rosenberg concludes, wishing away his real social location, naturalized and glorified his violent individualism in the mythic Davy Crockett. Liminality allows for more complexity in the reading of cultural narratives, since the nature of liminality is to negate, but in doing so simultaneously to reflect, the culture of which it marks the boundaries.

Turner's "social drama" not only provides a useful model for understanding the role of certain cultural practices in social change, it also highlights the contingency and indeterminacy that preside over the unfolding of such dramas. The heart of the sequence, during the crisis-and-redress phase, generates (legal or ritual) narratives that draw on "genres of cultural performance": participants in the social drama, in other words, act out its resolution by following the conspicuous scripts provided by their culture—Thomas Becket, Turner suggests, "performed" his breach with Henry II in imitation of Christ's Way of the Cross.<sup>27</sup> This understanding of cultural narratives as the matrix in which social crises are resolved works especially well in explaining the role of dramatic fiction in legal processes: in my own recent work, I argue that barristers in prerevolutionary France attempted to make their cases—and thus to resolve the social crises fueling *causes célèbres*—by resorting to the

<sup>24</sup> Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Davy Crockett as Trickster: Pornography, Liminality, and Symbolic Inversion in Victorian America," in her *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (Oxford, 1985), 90–108.

<sup>25</sup> See Smith-Rosenberg, "Davy Crockett as Trickster," 100–01: "The Crockett myth deals explicitly with the process of change—with the explosive power of formlessness at war with structure at a time when antistructure was still victorious and form in disarray . . . Crockett epitomizes the liminal."

<sup>26</sup> Smith-Rosenberg, "Davy Crockett as Trickster," 107–08.

<sup>27</sup> Turner, "Social Dramas," 149–50.

melodramatic conventions of the so-called *drame bourgeois*, including characterizations that unambiguously signaled the guilt or innocence of the parties involved.<sup>28</sup>

There is nothing predetermined or inevitable, Turner insists, about which narratives will be used, or how they will be used, in the resolution of a social drama. The importance of the social drama lies precisely in its introduction of creative indeterminacy against the grain of "normal" social processes that tend to fix and stabilize: "Ritual and legal procedures mediate between the formed and the indeterminate."<sup>29</sup> By implication, the cultural narratives—the stories—that ritual and juridical processes generate and borrow perform a similarly crucial mediation between the fixed and the indeterminate. In other words, stories, especially those used in legal and ritual settings, are the means whereby social actors attempt to impose fixed meaning on social experience in the context of a crisis in which meanings have become indeterminate: "Where historical life itself fails to make cultural sense in terms of that formerly held good, narrative and cultural drama may have the task of *poesis*, that is of remaking cultural sense."<sup>30</sup>

Although Smith-Rosenberg drew usefully on the concept of "liminality," that indeterminacy generated by social crisis, her essay did not hint at the ways in which the Davy Crockett narratives might have represented an attempt to resolve (rather than simply deny) the crisis of meaning provoked by industrialization. The models offered in the 1970s by cultural anthropologists such as Victor Turner and Mary Douglas allowed for historical change: the controlled liminality of an early modern carnival might bolster the social order by temporarily and playfully negating it, but a carnival could also turn violently radical. In Turner's "social drama" model, however, historical change takes the form of a lurch rather than a process: social dramas mediate between fixed states, resolving the crisis either through a return to the *status quo ante* or by making visible a new pattern of alliances and antagonisms.

Increasingly, both anthropologists and historians are inclined to view cultural artifacts not as inert containers of meaning but as actively implicated in historical change. In this respect, the most influential voice among cultural anthropologists has been that of Marshall Sahlins in works such as *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* (1981) and especially *Islands of History*. Sahlins's accounts of cultural encounters between Polynesian islanders and European explorers such as Captain Cook challenge the hallowed distinction between structural determinism and historical contingency. While not rejecting the concept of structure, Sahlins seeks to redefine it so that it is no longer antithetical to historians' notions of contingency and historicity. The anthropological concept of structure, Sahlins argues, "is not most usefully set forth in a Saussurean mode, as a static set of symbolic oppositions and correspondences"; structures are better understood as processual, "a dynamic development of the cultural categories and their relationships" or, in a play on Claude Lévi-Strauss, "the cultural life of elementary forms."<sup>31</sup>

Cultural categories, Sahlins proposes, should not be viewed as a frozen set of antinomies but as constituted through an open-ended renegotiation over time.

<sup>28</sup> Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), esp. chaps. 1, 5, 6.

<sup>29</sup> Turner, "Social Dramas," 154.

<sup>30</sup> Turner, "Social Dramas," 164.

<sup>31</sup> Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985), xv, 77.



Hence myth, or cosmology, should be regarded not as establishing a static grid of meaning but as legitimizing change and redefinition. The myth of the stranger-king, for instance, common to Polynesian and Indo-European cultures (Aeneas or Romulus are familiar examples) founds the political order on an unstable compound of original violence and usurpation on the one hand and stable, judicious government on the other. And, just as power is established from the outside and over time (as the stranger-king myth suggests), the categories that organize it will also evolve contingently, over time: "Just as time and sequence are essential to telling the myth or performing the rite, so too the structure is a generative development of the categories and their relationships."<sup>32</sup>

Sahlins's rejection of static structural determinism is symptomatic of the current preoccupation in the humanities with matters of agency and practice. Actions do not simply express norms and beliefs, they simultaneously create the latter; as Sahlins pithily puts it: "[I]f friends make gifts, gifts make friends."<sup>33</sup> Couched in the broadest terms, this means that cultural practices—telling a story, performing a rite—do not passively reflect a culture, they shape it, too. Culture is not just reflective, it is also, and above all, performative. And humans are not slaves to cultural categories; they constantly redefine those categories through everyday practices.

The best historians have always shared this preoccupation with balancing structure and agency. The most important work in the British cultural studies tradition, including that of Raymond Williams and E. P. Thompson, is premised on the same dual preoccupation with the active and autonomous nature of culture on the one hand and the free agency of groups and individuals on the other. Currently, Sarah Hanley's work on gender and the law in sixteenth-century France invokes Sahlins's balancing of structure and practice to explain how women were able sometimes to turn the rules of a male-dominated "family-state compact" around to their own advantage.<sup>34</sup> But while Sahlins does not have, in the 1990s, the influence among historians that Geertz enjoyed in prior decades, ideas similar to his have been gaining ground in cultural history for quite some time. Whereas Turner's "social drama" model, with its emphasis on transformative crisis, could easily lead to an elitist privileging of the exceptional person or event, Sahlins's processual focus better fits the preoccupations of, for instance, historians of popular culture. Carlo Ginzburg's celebrated *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980) aptly illustrates this stress on culture as active process and on individual agency: it tells the story of an obscure, semi-literate individual who created an original cosmology through the act of reading, by bringing popular experience to bear on "high cultural" texts.

The most methodologically explicit study of the ways in which cultural narratives can become, in the hands of their authors, a means of acting on the world, is Natalie Zemon Davis's *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (1987). This study of "letters of remission" addressed to the king by subjects from all walks of life (narratives of the crime committed that explain, by

<sup>32</sup> Sahlins, *Islands of History*, chap. 3, quote p. 89.

<sup>33</sup> Sahlins, *Islands of History*, xi.

<sup>34</sup> Sarah Hanley, "Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 16 (Spring 1989): 4–27, see esp. 21.

means of detailed circumstantial evidence, why the author of the crime deserved to be pardoned) focuses not on the "truth" of the crime in question but on who told what stories how, and with what effect. From the opening pages, Davis makes clear her equal attention to creative agency on the one hand and structural context and constraint on the other. "I am after evidence of how sixteenth-century people told stories . . . what they thought a good story was, how they accounted for motive, and how through narrative they made sense of the unexpected and built coherence into immediate experience," she writes. But, she pursues, "I will also be conceiving of 'structures' existing prior to that event in the minds and lives of the sixteenth-century participants," such as widely accepted legal and literary norms.<sup>35</sup>

*Fiction in the Archives* is, above all, a discourse on method. Its purpose is to establish storytelling and "fiction" in the widest sense as valid objects of study for historians, rather than obstacles to be overcome in order to get at "reality." Davis asks all the pertinent questions of her "storied" sources—the classic ones about who wrote and who read or heard the stories, as well as less traditional ones about the relationship between stories as they travel between different cultural media. The stories told by pardon seekers, she argues, echo tales that can be found in canonical literature by writers such as Noël du Fail, Marguerite de Navarre, even Rabelais and Shakespeare; less frequently, pardon tales themselves found their way into "high" literature such as Navarre's *Heptaméron*.<sup>36</sup> Beyond the more general point that the connection between "high" and "popular" culture is a two-way street, Davis's purpose is to argue, by juxtaposing similar stories in different media, that a tale's effectiveness depends on its plausibility within a given culture.<sup>37</sup> And remission tales appear to have been effective, in both specific and more general terms. Where individual petitioners were concerned, Davis estimates that these appeals were successful more often than not; in more general terms, the ritual of supplication and pardon (often accompanied by an order to compensate the victim's family) bolstered royal power and served, like public executions, the broader purpose of social pacification.<sup>38</sup>

In the end, it is this transaction between monarch and subject that Davis's study most directly addresses. *Fiction in the Archives* is perhaps most accurately described as an unorthodox contribution to the history of political and judicial institutions. The author's ultimate concern is to explore the function of narrative in a process of royal arbitration involving several parties: monarch, defendant, lawyers, and public; this precise institutional setting makes for the strength of Davis's demonstration. What is most salient about the book in terms of methodology is its emphasis on the performative aspect of the pardon tales: these stories matter not just because they let us into a culture (which they do) but also because they were told for a purpose and had a (reasonably) demonstrable effect. Like Marshall Sahlins's challenge to

<sup>35</sup> Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*, 4.

<sup>36</sup> Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*, 58–59.

<sup>37</sup> Davis's *Return of Martin Guerre* makes the same point, albeit much more implicitly: Davis's telling of the story implies that the fake Martin, Arnaud du Tilh, successfully impersonated the missing man because he played a role that was plausible to the villagers of Artigat. Davis is much more explicit about her methodology in her article responding to Robert Finlay's critique of *Martin Guerre*: Natalie Zemon Davis, "'On the Lane,'" *AHR* 93 (June 1988): 572–603.

<sup>38</sup> Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*, 52–53, 57, 112.

classic structural anthropology, Davis's focus on the performative dimension of the pardon tales is symptomatic of a shift in the humanities from culture as text to culture as agency and practice.

THE PRESENT INTEREST IN "STORIES IN HISTORY" is closely related, then, to developments in cultural history that have themselves often been fueled by changing emphases and insights in cultural anthropology since the 1970s. Equally important, however, has been the impact of feminist scholarship since the 1980s. The fact that so many of the authors discussed in this essay are women is no accident; it is symptomatic, I believe, of a high correlation between a feminist outlook and an interest in the historical meaning of stories. But why should feminists be especially interested in cultural narratives? The recent upsurge of interest in certain types of narrative has to do with a desire to find connections between the public and private spheres, to challenge the assumption that public matters are both more important than and entirely separate from private life. The claim that the personal is political has been ubiquitous since the resurgence of modern feminism, and it implicitly informs much of the last two decades of scholarship on sexuality, the family, and women's lives. But scholars have also been exploring its corollary, the notion that the political is personal, in that languages of public power make claims about gender and family, even as they conceal such claims under the cloaks of universalism or scientific abstraction.

Political theorists and historians have found this insight especially fruitful when applied to the period after the Scientific Revolution, since it allows scholars to read against the grain of ideologies that present themselves as abstract and "scientific," devoid of personal or dynastic content. Teasing the buried mythology out of political ideology allows for the reintroduction of gender into a discourse that presents itself as gender-neutral. Further, exposing the gendered myths on which post-Enlightenment politics rest as historically contingent inventions can serve to "denaturalize" the cultural constructions of male-dominated societies. Carole Pateman begins her influential critique of classic contractual theory in these memorable terms: "Telling stories of all kinds is the major way that human beings have endeavored to make sense of themselves and their social world. The most famous and influential political story of modern times is found in the writings of social contract theorists. The story or conjectural history tells of how a new civil society and a new form of right is created through an original contract . . . But today, invariably, only half of the story is told."<sup>39</sup>

Pateman's "remythologizing" of social contract theory is a major influence behind Lynn Hunt's book *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (1992). Hunt is interested, she writes, "in the ways that people collectively imagine . . . the operation of power, and the ways in which this imagination shapes and is in turn shaped by political and social processes."<sup>40</sup> The concept that frames her argument is Sigmund Freud's "family romance," which is both individual neurosis and

<sup>39</sup> Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), 1.

<sup>40</sup> Lynn Hunt, *Family Romance of the French Revolution*, 8.

collective myth. On an individual level, the family romance is a child's fantasy of eliminating his or her parents and relocating higher up in the social order. On a collective level, it is Freud's version of the social contract as laid out in *Totem and Taboo*: the murder and cannibalizing of the father-king by his sons, the subjection of women and the incest taboo, the guilt that leads to the re-creation of social and religious authority. Hunt uses Freud's narrative as a way of bringing together and explaining different aspects of the culture of the French Revolution: the scapegoating of the father-king, the violence directed at the "bad mother" Marie-Antoinette, the centrality of military "fraternity" to republican ideology, the prominence of orphans in postrevolutionary novels and plays.

*The Family Romance* advances a provocative argument. Hunt is nothing if not a risk taker, and her book has drawn the storm of critiques it was in some measure designed to touch off. One of the most thoughtful critiques is Colin Jones's contribution to a 1995 forum on the book in *French Historical Studies*, which raised issues about the "family romance" as cultural narrative. What, asks Jones, is the ontological status of Hunt's "family romance"? Is it a myth that we can read back into the French Revolution as a heuristic device? Does it serve to describe the unconscious fears and desires of late eighteenth-century French people, as the use of Freud and the chapter on the marquis de Sade seem to suggest? Is the romance part of a *mentalité*, a conscious but inarticulate world-view that can be teased out of works of art and literature? Or was it a prescriptive and predictive myth, a narrative of what should or would happen, a conscious ideological statement?<sup>41</sup>

In her response, Hunt acknowledges that her use of the "family romance" myth partakes of all of these: "I used the term 'family romance' to designate a set of questions and common metaphors that helped shape the social and political agenda of the French Revolution, often, but not always, in an unconscious fashion"; later, she again equates the term with "a set of questions, presuppositions, and tendencies."<sup>42</sup> In many cases, the dispute between Hunt and her critics boils down to differences in intellectual style and purpose, as Hunt herself has put it elsewhere, "a contrast between splitters and lumpers," she herself being a "lumper."<sup>43</sup> Hunt is mostly interested in cultural synthesis, and her book's eponymous myth serves, above all, that purpose.

Although Hunt keeps a careful distance from Freud in particular and psychohistory in general, *The Family Romance* could be called Freudian in that Hunt, like Freud, wants to find ways of speaking to three levels of human experience: the most intimate, often unconscious, level of personal attachments and neuroses; the middle range, which we commonly call "culture"; and the realm of public power. Hunt uses the middle range of culture—the artifacts of literate and popular culture under the revolution—as a bridge to the two other levels, just as Freud roamed between the psyche, the high culture of his class and time, and the metahistory of civilization. If Hunt's book succeeds, it does so by convincing the reader that those three levels of experience cannot be kept separate. The cultural narrative Hunt proposes as a

<sup>41</sup> Colin Jones, "A Fine 'Romance' with No Sisters," *French Historical Studies* 19 (1995): 280–83.

<sup>42</sup> Lynn Hunt, "Reading the French Revolution: A Reply," in *French Historical Studies* 19 (1995): 290, 293.

<sup>43</sup> In her contribution to another prominent debate about her book: "The Objects of History: A Reply to Philip Stewart," *Journal of Modern History* 66 (1994): 540.



unifying theme—the murder of father and mother, the rise of the band of brothers—is culled from a range of contemporary cultural artifacts, then projected both inward into the intimate, sometimes unconscious, domain and outward to the world of public power.

But, critics have legitimately asked, is it either possible or desirable for a single narrative to explain an entire culture? *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* fits squarely within the feminist tradition of the last decade, in that it formulates an argument linking public and private life and demonstrates the centrality of gender to the redefinition of political activity in France during the 1790s. But Hunt's argument has also been criticized from a feminist perspective, for failing to inquire whether women during the revolution accepted the frankly misogynist script of the "family romance." Colin Jones (whose discussion is titled "A Fine 'Romance' with No Sisters") poses the question in its broadest terms: why not envision a plurality of "different coexisting versions of the family romance—for men and women, different social and geographical groupings, adults and children, and so on."<sup>44</sup>

The question "Whose story is it?" has mostly been raised in recent years by historians of women, prodded no doubt by the explosion of literary studies of women writers and their works. Natalie Davis's book on pardon narratives addresses the question of women's stories in a separate chapter, "Bloodshed and the Woman's Voice," based on the small number of petitions by women. Davis points to the different circumstances and constraints presiding over women's tales (anger and drunkenness were not acceptable mitigating circumstances for women, for instance), and she argues tentatively that their stories were less dramatically separate from daily life than men's, more embedded in the fabric of ordinary existence.<sup>45</sup>

In a more extended commentary on the subject, medieval historian Caroline Walker Bynum makes a similar point. The object of her discussion is Victor Turner's concept of liminality, as he applies it to the lives of medieval (male) saints. "Social dramas" can also occur in the context of individual biography, Turner argues, since transition from one state to another, worldliness to sainthood, involves a "liminal" phase in which the individual acts out his conversion crisis by renouncing his worldly goods and taking on "female" submissive qualities, before returning to the world equipped with a new set of values. Acknowledging the usefulness of this model in some instances, Bynum deftly demolishes its claim to universality. Turner's model may fit someone like Francis of Assisi quite well, but, she points out, female saints seldom enjoyed either a large personal fortune or great social authority to give away, nor did they undergo crisis and change by taking on "male" characteristics. Women's religious experience was commonly described, by themselves and by others, in patterns of continuity and intensification, rather than through dramatic gestures of renunciation. From the point of view of the dominant

<sup>44</sup> Jones, "Fine 'Romance,'" 284–86. Hunt replies that her belief in the widespread applicability of sexual and familial metaphors to the understanding of power during the revolution has so far not been disproven and that, far from presenting the "Family Romance" as a unitary Jacobin notion, she sees the myth as a "contested area": Hunt, "Reading the Revolution," 290–91.

<sup>45</sup> Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*, chap. 3.

group, which is Turner's, women are indeed liminal—to men; from a woman's perspective, the landscape is different, and so are the stories.<sup>46</sup>

Feminist scholars have been the group most actively involved in exploiting cultural narratives, because these provide a means of connecting private experience (traditionally feminized) to public experience, a way of bringing to light the hidden messages about family and sex that lie buried in neutral-sounding public discourse. But the tensions affecting the field of women's and gender history as a whole are played out here as well. Lynn Hunt's *Family Romance*, like the work of political theorists Carole Pateman and Joan Landes to which it is related, offers an analysis of a dominant ideology that exposes its gendered, masculinist assumptions.<sup>47</sup> This kind of work is regularly challenged by scholars who protest that even the most corrosive feminist analysis of dominant male discourse ends up giving that discourse pride of place at the expense of the words and deeds—the stories, in this instance—of women themselves.

One way to use male narratives without falling into "totalizing discourse" is to set male-authored texts afloat on the choppy seas of postmodernist theory; Judith Walkowitz's *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (1992) does just that.<sup>48</sup> Two cultural narratives anchor Walkowitz's feminist reading of the public culture of *fin-de-siècle* London: the journalist W. T. Stead's sensational exposé of child prostitution (melodramatically titled "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon") published in 1885 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the newspaper accounts of the crimes of Europe's first modern serial killer, Jack the Ripper, in 1888. By refusing to reduce these texts to a single meaning, least of all that intended by their (male) authors, Walkowitz arrives at a complex, highly sophisticated understanding of the relationship between text, context, and action. (Walkowitz's theoretical proclivities do make the going tough on the reader, who must struggle to avoid sinking into the shifting sands of contested and subverted meanings, while groping through a fog of Foucauldian discursive effects.)

In *City of Dreadful Delight*, Walkowitz takes on the difficult agenda of organizing her book around discourse analysis without slighting agency, especially female agency. She proposes resolving the dilemma by demonstrating that a text, especially a text with great cultural resonance, is the product of multiple determinants and yields multiple effects. Contrary to what the book's opening pages might suggest, Stead's narratives of child prostitution—which caused an uproar upon publication—not the Ripper story, make up the core of the book. The "Maiden Tribute,"

<sup>46</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, "Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality," in her *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), 27–51.

<sup>47</sup> Pateman, *Sexual Contract*; and Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory* (Stanford, Calif., 1989); Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

<sup>48</sup> Walkowitz's book builds on a rich literature that sees in the nineteenth-century city not only a place of great material change and unprecedented promiscuity but also a place of the myth-making that proceeds from fear or envy. In French history, see Louis Chevalier's classic *Working Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, Frank Jellinek, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1973), which famously draws on Victor Hugo's *Les misérables*; and, more recently, Donald Reid's *Paris Sewers and Sewermen: Realities and Representations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), the most persuasive recent contribution in the field to the study of what the French call the "social imaginary."

which appeared in episodes over several days, to increasing public demand, recounts the journalist Stead's discovery of the London traffic in very young working-class girls, sold to any man with money by parents and other adults. In "Lily's" story, the centerpiece of the series, Stead narrates his own purchase (but non-consumption, of course) of a thirteen-year-old's virginity for £5, with the help of a procuress, a midwife, a brothel keeper, and the girl's own drunken, indifferent parents.<sup>49</sup>

"By focusing on narrative," writes Walkowitz, "I hope to explore how cultural meanings around sexual danger were produced and disseminated in Victorian society, and what were their cultural and political effects."<sup>50</sup> The "production" of Stead's narratives partakes of both social experience and narrative traditions that Walkowitz explores in the book's opening chapters. The "Maiden Tribute," she argues, grew out of both the real and the imaginary landscapes of 1880s London. The city had long been geographically and socially polarized, but by century's end class boundaries became increasingly porous as working-class men and women were drawn by employment, better transportation, and new patterns of consumption into the richer neighborhoods; at the same time, upper-class accounts of East End poverty continued to offer middle and upper-class readers imaginative access to the world of the laboring poor. The "Maiden Tribute" drew above all on a rich legacy of urban ethnography penned by writers such as Henry Mayhew, Charles Booth, and Josephine Butler, a tradition of "urban spectatorship" in which the line between compassion and voyeurism was easily crossed.

Walkowitz's close textual analysis of both the content and form of the "Maiden Tribute" stories seeks to demonstrate that they spoke to different audiences with different effects. Stead exploited the traditional melodrama, with its sharp moral polarities and its innocent and wronged heroine, a style that by the 1880s appealed mostly to women and to the working classes.<sup>51</sup> But the "Maiden Tribute" narrative also drew on genres familiar to a cultivated male audience, such as "scientific" social reporting and pornography.<sup>52</sup> From this multiplicity of meanings—and the stories' electrifying contents—came a wide array of effects, Walkowitz argues. Stead's tales resulted most concretely in new legislation raising the age of consent for girls and increasing police regulation of brothel keepers; they prompted a working-class woman, Mrs. Armstrong, who claimed to be Lily's mother, to launch a suit against Stead and others. But Walkowitz also stresses the story's galvanizing effect on middle-class women reformers, such as the educated and independent women members of the left-leaning "Men and Women's Club," who stepped up campaigns for sexual purity and against the exploitation of their working-class sisters.<sup>53</sup> By highlighting the activity of radical "New Women" in connection with Stead's exposés, Walkowitz snatches female agency from the jaws of male narrative.

Not all male-authored stories can be thus salvaged for feminist purposes, however. Walkowitz herself argues that, three years later, the media frenzy surrounding Jack the Ripper worked mainly against women, serving above all to

<sup>49</sup> Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, chap. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 83.

<sup>51</sup> Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 86–93.

<sup>52</sup> Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 94–98.

<sup>53</sup> Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, chaps. 4–5.

keep them off the streets and resulting, in the worst of cases, in various forms of “copycat” violence. (In order to end the book on a less gloomy note, Walkowitz appends an epilogue about vigorous feminist responses to the “Yorkshire Ripper” murders in the 1980s.) More than other practitioners of the “cultural narratives” genre, Walkowitz deconstructs the stories, stressing both the indeterminacy of their meaning and the importance of reader response as it can be documented or, more controversially, inferred from the texts themselves. Mary Poovey, a literary critic practicing a similar blend of feminism, historicism, and deconstruction, articulates the suppositions behind this approach: that “the language and organization of any text make reading constitutive of the reader as well as of meaning” and that “the conditions that govern the production of texts are reproduced in the texts themselves as the condition of possibility for meaning.”<sup>54</sup> The meanings of texts may be multiple, contradictory, and unstable, in this approach, but they are never infinite, as texts are bounded by the historical conditions inscribed within them. Walkowitz views a cultural narrative like the “Maiden Tribute” as a prism, absorbing light from all directions and refracting it back transformed.

The feminist recourse to storied “fictional” sources represents an implicit challenge to the ontological primacy usually granted to certain areas of life and, as a result, to certain kinds of historical sources. Private life and the imaginary, domains associated since the eighteenth century with women, have habitually been considered secondary to “male” concerns about public life and socio-political ideology. The work of most of the scholars discussed here breaks down that division by demonstrating on the one hand that “stories” have both political meaning and real effects and on the other that the power of political ideology is in great measure dependent on its ability to mobilize the imaginary. More generally, the current recourse to cultural narratives represents a democratizing challenge to the hegemony of post-Cartesian abstract thinking. It is not just women, slaves, and workers who think in stories: the “serious” business of making and debating ideologies, usually the purview of educated and powerful men, is no less, this new work suggests, a form of myth-making.

HISTORIANS HAVE OFTEN PROVEN RESISTANT—if not downright hostile—to deconstructive approaches like Walkowitz’s that focus on the multiple, contradictory meanings of a single text. This resistance speaks to differences between the fields of history and literature, differences that endure even at a time when many scholars in literature departments work on sources well outside the canon (pamphlets, maps, broadsheets, advertisements) and avant-garde scholars across the humanities claim to speak the common language of cultural studies. Gabrielle Spiegel has shrewdly characterized this enduring divergence with reference to scholarly training and habits of mind. The fact that literary scholars and historians have trouble communicating stems first of all, she points out, from “an incommensurability in the object of investigation”: while there are, of course, exceptions, the object of literary

<sup>54</sup> Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, 1988), 17.



study is usually a given text, "an existing artefact," whereas "the object of historical study must be constituted by the historian long before its meaning can be disengaged." As a result, she concludes, "the task facing the one [the historian] is largely constructive, the other [the literary critic] broadly deconstructive."<sup>55</sup> (It is notable that the historians most comfortable as a group with postmodern theory are intellectual historians, many of whom work, like literary scholars, with an "existing artefact.")

Faced with the same story or "cultural narrative," literary scholars will delve into the text in search of many, possibly contradictory meanings; historians, trained to construct and connect, will seek other similar stories with which to form an interpretable pattern, most often attributing to the texts they gather some sort of unitary meaning. Literary scholars are used to dealing with the singular, historians with the plural and generic. This no doubt explains why historians drawn to literary sources have so often fastened on genre as an object of study: genre transcends individual works, links the canonical to the non-canonical, and offers up for examination the sort of semiological pattern that is fodder to most cultural historians.

The historical study of literary genre is a venerable tradition that has produced classic works such as Lucien Goldmann's *The Hidden God*.<sup>56</sup> First published in 1959, the book is an attempt to characterize and explain what Goldmann, a Lukacsian Marxist, called "the tragic world-view" (*la vision tragique*), especially as it appears in the essays of Blaise Pascal and the tragedies of Jean Racine. Why, Goldmann asks, did "the tragic," broadly conceived, become so prominent in France in the last quarter of the seventeenth century? Goldmann takes material determinism for granted and proceeds by way of homology, or structural analogy. He starts with the parliamentary nobility in the last decades of the seventeenth century, socially trapped and politically thwarted by the growing power of Louis XIV's monarchy; he argues that their social and political predicament was mirrored in Jansenism, the Augustinian heresy that originated at this time in this milieu; finally, he explains how this sense of powerlessness and desperation structures some of the great works of Pascal and Racine, both of whom had parliamentary and Jansenist connections. Goldmann's assumptions are not so much mechanistic as organic. He shares with his contemporary Erich Auerbach the assumption that any fragment of text (especially, it seems, of Great Text) carries encapsulated within itself an entire *Weltanschauung*, which can be deduced, by the astute critic, from its formal properties.<sup>57</sup> Both Auerbach and Goldmann are superb textual analysts, and their work has survived for that reason. And although Goldmann's readings are weighted down by material determinism, works like his set an important precedent for the sort of study that connects generic patterns in literature to aspects of their historical context.

One of the most interesting instances of this approach is Gabrielle Spiegel's recent work on medieval historiography, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular*

<sup>55</sup> Spiegel, "History, Historicism," 75.

<sup>56</sup> First published as Lucien Goldmann, *Le dieu caché: Etude sur la vision tragique dans les Pensées de Pascal et dans le théâtre de Racine* (Paris, 1959).

<sup>57</sup> See Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, Willard R. Trask, trans. (1953; rpt. edn., Princeton, N.J., 1968).

*Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (1993). Spiegel's work is unusual for a historian in that, as the subtitle suggests, it takes genre as its explicit, central focus. Furthermore, Spiegel has reflected and written on matters of philological theory and practice, especially on ways of linking text and context, and her work is methodologically informed and self-conscious. Her object of study is the rapid rise of a new genre, vernacular prose history, in France during the early thirteenth century. Spiegel proposes a new contextual approach to literature, which she calls the "social logic of the text." Like Goldmann, she links the texts she studies to a specific time, place, and social group, in this instance the Franco-Flemish aristocracy in the early thirteenth century. "The social logic of the text" views literary works "both as products of a particular social world and as agents at work in that world . . . [and] as literary artefacts composed of language and thus requiring literary (formal) analysis."<sup>58</sup>

Spiegel is interested in the relationship between literary form and historical context. While fully conversant with postmodern theory, she posits an ontological difference between text and social context, arguing that a genuine "literary history" will be aware of the multiplicity of possible relationships between genre and social context. Texts, she writes, "may sustain, resist, contest, or seek to transform [social and discursive formations] depending on the individual case."<sup>59</sup> Thus, for instance, the appearance of genealogically patterned histories in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is intimately linked to the emergence of the agnatic family (in which succession passed from father to eldest son). The adoption of a genealogical mode by chroniclers in turn furthered an understanding of history as linear and secular. But genre can just as easily serve to deny social developments as to express them; the principal focus of Spiegel's work is the rise of prose historiography, which she connects to the precarious state of the Franco-Flemish aristocracy, especially after their defeat at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, faced with the predatory growth of the French monarchy. The Franco-Flemish lords directly promoted, as patrons, the writing of vernacular prose histories in order to assert and naturalize the historically legitimated power of an aristocracy whose authority and independence were in reality on the wane. This use of prose was an unprecedented means of laying claim to the "truthfulness" of the chronicles, in contrast to the alleged mendaciousness of traditional verse genres such as the epic or romance. The rise of prose history, then, "sought to deny and mask the consequences of recent transformations in the political power and social status of the Franco-Flemish lords."<sup>60</sup>

As Spiegel's work suggests, a focus on genre allows historians who usually prefer to work in the plural mode to connect a whole series of texts to one another and to aspects of the culture in which they appeared. Cultural historians are especially drawn to the generic, because it allows them, proceeding by way of analogies, to connect synchronically different aspects of a culture. Hence, for instance, the recent surge of interest in the genre of melodrama, prompted in part by the influence of

<sup>58</sup> Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 9.

<sup>59</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 10.

<sup>60</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 10.

Peter Brooks's *The Melodramatic Imagination* (1976).<sup>61</sup> Brooks's study points the way to a historical interpretation, since he addresses melodrama generically as a cultural form whose appearance in Western Europe coincided with the transformations we associate with the French and Industrial revolutions. Brooks opens his book with a study of the form in one of its pristine early expressions, the popular French *melodrame* of the early 1800s, focusing not so much on the themes of the plays (Gothic castles, orphans, virgins and villains) as on their form (moral polarities, hyperbole, exclamation, sudden reversals, coincidence). Although melodrama had long been dismissed as an inferior, rather embarrassing genre, Brooks mounts a compelling case for seeing in melodrama an urge to find moral order in a world bereft of its traditional sources of religious and secular authority.<sup>62</sup> The characters who relentlessly name and classify identities and actions ("Odious Monster!" "I, a pure and innocent girl!") and the organization of plots around sharp moral polarities bespeak a need to delineate an ethics of everyday life, a "drama of the ordinary," in recognition of the fact that morality was increasingly defined not by the transcendental but by the interaction of humans in society.

Because Brooks's work uses genre to illuminate broad patterns of meaning, many historians have turned to it in order to rescue important aspects of both popular and elite cultures from later oblivion or condescension and to explain the historical importance of texts that to the modern reader often appear ridiculously overwrought. Working on the period before 1800, both Lynn Hunt and I have drawn on Brooks's work, following his suggestion that melodrama is a democratic, "open" form, usually accessible to a large audience. I have argued that the melodramatic form, as pioneered on stage by authors of so-called *dramas*, when adapted to courtroom literature such as legal briefs served as an important means for barristers to communicate the meaning of court cases to educated lay persons. Hunt, in her discussion of orphaned children in novels and plays of the 1790s, suggests that melodrama "democratized the family romance by bringing fantasies of social ascension and familial replacement to a wider audience."<sup>63</sup> Historians working on later periods have extended Brooks's argument, suggesting that while melodrama fell out of fashion among the literary elites, it endured as a genre to which popular and female audiences were receptive. Anna Clark has shown that melodrama occupied a central place in Chartist discourse, especially in literature aimed at women and extolling domesticity; Judith Walkowitz, as we have seen, suggests that the melodramatic form of Stead's "Maiden Tribute" ensured its success with women and workers; Ruth Harris, in her study of crime and psychiatry in *fin-de-siècle* France, shows that women who committed crimes of passion against a lover or husband were often acquitted by petit-bourgeois juries when the defendants' stories were framed in terms similar to those of classic stage melodrama.<sup>64</sup>

This new interest in melodrama is related to the appearance of a rich array of

<sup>61</sup> Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (1976; rpt. edn., New York, 1985).

<sup>62</sup> Brooks, *Melodramatic Imagination*, see esp. 13–17.

<sup>63</sup> Maza, *Private Lives*, 61–67, 228, 276–78; Hunt, *Family Romance*, 189.

<sup>64</sup> Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 169–70, 221–26; Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 86–93; Ruth Harris, *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law, and Society in the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford, 1989), 208–27.

works, mostly by historically minded literary critics, on the previously scorned tradition of sentimentalism. In the work of critics such as G. J. Barker-Benfield and David Denby, sentimentalism receives serious consideration as an expression of the tension between the new Lockean individualism (the “man of feeling”) and new ideals of community.<sup>65</sup> Sentimentalism was both about making a new self and making a new world, agendas that merged, sometimes uncomfortably, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century cult of feeling. As historian Thomas Laqueur has argued, sentimental texts did not always just “reflect” cultural tensions, they also, in many cases, invited intervention. In his wide-ranging essay, “Bodies, Details, and Humanitarian Narrative,” Laqueur brings together an array of eighteenth-century texts he calls humanitarian narratives: reforming novels, medical reports, and parliamentary inquiries. Drawing out the formal properties these texts all share, Laqueur shows how they worked to enlist, through compassion, the involvement of readers. The accumulation of details, for instance, anchored these narratives in the realm of the particular and therefore the remediable—as opposed to the universalistic mode of tragedy, which invites pity rather than human intervention. Their focus on the suffering body was intended to create an immediate sensory bond between reader and victim. Whether or not they explicitly called for action, these texts, by presenting a mass of authenticating detail, “offer a logic of specific intervention.” Laqueur uses the formal mechanics of eighteenth-century texts to bring out their performative potential.<sup>66</sup>

What can loosely be called the study of genre is the area in which historical and literary studies overlap most comfortably. After all, the historians discussed in this essay, even when they are not self-conscious about “genre,” have for the most part worked on generic texts: French folk tales, pardon narratives, prose histories, legal briefs. Meanwhile, a new generation of literary critics has turned away from transhistorical studies of “the tragic” to focus on nonliterary texts (for instance, political pamphlets) or non-canonical literature (sentimental novels, captivity narratives). Does this mean that the study of cultural narratives will inevitably grow and flourish, nurtured by an inexorable convergence of the humanistic disciplines?

This has been, and will no doubt continue to be, the case in some environments, such as the many fine American Studies departments around the nation. Not all recent developments, however, suggest that historical and literary studies will enjoy a harmonious convergence that will further the exploration of “stories in history.” In the 1980s, the rise of the movement known as New Historicism seemed to herald a convergence between the disciplines. The leading practitioner of the method, Stephen Greenblatt, was one of the founders of the interdisciplinary journal *Representations*, and New Historicists and their followers uttered much-quoted incantations about “the historicity of texts and the textuality of history.”<sup>67</sup> In fact, although historians have gained an enormous amount from the discrete insights of

<sup>65</sup> G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992); David Denby, *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France, 1760–1820* (Cambridge, 1994). See also Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London, 1986).

<sup>66</sup> Thomas Laqueur, “Bodies, Details, and Humanitarian Narrative,” in Hunt, ed., *New Cultural History*, 176–204.

<sup>67</sup> Louis A. Montrose, “Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture,” in H. Aram Veenser, ed., *The New Historicism* (London, 1989), 20.



this group, it is probably fair to say that the method as a whole has left them puzzled. If there is a strategy typical of New Historicism, it consists of connecting one aspect of, say, a Shakespearean text with an apparently unconnected fragment of contemporary culture. In perhaps his most famous piece, "Invisible Bullets," Greenblatt reads Shakespeare's understanding of princely power in the Henry plays against a 1588 account by Thomas Harriot of religious unbelief among natives of the New World. The texts are analogous, he argues, in their implicit recognition that orthodoxy (religious in one case, political in the other) is a Machiavellian construct that necessarily acknowledges itself as a fraud.<sup>68</sup>

While pointing to such analogies, Greenblatt refuses to build the structural similarity into any general statement about Elizabethan culture; he explicitly rejects the example of E. M. W. Tillyard's classic account of the Elizabethan "world picture." There can be, he writes, "no single method, no overall picture, no exhaustive and definitive cultural poetics."<sup>69</sup> Rejecting the ahistoricism of classic poststructural methods, New Historicists are nonetheless postmodern in their view of both texts and society as fragmented and contradictory.<sup>70</sup> Where organic Historicists such as Auerbach, Goldmann, and Brooks use the formal properties of texts to describe analogies between the symbolic systems governing literature and those organizing society, New Historicists rely on a rhetorical figure, the chiasmus, to express the relationship between text and society. (Webster's defines a chiasmus as "an inverted relationship between the syntactic elements of parallel phrases"—as in "the power of representation and the representation of power.") As Brook Thomas explains, New Historicists proceed by means of chiasmatic juxtaposition, aligning discrete demonstrations of the simultaneous presence of a text in history and of history in that text. This juxtaposition of fragmentary evidence expresses both the reciprocity and the simultaneity of the relationship between text and context and highlights the deliberately fragmentary, montage-like nature of the New Historicists' enterprise.<sup>71</sup>

Ironically, given its very name, the rise of New Historicism is symptomatic of the enduring differences between historical and literary methods, even as we all pledge allegiance to the banner of interdisciplinarity. To literary critics, historians often seem naïve and reductive in their use of literary texts, while to the latter the historical arguments advanced by literary scholars appear arbitrary and lacking in rigor. Even New Historicists still privilege the Great Text (much of Greenblatt's work is on Shakespeare), which they read looking for inconsistencies, silences, multiple meanings. And as Dominick LaCapra has complained, when historians use works of great literary complexity, they "domesticate them by emphasizing their commonality with lesser works, or with ordinary beliefs, desires, tensions or values."<sup>72</sup> Historians are trained to pursue tradition, the norm, the representative

<sup>68</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets," in his *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 22–65.

<sup>69</sup> Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets," 19. See, by contrast, E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London, 1943).

<sup>70</sup> Spiegel, "History, Historicism," 71.

<sup>71</sup> Brook Thomas, "The New Historicism, Cultural Poetics, and the End of American History," unpublished paper, 4–7. I thank Professor Thomas for allowing me to read this unpublished work.

<sup>72</sup> Dominick LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts," in LaCapra and Steven

example. When they track madness or deviance, they do so the better to define prevailing norms. And when they subvert their master narratives by listening to previously silenced voices—the illiterate, women, those deemed inferior or insane—they do so to award them their own traditions and their own normality. Historians are quite comfortable with subversion, far less so with the incoherence postmodern critics work so hard to draw out of texts. While a handful of cultural historians like Walkowitz use deconstructive criticism, most are more comfortable with the “organic historicism” of earlier generations of literary critics.

I HAVE ARGUED that the use of “cultural narratives” by some prominent historians of Europe (and, of course, other fields) is an important trend that grows out of the convergence of several developments: the famed “linguistic turn,” which, with the help of cultural anthropology, has prompted historians to look on socio-cultural formations as texts; the definition of cultural artifacts as performative rather than simply expressive; the impact of feminism on our understanding of the links between public and private lives, and between fictions and ideologies; and the influence of literary studies in making historians aware of such notions as intertextuality (one story always alludes to others) and “reception,” or reader-response theory. Ironically, communication remains difficult between literary and historical fields, because in most cases our training and methods continue to differ, even as our objects of study become increasingly similar.

I have described a genre of historical writing whose methodology is becoming increasingly clear and well established. A historian will find a story or a run of stories that appear (by such indices as sales figures, reported commentary, or sheer bulk and repetition) to have evoked a strong contemporary response. The historical significance of the story or stories is then established through a study of both the internal properties of the text(s) and relevant aspects of the context: analogies with other aspects of social experience or with other salient narratives, reader response where it can be determined, and the actions the text invites and in some cases demonstrably provoked. Although, as the storm around Hunt's *Family Romance* suggests, individual instances of this mode of historical analysis can excite controversy, it would be an exaggeration to say that the genre itself is controversial. In recent years, the tempestuous disagreements between materialists and “discourse analysts” seem to have quieted down, as many historians have embraced a middle ground which holds that social experience and the representation thereof are, while ontologically distinct, “mutually constitutive.”

The “cultural narratives” genre remains limited, however, by the urge of historians to, as LaCapra points out, “domesticate” stories by making them into ideology. Not only does this disciplinary habit rob literary texts of their complexity and contradictions, it also is predicated on the general assumption that texts speak to the head alone, rather than to the body and the psyche as well. A few unorthodox studies suggest some of the ways in which historians have tried to get at dimensions

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Kaplan, eds., *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 51.

other than the straightforwardly ideological of the "social imaginary." In my own field of French history, three examples come to mind. Christian Jouhaud's book on the mid-seventeenth-century *Mazarinades* mounts a compelling argument, for instance, that many of these civil war pamphlets should be read not as propaganda but as concrete extensions of the action, thrusts and parries in a physical war. William Reddy's forthcoming study of three social groups in postrevolutionary France delves below the social representations in texts in search of the visceral experience of shame, and the resulting pursuit of honor, that shaped people's actions. And Jacques Rancière's challenging account of French workers in that same period, *The Nights of Labor*, argues provocatively that working-class consciousness was shaped not only by the experience of physical vulnerability but by the desire for, and dream of, the bourgeois "other."<sup>73</sup> The novelist Milan Kundera, writing of the political uses of "kitsch" (or sentimentalism), points out that the sentimental spectacle draws from the reader or viewer two tears: "The first tear says: How nice to see children running on the grass! The second tear says: How nice to be moved, along with all mankind, by children running on the grass!"<sup>74</sup> Kundera's caustic dissection of the sentimental experience suggests what historians will probably need to consider to arrive at a full grasp of the "social imaginary": the complicated links between representations, emotional experience, and belief that go into the making of both subjectivity and community.

<sup>73</sup> Christian Jouhaud, *Mazarinades: La Fronde des mots* (Paris, 1985); William Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France* (forthcoming, University of California Press); Jacques Rancière, *La nuit des prolétaires* (Paris, 1981), translated by John Drury, *The Nights of Labor: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia, 1989).

<sup>74</sup> Milan Kundera, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, Michael Henry Heim, trans. (New York, 1984), 251.

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## Reviews of Books

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### GENERAL

I. M. D'IAKONOV. *Puti istorii: Ot drevneishego cheloveka do nashikh dnei*. [Paths of History: From Ancient Man to Our Day]. Moscow: "Vostochnaia Literatura" of Nauka. 1994. Pp. 384.

Igor M. D'iakonov is one of Russia's leading Orientalists. An authority on the social and economic history of the ancient Near East, he has made contributions of significance to other fields as well, including philology and comparative mythology. Now, in the evening of his career, he has produced a systemization of human history.

Rejecting Ibn Khaldun, Oswald Spengler, and Arnold Toynbee, among others, along with notions of progress and the millenium (Marxist or Christian), D'iakonov identifies eight phases of human development: 1) primitive (exemplified by Australian aborigines); 2) primitive social (for example, the Pueblo culture of the Hopi); 3) early antiquity (Minoan Crete or fourth-century Japan); 4) imperial antiquity (Assyria of the first millenium B.C. or the Mauryan empire in India); 5) medieval (including Sassanid Iran and late Han China); 6) stable-absolutist (or early modern); 7) capitalist; and 8) postcapitalist. Each stage is reached by significant changes in socioeconomic circumstances, technology (especially relating to the military), and socio-psychological values (which embrace religion and ideology); and each phase is identified by characteristic diagnostic signs.

D'iakonov's system is not mechanistic, however. Transitions from one phase to another are not only untidily asynchronic around the world but usually lengthy and always painful. Societies can get stuck (like the Mayans did between stages 2 and 3) or even jump a stage (as the Scandinavians did from stages 3 to 5), and nomadic societies follow a different path entirely. Both unconventional thinking and human charisma have roles to play. D'iakonov sensibly apporions attention between periods, and East and South Asia, Africa, and the Americas receive due attention along with Europe and West Asia.

The book nevertheless reflects D'iakonov's position in time and space. He is an intellectual, a materialist, and a libertarian. He admires Reichlin, John Locke, and Baron de Montesquieu, despises Thomas Hobbes

and Niccolò Machiavelli, regards the Middle Ages as a "nightmare" (p. 116), and is understandably averse to the Soviet regime in all its phases. By the same token, he is positive about postcapitalism, the current stage in the West and Japan but one not yet reached in the rest of the world. D'iakonov characterizes this eighth period as one in which the proletariat has dwindled, service industries predominate, economic crises are avoidable, credit is widely available, and there is a drive to establish human rights. It is also the age when scientists and intellectuals come into their own. D'iakonov recognises, however, the current dangers of fundamentalism, nuclear proliferation, demographic explosion, and environmental damage (although not the widening gap between rich and poor or the growing powerlessness of governments). He also remarks on the sinister tendency for each historical stage to be significantly shorter than its predecessor—his graph of human history veers toward the vertical—but he makes no prognostications.

The book is rich in insights on such diverse questions as the subversive function of ethics in the ancient world, the status of women, the linguistic influence of Gothic, the value of lend-lease to the Soviet war effort, the historical importance of the camel, and Wassily Leontief's ideas. On the other hand, D'iakonov probably underrates the importance of climatic change as a factor in history and overlooks Nikolai Kondrat'ev's "waves." His text also contains a scattering of errors and a few idiosyncratic or contentious judgments. These shortcomings, however, detract little from the elegance and theoretical interest of the model or from D'iakonov's formidable display of erudition. This book should be welcomed by a profession that is becoming perhaps too much absorbed with its specialisms. An English edition is needed.

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WILLIAM EAMON. *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 490. \$49.50.

Medieval books of secrets have long languished on the margins of both intellectual history and the history of



science. They have played little part in the debate over "the medieval origins of modern science," which has focused on grander materials and themes, and are usually dismissed because they were eventually overwhelmed by the scientific literature of the seventeenth century. William Eamon's new book should certainly relocate these texts to an important place in that debate and may even change the character of the debate itself. Eamon characterizes this literature as "writings purporting to reveal secrets jealously guarded by famous sages and experimenters, or locked up in the bosom of nature itself" (p. 3), thus indicating the wide range of "secrets" revealed in the literature, from herbology and metallurgy to alchemy, natural magic, and the surgical and medical secrets of splenectomies and rhinoplasty. Books of secrets were not, of course, specifically "medieval"; rather, they were part of a long tradition of making esoteric knowledge exoteric that dates from the Hellenistic period and extends down to the much more respectable genre of "How-To" books that fill the shelves of modern bookstores.

Eamon's primary concern is less with the medieval representatives of the genre, which he treats quite competently in his first two chapters, than with the explosion of the genre in the age of print, particularly in the sixteenth century, and the extraordinary popularity of its most famous practitioners, notably Alessio Piemontese and Giambattista Della Porta. He focuses each chapter on the career of one particular professor of secrets, thus imposing a very efficient method of organization on an otherwise vast and disparate body of literature and also enabling him to cover the entire genre, from simple recipe books to vast explanations of natural magic. This is the real importance of Eamon's study. The prosopographical approach is particularly helpful in the cases of Walther Ryff (chapter three), Piemontese and Girolamo Ruscelli (chapter four), Leonardo Fioravanti (chapter five), and Della Porta (chapter six), whose overshadowing by the young Galileo in the *Accademia dei Lincei* signals the decline of the literature of secrets among the learned. In dealing with the broader popularity of the literature of secrets in chapter seven, Eamon focuses on the figures of the *ciarlatani* and the widespread debates on the errors of popular knowledge. His contribution to the latter is exceptionally valuable. Chapters eight through ten turn to "the new philosophy," examined through the metaphor of science as a hunt, challenging both learned tradition and authority and further separating early modern consciousness from its dependence on antiquity and the traditional learning of scholasticism.

The great value of this book derives from Eamon's willingness to read widely in both the sources and the literature of modern scholarship in the history of science, as well as in philosophy, political, religious, and social history, and the vexing social anthropology of literacy, print culture, and popular culture. He makes substantial contributions to all of these fields. This is a major study that no late medieval or early

modern historian of intellectual history of any kind can afford to neglect.

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CATHERINE WILSON. *The Invisible World: Early Modern Philosophy and the Invention of the Microscope*. (Studies in Intellectual History and the History of Philosophy.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 280. \$39.50.

The philosopher in Bernard de Fontenelle's *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds* (1686) tells his marquise that "All philosophy is based on two things only: curiosity and poor eyesight . . . The trouble is, we want to know more than we can see." And the paradox of the new natural philosophy is that "true philosophers spend a lifetime not believing what they do see, and theorizing on what they don't see" (p. 219).

Like many of the best recent historians of early modern science, Catherine Wilson aims to make a philosophical point. Detailed studies of how *subvisibilia* were seen, communicated, and theoretically situated are brought to bear on a revised overall appreciation of the development, and the credibility, of a broadly mechanical philosophy of nature during the seventeenth century.

The space occupied by Wilson's philosophical argument is defined by Fontenelle's paradox. It was historically bounded, on the one side, by practical confidence that the microscope could (or did) make visible the ultimate structures of the animate and inanimate world, thus transforming a micro-mechanical hypothesis into a matter of empirical fact. On the other side it was limited by emerging philosophical sensibilities that such confidence was fundamentally misconceived.

In 1665, the great microscopist Robert Hooke celebrated the subtleties that his microscopes were then able to show and announced that improvements to their power and resolution might soon show much more: "the figures of the compounding Particles of matter, and the particular Schematisms and Textures of Bodies." We need not merely posit the micro-mechanical production of all the effects of nature; we might reasonably hope to see those small machines. The jagged and granular surfaces revealed by microscopic observation of macroscopically smooth bodies suggested underlying corpuscularity more strongly than mere analogies by way of billiard balls. By the 1730s, however, David Hume doubted that we could ever see beyond the surfaces of things, however powerful our instruments became. If philosophy is construed as the recovery of the causal reality behind appearances, then philosophers always want to know more than can be seen, and they cannot securely establish knowledge of nature's secret workings by empirical or rational means.

Wilson seeks to show the extent to which practitioners' confidence in mechanical accounts of nature's secret workings rested upon new technologies for

seeing the very small, while arguing how that confidence was, following Hume, philosophically "irrational." In general terms, therefore, problems of historical credibility and of philosophical adequacy are always likely to be the subjects of distinct inquiries, and, however much human beings assure themselves that their inferences are philosophically well-founded, the historian can always ask why they were believed.

The bulk of Wilson's book is devoted to a recovery, and a re-evaluation, of the work of a cast of characters usually slighted by traditional historiography of the Scientific Revolution: Hooke himself (insofar as concerns microscopy), Jan Swammerdam, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, Nehemiah Grew, and many others. That traditional historiography was founded on the view that the "essence" of the Revolution was the mathematization and mechanization of the study of motion, and that, as Alexandre Koyré proclaimed, "observation and experience . . . did not play a major role—or, if it did, it was a negative one, the role of obstacle—in the foundation of modern science." The Scientific Revolution was said to be a mutation not in experience but in pure thought.

It is against this historiography that Wilson directs her most significant criticisms. The driving force of the new science and that which gave credibility to micro-mechanism was new experience, especially that afforded by the microscope. To the abstract and the metaphysical as the motors of the new worldview, Wilson opposes the concrete and the practical, new ways of seeing, reporting on what was seen, extending experience, making and arranging lenses, and devising new graphic technologies and new social forms through which private microscopical experience could be publicly validated and disseminated.

The grip of corpuscularianism and micro-mechanism on the early modern philosophical mind was not, as has traditionally been said, owing to their "intellectual economy, austerity, and remoteness from experience . . . Their attraction lay rather in the hope of rendering the causes of phenomena perspicuous, which depended in turn on the hope that the limits of visibility could be pushed back indefinitely far" (p. 29). Accordingly, the heroes of Wilson's story—and it turns out to be, after all, a heroic story of the emergence of "science" from "proto-science"—are not the great theoreticians and metaphysicians but the homely observers, instrument-makers, engravers, and printers whose labors gave the micro-mechanical account of the world its local credibility.

Wilson's book is a delightful work of immense scholarship. Its prose sparkles with wit, and, at times, with arch allusiveness. Taken together with other recent studies of the changing role of experience in early modern science (to which Wilson gives only scant attention), it has the potential radically to recast our understandings of the Scientific Revolution. But how did it happen that a book that so persuasively and

vigorously stresses the causal role of visual experience contains not a single picture?

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KAIJA TIAINEN-ANTTILA. *The Problem of Humanity: The Blacks in the European Enlightenment*. (Studia Historica, number 50.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1994. Pp. 367.

Sometimes the old saw about leaving well enough alone holds true. The publication of Kaija Tiainen-Anttila's solid dissertation on the image and status of blacks in Enlightenment Europe would have best been left undone. This is a very good dissertation but a very poor book. It is exhaustive and exhausting, overwhelming and superficial; in other words, it is a dissertation. As one who published his dissertation without much revision at the beginning of his career in the 1960s, I am more than sensitive to this problem. Dissertations are not books, even if they look like them.

Tiainen-Anttila has surveyed all of the literature on the image of blacks during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in France, Germany, and England. (One thing that would have been fascinating and certainly still needs to be done is to examine the critical views of blacks in the Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment in its German and Central European manifestations, using Hebrew, German, and Yiddish sources.) Tiainen-Anttila has read much (but not all) of the recent secondary literature. She even casts a glance (p. 266) at the views of Pehr Kalm, one of the Finnish students of Carl von Linné (Linnaeus). But for so exhaustive a study, there is an absence of analysis. Why does Kalm express marginally critical views of slavery in his 1759 account of a trip to North America? Was this a break with Linné on the nature of blacks or a comment on Kalm's experience of the social reality of slavery?

Here one of the inherent problems of the dissertation manifests itself. Are we reading about the image of the black as a biological being or as a literary or aesthetic abstraction? Are we reading about the actual institution of slavery, the abstract theories that accompanied these institutions, or the metaphoric use of blacks in various theories? Are we reading about the daily realities of Africans in slavery? These are all part of the complex web woven by Tiainen-Anttila, but they demand different and more nuanced readings than she gives. There might be a difference between Kalm's acceptance of Linné's view that dark-skinned people were biologically and therefore psychologically predisposed to slavery and his seeing slavery first hand on the frontiers of Enlightenment civilization, in Philadelphia rather than Helsinki. The additional problem of Finnish self-definition in the Enlightenment, especially that of a marginal Finnish scientist working and writing in Germany, might be examined. What we get instead are two hundred words summarizing Kalm's views.

As with many dissertations, this could have become a real book in time. What is constantly missing is the "why." Had Tiainen-Anttila made any attempt at analysis, this collection of material could have become a book. For scholars interested in a quick overview of the primary sources and much of the secondary literature on blacks in the European Enlightenment, this volume may have a function. But I would urge the younger scholars making the critical decision about publishing their dissertations in today's world to take some time and establish some distance from their manuscripts. This volume could have benefited greatly from that distance.

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ROBERT J. C. YOUNG. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. xiii, 236. \$16.95.

Richard J. Herrenstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve* (1994) demonstrated that pseudoscientific racism remains alive and well in, among other places, academia. In this book, Robert J. C. Young demonstrates the centrality of racism, much of it posing as scientific, to the interwoven categories of culture, sexuality, and empire. Although his focus is mainly on nineteenth-century British discourse, his demonstration implicates the present, and even—most controversially—those postcolonial or anticolonial academic theories to which Young is contributing. Thus "hybridity," as he shows, is central both to current postcolonial theory—Homi Bhabha's arguments about the "ambivalence" of all relations of domination and subordination, for example, posit the hybridity of those relations (see, for instance, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," in Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* [1994], 102–22)—and to the so-called scientific racism that developed from the late Enlightenment forward around the problems and anxieties posed by racial hybrids and miscegenation.

Young shows that hybridity turns up in nineteenth-century racial thinking not just as a threat to the seeming purity and logic of racial categories—the "manifest" content of such thinking—but also as a "latent" expression of desire, and specifically sexual desire, for the racial other(s) (p. 161). As Young argues: "At its core . . . racial theory projected a [Malthusian] phantasmagoria . . . of uncontrollable, frenetic fornication producing the countless motley varieties of interbreeding" (p. 181), causing or at least threatening the "degeneration" of the pure, civilized, imperializing, white, British race.

Young provides much evidence for this central thesis from the works of race theorists such as Georges Cuvier, Johann Blumenbach, Robert Knox, James Hunt, Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and Henry Hotze, the Confederate secret agent in London during the American Civil War

(pp. 132–39). He also demonstrates the "complicity of culture" in relation to race theory, particularly in the ways Matthew Arnold, in *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), *The Study of Celtic Literature* (1867), and elsewhere appropriated what he regarded as the "science" of "ethnology" to make his case about the universal, humanizing, civilizing, powers of high (European) culture versus both "anarchy" at home and "savagery" abroad (pp. 62–89). Citing the cases of Martin Heidegger and Paul de Man (p. 88), Young condemns academic amnesia regarding the partially racist origins of the concept of culture. "To suggest that culture and racism were complicit in the nineteenth century is not to say anything new. Yet the extent to which both the sciences and the arts were determined by assumptions about race is consistently underestimated" (p. 90).

Moreover, "the link between culture and race theory in the nineteenth century involved sexuality as its third mediating term" (p. 97). Young does not need either to agree or disagree with Ronald Hyam's thesis in *Empire and Sexuality* (1990) that the true cause of European imperial expansion was the urge to export surplus libido. He only needs to show—and this he does both deftly and persuasively—that hybridity was a key issue in nineteenth-century racial thinking and therefore that "the dispute over hybridity . . . put the question of inter-racial sex at the heart of Victorian race theory" (p. 102). Young not only provides a devastating critical survey of such "race theory," he also shows how the British discourse on race became reified and increasingly extremist (or imperialist) in response to the Indian Mutiny, the rise of Fenianism, the American Civil War, and the Jamaican uprising of 1865. This late Victorian reification of racist-imperialist ideology, as Hannah Arendt pointed out in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), makes it impossible to distinguish the British versions of that ideology from its fascist and Nazi rivals in this century.

Where does this leave Young in regard to postcolonial theory? Young positions his project as a friendly but critical contribution to "colonial discourse analysis" (p. 159), following the lead especially of Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978). Although Young wishes to make other postcolonial critics aware that the terms they use—"hybridity" and "culture" among them—have been and perhaps still are complicit with racism and imperialism, this aspect of his argument seems both somewhat unfair and tangential to his much more impressive demonstration of the connections among race, culture, sexuality, and empire over at least two centuries. Young ends, moreover, by offering what he hopes will be a positive (not merely critical) contribution to postcolonial theory by reviewing Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus* (1977), starting from the idea that capitalism spawned a "colonial machine," matching and mastering the "desiring machines" that Deleuze and Guattari claim all of us are. The concepts of "desiring machine," "territorialization," and "nomadism" that Young draws from Deleuze and Guattari seem to him to link "colonial desire" in one direction



to capitalism and in another to the race-culture-sexuality nexus that is his main focus (pp. 166–74). But it is not clear to me that Young finds anything in Deleuze and Guattari that he could not just as well have found in Karl Marx, or anyway in Marx and Frantz Fanon. In conclusion, then, while I both admired and learned much from this book as an astute, important contribution to intellectual history, I am less sure that it adds much to the growing repertoire of postcolonial theory. Nevertheless, it is a book that everyone interested in the interconnected history of the modern concepts of race, culture, sexuality, and empire should read.

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LYNNE VALLONE. *Disciplines of Virtue: Girls' Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 230. \$25.00.

Among those who have studied the experience of marginality, Lynne Vallone points out, relatively few have focused on children. Her new book explores ways in which British and American conduct literature, institutional practices surrounding both prostitution and marriage, and girls' fiction in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contributed to the construction of adolescent girlhood. Through a literary study of several "necessarily personal and idiosyncratic" (p. 2) arenas—charity, courtship, religion, theatrical play and humor, and domestic duty—Vallone describes prescriptions for the formation of the growing girl and, eventually, her transformation into model womanhood. Arguing that the girl's evolution into womanhood has been seen by adults as an especially troubling and dangerous time, Vallone emphasizes literature that sought to control and contain that process and its players.

Vallone's focus is on various settings in which girls—both "good" girls and their necessary opposite, the "bad" ones—appear. In the literature on "penitent prostitutes" in Magdalen homes, in didactic writings by evangelicals, in the commercialization and valuation of girls through the rituals of marriage proposals and settlements, and in girl characters' efforts at humor and play, she locates and explicates the rules and regulations that created the (literary) female child. Using sources as wide-ranging as *Pamela*, the works of Hannah More, and *Little Women* and suggestively comparing them with works directed to boys, Vallone unravels the cautionary tale: the adult's desire (p. 9) to "tell the story of the 'bad girl' as a warning to all who would read her text and either share or avoid her fate." The effort to bring together discourses about sexuality and class discloses, as Vallone puts it, "two of the 'essential' elements of girlhood that determine the womanhood to follow" (p. 3) and makes this book provocative reading. Overall, it offers important insights into the complex literary relationship between girlhood's innocence and its dangers.

Nevertheless, I often found the book frustrating for its neglect of this literature's audience, for its lack of concern about the ways in which girls themselves may have processed and understood its lessons. This book is not really, as the subtitle suggests, about "Girls' Culture," for girls themselves are remarkably absent from it; instead, we hear only what grownups, and especially grown women, said about them. Important works on working-class girls and young women, notably Christine Stansell's *City of Women* (1986) and Kathy Peiss's *Cheap Amusements* (1986), are not cited in Vallone's extensive bibliography, suggesting the author's lack of interest in the material conditions of girls' lives and leisure as well as in their efforts to create alternative discourses about girlhood itself.

I was also dismayed by Vallone's acceptance of the literary conflation of womanhood with wifehood. Insofar as she argues that marriage is the defining end of girlhood, she herself marginalizes the girls who never marry and the women they become. (That some of the women they became wrote some of the books discussed here is a point made striking by its neglect.) Thus, for example, while I enjoyed Vallone's discussion of the "tomboy," a character whose antics seem to embody both (approved) innocence and (dangerous) nonconformity, I found it troubling. Although Vallone argues with style and insight that the tomboy represents a "proto-boy" and can therefore be seen as a temporary and not terribly threatening character, she fails to explore the implications of some girls' not "outgrowing" the preference for boys' games and prerogatives. What does it mean historically to our notion of adulthood that, as Vallone argues, "tomboys" grow up (that is, conform to the demands of womanhood) while Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn (not to mention Peter Pan) "remain eternal boys" (p. 131)? I wish Vallone had complicated her analysis by addressing Louisa May Alcott's preference (in opposition to that of her readers) that Jo not marry. Even authors, it seems, cannot fully control the girls they create.

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JUDITH M. HUGHES. *From Freud's Consulting Room: The Unconscious in a Scientific Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 235. \$27.95.

Judith M. Hughes situates her contribution to the overcrowded field of Freudian studies in the genre of "history of science." What she means by this term, however, only emerges gradually in the course of her book. Psychoanalysis, in her view, is a systematic and empirical discipline whose object is the broad domain of unconscious meaning. It emerged historically as a response to certain kinds of experience and as a conceptualized clinical practice. The experience on which psychoanalysis was based, however, was defined less in terms of the observation of events or objects than the interpretation of inter-subjective relations. From the dialogic practices of the therapeutic encoun-



ter there emerged a form of knowledge that addressed (implicitly, most of the time) traditional problems in the history of philosophy from a perspective that avoided the conceptual cage of binary oppositions. "Science" in this context tends to encompass a broadly defined, self-reflexive, philosophical knowledge. Although Hughes studiously ignores the German philosophical traditions of Freudian interpretation and the German cultural and intellectual contexts of the production of Sigmund Freud's writings, her work leans strongly toward a view that would place Freud, with Friedrich Nietzsche and Karl Marx, in the post-Kantian tradition of a "science" of cultural criticism and "ethics" of transformative practices aiming at the achievement of subjective autonomy.

Hughes divides her historical analysis into thematic chapters, recounting Freud's descriptions of his clinical encounters along "philosophical axes" marking the ontological relationship between physical and psychological reality, the epistemological relationship between subject and object, and the ethical/social identification and interaction of self and other. She provides only minimal conceptual guidelines for the reader. Her intention is to somehow let the clinical material of the major Freudian case studies—whose quotation, paraphrase, and summarization take up most of her own text—reveal to the reader how Freud's science emerged as a persuasive conceptualization of a clinical practice and authentic experiential encounter with the evidence of unconscious psychic reality. The result is a book that is often little more than presentation of familiar material as an inherently meaningful story. In fact, Hughes restricts her own claims as an author to the task of "coaxing" the material to tell its own, already coherent story (p. 3). This story is one of the discovery of psycho-sexuality, of "desire" as the experience that held the key to bridging the hiatus between soma and psyche, subject and object, self and other. It was in the transformations of psycho-sexual development, in the history of desire, that the physical processes of the body became saturated with psychical meaning, that the boundaries between subject and object were revealed as fluid and contingent, and that the identification of self and other emerged as an interminable, constructive, cultural work.

What is missing in this often subtle and clever arrangement of Freudian clinical material around the axes of general philosophical questions is a clear sense of Freud's intentions and interests in constructing his materials and his authorial self in particular ways. In Hughes's work, Freud remains a scientific discoverer of a coherence "given" to him in his experiential clinical encounters; psychoanalysis is presented as a "discovery," rather than a construction—thus the absence of any analysis of the conceptual baggage and cultural intentions that shaped Freud's clinical practices and experiential encounters. The only context given any legitimacy in this historical account of the psychoanalytic revolution is the context of the clinical evidence whose internal coherence was represented in

Freud's descriptions and explanations. But this evidence is itself presented in its already narrativized, conceptualized Freudian form. There is no "outside" in this text. Although Hughes's aim is to convince the naive non-Freudian reader of the validity of the Freudian interpretation by presenting that interpretation as a description of experience, only Freudian insiders will ultimately be convinced. What the book does show, convincingly, if usually inadvertently, is the extent to which Freud's project was embedded in a German tradition of "philosophical" cultural critique fueled by emancipatory intentions.

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ANTHEA CALLEN. *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method and Meaning in the Work of Degas*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 244. \$50.00.

Edgar Degas created a record of nineteenth-century women that is evocative and brutally direct. His fascination with the female body inspired images of ballet dancers, milliners, waitresses, laundresses, bathers, and prostitutes in poses that challenged the classical ideal and suggested more varied female forms. During his life, some men theorized that women were men's intellectual, artistic, and moral inferiors. Art historian Anthea Callen has found the most misogynistic of these "bourgeois" theorists whose ideas bear on the depiction of women in art, selected those quotations from them that most degrade women, presented their theories as representative of French culture's "science, method and meaning" (her subtitle), and used these to reconstruct the attitude toward women that Degas supposedly underscored in his art.

Callen begins with Cesare Lombroso's theory of the "born criminal." The facial features of Lombroso's criminal type she detects in Degas's art, as, for example, in his *Little Dancer of Fourteen Years* (1880). Degas posed her adolescent body with her feet in the fourth position, her hands modestly drawn behind her back, and her assertive face projecting forward. Callen reasons that her posture and face show that Degas intended to give to her an "unfeminine, atavistic precocity—literally a forwardness and want of modesty—described by anthropologists in respect of the born female criminal" (p. 27). The dancer is also degenerate, Callen argues, because "at the time Degas conceived his *Little Dancer* the theories of Lombroso . . . and the French 'degenerationists' were the subject of widespread interest" (p. 16). The dancer is animalistic because Degas exhibited her in a glass case, and a critic referred to "the case as a 'cage' and to the spectators as 'lying in wait,' [which] evoked connotations of savage beasts and of prey" (p. 22). She is atavistic because she has the thick black hair that Lombroso associated with primitive woman.

Some Parisian hatmakers were clandestine prostitutes, but Degas offers no pictorial detail to suggest that his milliners were. Impressionism rendered the

world as it appeared to the eye, not its secret meanings. But Callen, without any direct visual or textual evidence, interprets Degas's milliners as clandestine prostitutes by analogizing their hats and bodies with food, all "frivolous objects of consumption." A detail of the splotches of color on two hats in *Chez la modiste* (1882) is supposed to reveal how "these 'dishes' are edible" and evince Degas's "equation between woman and food" (pp. 34–35).

Out of Degas's fifty surviving 6 x 8-inch rough sketches of brothel prostitutes (not intended for major exhibition), Callen reproduces twenty-eight, selecting the crudest ones that show prostitutes undressing, urinating, masturbating, or lounging casually with their crotches open to view. The number, size, and interpretation of these images suggest that in Degas's art these prostitutes epitomize woman in five images—putrid body, sewer, corpse, syphilitic, and domestic servant—that Callen attributes specifically to prostitutes but implies pervaded nineteenth-century discourse on all women (pp. 36–38).

Callen overstates her case: "In order for men to know, women must know nothing" (p. 47); "Degas assigns to his own sex the power to see, to know and give meaning to woman, as she is incapable of knowing herself—incapable of consciousness" (p. 88). How could only men have the power to know or see or give meaning to woman? How could an artist make woman incapable of consciousness? How could anyone dance ballet, make a hat, iron a shirt, or even be a prostitute without consciousness?

Callen dismisses counterevidence with contradictions. She writes: "Man's very invisibility . . . testifies to the overwhelming importance of his presence" (p. 71). Thus, whether absent or present, men dominate. When women are visible, they are actually invisible. In *Ballet Dancer in her Dressing Room* (1878–1879) the "shadowy, illformed" (p. 66) and barely visible face of the lecherous ballet patron signifies the dominion of the male gaze as does another image of a woman copyist painting in a museum. No matter how frivolous or immoral the intentions of a man staring at a woman, his patriarchal gaze rules erotically, artistically, and morally. No matter what women do with their eyes, they are incapable of seeing. Such arguments, irrefutable by counterevidence, are empty.

Other interpretations are simply wrong. The prostitutes in the brothel scenes are not icons of sexual perversion. They are bored. Their male clients are not empowered and in control but pathetic and hesitant. Men do not control domestic space in Degas. Callen devotes much page space to Degas's repetitious brothel monotypes but does not mention two important images of a husband and wife interacting, *The Bellelli Family* (1858–1868) and *Edmondo and Thérèse Morbilli* (1865–1867), in which the woman is more prominent, more expressive, and more controlling than the man. In the genre scene that Callen includes, *Sulking* (1873), the woman looks appealingly at the viewer with a greater understanding of whatever

caused the man to sulk; he is at the margin and in shadow, moody and evasive. To reconcile this counterexample with her thesis, Callen argues circularly: "The very fact of being female makes her presence anomalous, the source of a transient, and obviously uncomfortable disruption within this austere, masculine environment" (p. 175). No matter how much more uncomfortable the man appears, he must be more comfortable than the woman because men own all spaces, public and private, and therefore they must be more comfortable than women in these spaces.

The misogynist reading of Degas has been convincingly dispatched by Norma Broude (1982), Carol M. Armstrong (1986), and Wendy Lesser (1991), but Callen has resurrected it with a vengeance. Her self-styled "feminist polemic" (p. x) distorts the cultural context of Degas's work, misinterprets his art, and passes over his empathic images of creative, hard-working, and morally upstanding women in order to dwell on images of female debasement, real and imagined.

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DICKRAN TASHJIAN. *A Boatload of Madmen: Surrealism and the American Avant-Garde, 1920–1950*. New York: Thames and Hudson. 1995. Pp. xx, 424. \$24.95.

In 1924, the French poet André Breton published his first "Manifesto of Surrealism." Surrealism was a noun that meant "psychic automatism in its pure state," through which an artist communicated "the actual functioning of thought." It had no necessary connection to reason nor any aesthetic or moral concern (p. 3). In this way, Breton formalized the death of Dada and announced the birth of the last of the great movements of modernism. It slowly spread to America, where it flourished briefly as a vogue for automatic writing and then more seriously as a reference point for several of the most important painters of the 1940s. Dickran Tashjian mentions important ways in which his work impinges on our understanding of the influence of Carl Jung as a religious and psychological thinker and William Carlos Williams as poet and aesthete. His book ranges broadly and is genuinely a cultural history and not merely a narrow monograph.

Tashjian has long been one of America's leading historians of Dada, and he began this work as a sequel to his pioneering *Skyscraper Primitives* (1975). Surrealism in America turned out to be more anarchic and various than he had expected and much different from what a student of European Surrealism might have expected. Memoirists—chiefly Malcolm Cowley, Matthew Josephson, and Samuel Putnam—had left tendentious accounts intended largely to support their later political stances, and a historian had much rethinking to do.

Although he covers dozens of figures in literature, painting, and such allied fields as publishing, running art galleries, and philanthropy, Tashjian gives his

major attention to Joseph Cornell, Man Ray, Arshile Gorky, and Jackson Pollock among the Americans and André Breton, Max Ernst, Salvador Dalí, and Roberto Matta among emigrés. In discussing them, he synthesizes a great deal of familiar information with admirable clarity and concision and adds a substantial amount of new material from the Archives of American Art, Yale, and especially the University of Texas, where the Charles Henri Ford Papers have proven essential. Anyone who has worked in some of these materials will recognize that Tashjian may be the most assiduous analyst of fugitive little magazines at work today. His notes will lead younger scholars to many subjects otherwise little known.

Space prevents any extended listing of this book's contributions, but many current investigators of marketing and consumption habits will find the sections on Dalí and Man Ray fascinating, and even formalists can learn something from the unexpected connections between Marcel Duchamp and Joseph Cornell or the role of Armenian ethnicity in the work of Gorky. But as Matta rightly insisted: "Art is not produced by one artist, but by several. It is to a great degree a product of their exchange of ideas one with another" (p. 227).

This book is just what the subject needed; it is also copiously illustrated with unfamiliar photographs and printed on excellent paper. The design, credited to Beth Tondreau and Robin Bentz, is both original and appropriate. The book should immediately be recommended to graduate students who need an example of how to write the history of artists in their appropriate cultural contexts.

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ARTURO ESCOBAR. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 290. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$15.95.

Arturo Escobar offers a closely argued, informed, and dense (often repetitive) critique of the canon of development economics imposed, he asserts, by presumably well-meaning international agencies on underdeveloped economies since the late 1940s. His deconstruction of the unmaking of the Third World is opportune, since the shortcomings of the canon's prescriptions are visible in the persistent poverty of many of the underdeveloped, less developed, or backward economies.

Historians should find useful Escobar's review of the phases of economic thought from David Ricardo to J. M. Keynes and beyond, from the nineteenth-century phase closed by World War I through the interwar decades of depression and then World War II to the abandonment of Keynesian economics. Escobar highlights factors that made economics a kind of cultural artifact specific to the industrialized North Atlantic. Undergirding his passionate critique are the convic-

tions that development economics is not a "science" of universal application and that the imposition of a development paradigm by economists of the First World has generally failed because it neglects the traditions, realities, and aspirations of Third World communities. Escobar's lexicon is postmodern and his perspective shaped by Foucault. His analysis is refreshingly critical and, often, eminently plausible.

Escobar sites the nineteenth-century origins of development economics at the intersection of the "discovery of society," growing pauperization, and the perception of political economy as a tool of analysis. By the late 1940s, development economists presumed the neutral, theory-driven nature of their discipline and saw its application as a form of humanitarianism. Arguing to the contrary, Escobar finds more than humanitarianism in the socio-economic matrix of development economics. He finds rather a combination of resistance by North Atlantic nations to the spread of socialism/communism in the Third World and a way of insuring "political stability" there: in short, "a new form of power and control . . . subtle and refined" (p. 39).

For the area Escobar knows well, Latin America and in particular Colombia, development economics epitomized a kind of neo-colonialism, a system of production and power ("signification") generated by structures, mentality, technology, and personnel of the industrialized world and diffused through international agencies and national planning bodies. During its heyday, roughly 1945–1980, development economists relied upon the state to manage unemployment and poverty and upon capital infusions and policies of growth advanced by Keynes in the previous decade. Consequently, domestic and external capital, state coordination, and industrialization were considered growth instruments in the postwar Third World. Here Escobar emphasizes the theoretical contributions of Keynes's epigones, notably Ragnald Nurske and W. Arthur Lewis.

The second half of the book reviews the outcomes of international agencies (in particular the ubiquitous World Bank and the influence of its former president, Robert McNamara) whose representatives applied a paradigm derived from already industrialized economies and proved insensitive to regional and local conditions in the underdeveloped world. As Escobar deconstructs the international policy-making institutions, he abstracts their "discourse of development" from the way field representatives first framed, analyzed, and in the end distorted the world of the peasantry before imposing their solutions for basic problems of food, nutrition, agriculture, and health. The distortions of North Atlantic economists (mainly those in the United States) and their local collaborators generated outcomes that privileged large-scale commercial agriculture and associated staple exports and led to uncontrolled urbanization as rural labor reserves were pushed off the land.

Closing chapters provide details of the effects of

development economics on peasant economics, rural women, and the environment. Whether subject to the postwar development canon or, after about 1980, to unquestioning faith in ruthless competition and the invisible hand of the global market, underdeveloped economies remain torn between the demands of peasant subsistence and capitalist acquisitiveness. Escobar ends with reflections on how policies might be reoriented to benefit grass-roots community needs, seeking an alternative to the development paradigm that has produced "fragmentation, polarization, violence and uprootedness" in the Third World. Perhaps, he hopes, there can develop an exchange between the traditional and the modern to form "hybrid cultures" (pp. 215, 219). In light of current mesmerism by the neo-liberal canon, however, this seems highly improbable.

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BRONISLAW GEREMEK. *Poverty: A History*. Translated by AGNIESZKA KOLAKOWSKA. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1994. Pp. xi, 273. \$39.95.

The ambitious purpose of Bronislaw Geremek's book is to provide an overview of the evolution of attitudes toward poverty and patterns of social policy over a thousand years of European history. This long perspective is one of the values of the book, for it makes apparent the similarity of the arguments employed in very different contexts and periods in debates about the effectiveness of various forms of action against poverty. In other respects, however, the book is less successful. Written in Polish in 1978 and first published with little updating in 1986, it shows the marks of time. Largely based on secondary literature rather than on original research, Geremek's study mainly reflects the concerns and approaches that characterized the renewed interest in the history of charity in the 1970s. Although this was a remarkable phase of development for the field (witnessing the publication of pathbreaking works by Michel Mollat, Natalie Davis, and Brian Pullan), the absence of any reference to more recent approaches is problematic. For example, the causes of poverty are conceptualized in purely economic terms, and the role that such factors as gender ideology and ideas about generations played in the creation of inequalities is not investigated. Moreover, the book is mainly concerned with the policies implemented by public authorities; the range of initiatives toward the poor undertaken by other agencies and the more informal and less visible sources of assistance that are increasingly attracting the attention of historians are given little consideration. Finally, institutions and programs of relief are viewed simply as structures for the poor; their function as centers of power—and therefore the role that their rise and decline played in the history of elites and of representations of power—is largely ignored.

What is most questionable is the Marxist framework of interpretation that Geremek superimposes on his

material. He posits a close connection between the emergence of ideas of poverty and patterns of poor relief and stages of development of capitalism. Notions that have lost currency in modern economic history (first and second crises of feudalism, agrarian revolution, and refeudalization) play a crucial role in Geremek's periodization of poor relief. The focus of his reconstruction is therefore on the early decades of the sixteenth century, when, he maintains, following a growth of poverty on a mass scale, the principles that characterized the treatment of the poor for the rest of the "modern era" were laid down. Four of the book's seven chapters are devoted to a detailed survey of the repressive measures against vagrants and healthy beggars introduced in this period in numerous European towns, whereas subsequent developments are dealt with in a much more superficial way. For example, important events such as the emergence of a policy of confinement and of state intervention in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are given insufficient attention and construed merely as more advanced expressions of the work ethic and disciplinary attitudes toward the poor already formulated at the beginning of the modern era.

Interestingly, despite its emphasis on continuity, the book often presents material that contradicts the proposed periodization. In particular, the long discussion of medieval views of charity in chapter one provides compelling evidence of the profound distance that separated the elitist notion of voluntarily chosen "spiritual" poverty from undesired material poverty. Clearly, the indifference that the medieval ethos of charity displayed toward the needs of the working poor casts doubt over the alleged novelty of sixteenth-century approaches.

Although its contribution to scholars researching in the field will be limited, Geremek's book is a valuable introduction, for students, to the themes that characterized an important season of studies in the history of poverty and social policy.

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#### ANCIENT

MORRIS SILVER. *Economic Structures of Antiquity*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 159.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 262. \$59.95.

The economist Morris Silver has raised his sights and broadened his horizon from his 1986 book, *Economic Structures of the Ancient Near East*. In this new work he includes much material from ancient Greece and Rome, too.

The three parts of the present volume are "Structural Characteristics of the Ancient Economy" (pp. 1–94), "Markets in Antiquity" (pp. 95–177), and "The Response to Changes in Economic Incentives and



Public Policy" (pp. 179–204). As before, the economic insights Silver brings emphasize transaction costs, what it costs to get something done, and how that impedes many kinds of deals in pre-modern conditions. This idea he elaborates from Nobel laureate Douglass North's exemplary explanation in *Structure and Change in Economic History* ([1981], pp. 5–6 and 18–19).

Silver again argues against assertions about the non-existence of markets by Karl Polanyi, the economic historian who claimed that the market and its mechanisms, need and greed, were invented in Aristotle's time (pp. 97–177, reflecting Silver's 1986 book, pp. 73–144). I admit that I agree with Silver about Polanyi, and perhaps that dead horse needs to be beaten again in front of a larger public, but what one would like from Silver and his fellow economists is clearer guidance about what aspects of their craft might intersect with that of the ancient historian, particularly with regard to data like prices that actually are quantifiable.

It is well that Silver now addresses a broader audience, but his book is not accessible to persons who lack a wide exposure to ancient Near Eastern and classical periods and problems; he moves too fast for the novice. Specialists will see things in new ways by considering, for example, Silver's suggestion that the shift from wheat to barley in early Mesopotamia derived not from increasing salinity of soils but from increased demand for wool and textiles (since sheep do better eating barley).

The Greek and Roman material has not been mined to the extent that the ancient Near Eastern material has. For example, Kevin Green's *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (1986) is not mentioned. Silver adduces parallels from medieval European practices, but he does not interpret antiquity to include ancient East Asia or India.

A helpful index will guide the specialist to some of the treasures Silver has found, and he is again to be thanked for bringing his discipline to bear on areas where few non-philologists dare to venture.

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SUSAN SHERWIN-WHITE and AMÉLIE KUHRT. *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*. (Hellenistic Culture and Society, number 13.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 261. \$40.00.

Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt, who co-edited *Hellenism in the East* (1987), have again collaborated to create a thoughtful study of the Seleucid Empire. Sifting through the large amount of diverse material on the subject, they convincingly argue that a study of this polity needs the collaborative effort of scholars from many fields, including Assyriology, Semitics, Egyptology, biblical studies, and other disciplines often ignored in classical treatments of the subject. The authors take advantage of a wealth of new documents, including Babylonian astronomical diaries (A.

Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, 2 vols. [1988–1989]) and Greek inscriptions from Sardis (P. Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II* [1989]). They also take advantage of information from new excavations and surveys exposing Hellenistic remains. Kuhrt's expertise in the Near East has afforded her access to an abundance of previously known Hellenistic cuneiform sources not usually accessible to classicists.

The traditional view of the Seleucid state was that it was a Greek intrusion into Asia, bringing with it a harsh form of Macedonian kingship. It was considered a "mere" patchwork of separate nations, with Greeks segregating themselves from the somewhat inferior native populations, on whose support the new rulers could not have relied, and thus the state weakly crumbled at the encroachment of Parthia and Rome.

Sherwin-White and Kuhrt depart from this traditional view in a number of ways. They espouse the view that the Seleucid Empire was not only a Greek state but a conscious continuation of the ancient Near Eastern empire traditions of the Chaldean and Achaemenid states that assimilated aspects of Chaldean and Achaemenid royal administration (see E. Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus* [1990], pp. 231–248), architecture (Ai Khanoum, M. Colledge, in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, *Hellenism*, pp. 143 ff., Fig. 8), ideology, and even inscriptions. In fact, the Babylonian Chronicle confirms the statement of Diodorus (XIX 91) that the Babylonian population actively supported the reign of Seleucus I. Moreover, the Babylonian astronomical diaries imply that the Seleucid kings were a sanctioned dynasty, actively participating in local cults, using local elites (and thus pursuing a policy of non-intervention), and even employing native troops in warfare.

Sherwin-White and Kuhrt further argue that there is no evidence of Greek cultural isolationism but rather of syncretism. Not only were Greek and Aramaic inscriptions used, some Greeks settled in Babylonian towns and even used the Greek script to transcribe Akkadian texts (see J. Oelsner, *Materialien zur babylonischen Gesellschaft und Kultur in hellenistischer Zeit* [1986], pp. 239–244), while the locals occasionally used the Greek alphabet for writing Akkadian and Sumerian.

In conclusion, the authors have resisted the attempt to characterize the Seleucid Empire as decadent, but instead as a vigorous state that had successfully woven a multiplicity of ethnicons. They paint, however, what is arguably an overly positive picture, and they can be criticized for not emphasizing internal reasons for the Seleucid Empire's downfall. Except for occasional duplications of ideas (cf. pp. 168 and 176–178), this is a well-argued volume that will, no doubt, set the standard for studies on the Seleucid state.

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J. A. CROOK. *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. vi, 225. \$49.50.

"Advocacy never declined, but flourished all through the Roman period because it was an integral and structural part of the Roman order" (p. 9). To demonstrate this, J. A. Crook, himself an advocate for the study of Roman law in its social and cultural context (see his *Law and Life of Rome* [1967]), embarks on a fresh appraisal of the role the "vicarious voice" played in Greco-Roman antiquity. Classical Athens knew logography and *synëgoria*, "ghostwriting" for those pleading in court and reliance on "withspeakers," respectively, and the Mediterranean world before Roman domination admitted various forms of legal aid. From the Republic to the Late Empire, the advocate (*patronus*, *advocatus*, *orator*, or *causidicus* in Latin and *paraklêtos* or *rhêtôr* in Greek) continued to shape the practice of Roman law. As aristocratic patrons representing clients, early Roman advocates served gratis as an obligation of status; it was only under the Flavian emperors, with more non-elites pleading for others, that fees for service became accepted. Crook expertly reviews the literary corpus—the "old" evidence—from which he unfortunately excludes the works of Tertullian and martyrial acts, pagan and Christian. His valuable study of legal *papyri* from Roman Egypt—the "new" evidence—shows that non-elites had easy access to the services of advocates. In one striking (and atypical) example, two senatorial *comites* accompanying Caracalla on his Syrian tour pleaded on behalf of certain villagers in a minor land dispute.

Crook further asks why Romans practiced advocacy at all, given that magistrates commonly dispensed justice without reference to a jury. Drawing skillfully on contemporary and past comparanda, he concludes that Roman advocates, rhetoricians more than experts in the law, participated in the legal order as partisans in the agon of words to insure that "the armouries of both sides should be as copious and powerful as possible" (p. 29), so that "the role of advocacy [is] coming more and more to be the drawing to the judge's notice of relevant rulings" (p. 144). Unlike juriconsults, they were less concerned with legal theory than to interpret the law in light of the facts of the case and to their clients' advantage; even so, their championship of "test cases" often led to the establishment of important precedents. Such a fluid relationship between the case at hand, the law, and authoritative precedents suggests that, even under the Dominate (at least up until Justinian's reforms), people did not blindly accept or apply the received tradition (here the law). The continued ability of individuals to interpret tradition within a competitive environment for advantage challenges the commonly held notion that late Roman civilization had become hopelessly rigid and a slave to tyrannical authority. Yet, in the later Empire, advocacy itself crystallized as a profession rooted in

specialized law schools and possessing well-defined career tracks within the civil service.

This is a book that bridges many disciplines and poses tantalizing and important questions. It establishes why no Roman historian can afford to ignore the actual practices of law and suggests that perhaps even modern legal scholars, who may prefer to read on undisturbed in the *Digest*, may have something to learn from those more concerned with the flux of social life.

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JEAN-JACQUES AUBERT. *Business Managers in Ancient Rome: A Social and Economic Study of Institores, 200 B.C.-A.D. 250*. (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, number 21.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1994. Pp. xv, 520.

Jean-Jacques Aubert's aim is "to sketch the social and economic history of an important chapter of the Roman law of obligations, the law governing indirect agency" (p. x). The book consists of five long chapters. In the first, Aubert outlines the problem, defines terms, surveys the sources, and identifies some of the businesses an agent or "business manager" might administer. In the second, the heart of the book, Aubert reconstructs the development of the legal procedures that allowed principals acting through intermediaries to take legal action against each other. Roman jurists stressed direct contact between contracting parties, and they were suspicious of indirect agency (one or more of the principals acting through intermediaries). Development of greater flexibility in such matters was probably a response to the increasingly diverse and far-flung economic activities of the Roman elite. Chapters three through five are "case studies," in which Aubert applies his findings to several areas of activity: agricultural estates; the production of artifacts made of clay; and matters dealt with by state contractors, such as tax collection. Here there is a fundamental problem of which Aubert is well aware. The law gave owners a range of options: they could manage their property themselves; they could lease it to a contractor, who would bear legal responsibility for obligations incurred in operating the property; they could appoint agents and be legally bound by their actions. Inscriptions, potters' marks, and brick stamps illuminate aspects of the organization of production, but they rarely reveal whether the actors were independent operators, contractors, or agents. Aubert uses his extensive survey of these industries—much longer, more detailed, and more wide-ranging than is necessary—to show how and where the use of agents would have been feasible.

Aubert's treatment is necessarily complex. Connections between legal developments and economic changes are difficult to discern, and the different forms of evidence—legal texts, literary works, and inscriptions—do not address the same aspects of economic life. Essentially a study of Roman law, Aubert's use of

legal texts is central. To aid in the interpretation of jurists' opinions, he relies on certain assumptions, some unjustified, about the development of economic and social relations between 200 B.C. and A. D. 250. The compilers of the collections in which fragments of the writings of those experts are preserved generally cited opinions without context, so that the intentions of the jurists and the debates in which they located their works are largely unknown. Aubert uses his assessment of conditions at the time a jurist wrote to ascertain what was significant and innovative about his opinion; the series of jurists' decisions on indirect agency, spread over several centuries, allows him to put forward a proposed course of development for this area of law.

Aubert's practice rests on the assumption that each jurist was responding directly to changed conditions and not to theoretical or polemical concerns. His historical reconstruction of the Roman economy, overschematic and over-simplified, is itself a source of difficulty, for it determines the interpretation of legal developments. Thus Aubert holds that conditions were right for experimentation with rules governing agency only at the end of the third century B.C., when he thinks the elite first began to operate on a large scale. Our evidence does become much fuller at this time, but the first appearance of a phenomenon in literary works should not be confused with its first appearance in society. In his preface, moreover, Aubert announces that the use of agents developed first in agriculture, but for this he relies on the identification of the managers of agricultural estates (*vilici*), known from inscriptions, with the *institores* of legal texts and on assertions of the centrality of agriculture in economic life.

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RONALD SYME. *Anatolica: Studies in Strabo*. Edited by ANTHONY BIRLEY. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 396. \$75.00.

Strabo's *Geography* is a primary source for Anatolian history during that area's contact with Rome, but many passages raise vexatious problems. Ronald Syme was engaged with these throughout his career and drafted this volume in 1944–1945 while he was in Istanbul, between publication of *The Roman Revolution* (1939) and *Tacitus* (1958). He completed twenty-eight chapters out of a projected thirty-six before he set the project aside for various reasons. Anthony Birley has lovingly edited *Anatolica*, six years after Syme's death, as part of the complete collection of his published works.

The book demonstrates Syme's enthusiasm for the geographical details of Anatolian history under Roman administration, and it provides meticulous discussion together with his penetrating insights. In the fifty years since he wrote this material, however, key epigraphic materials have become available and a number

of significant works have been published. Birley wisely cites newer scholarship only where it counters Syme's position or where recent work further elucidates it. Square brackets indicate the editor's additions, which are especially welcome in the chapter on the eastern legions (pp. 242–256). At one point (p. 210) Birley has added discussion of a crucial epigraphic find to the text itself. He justifies the lack of a full bibliography by reference to Stephen Mitchell's excellent new work, *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor* (1993), from which the four maps were borrowed.

The organization is Syme's own and proceeds by topic, using discussion of the possible routes for the Royal Road as introduction. Diverse problems presented by the text of Strabo (and the many boundary shifts during the Late Republic) are then treated as individual chapters. Difficulties in identifying peoples and the territory occupied by them at various times are illustrated by chapters dealing with the southern mountains and by the six discussing Armenian geography. Castabala and Tigranocerta each receive a separate chapter as well as brief references in other passages. Problems relating to Strabo's discussion of the campaigns under Lucullus and Pompeius receive full discussion, while the puzzling Homonadensian War of Quirinius also merits a chapter. Various of the flamboyant figures notable in other Roman sources also appear: Deiotarus, Archelaus Philopatri, Lycomedes, to name but a few. Five short essays are appended to the volume, which include Syme's comments on Strabo's oddly inadequate handling of Cellaenae-Apamea as well as his geographic use of the word "aulon."

Throughout, Syme offers criticism of Strabo's credibility. Many of the problems in the geographer's use of place names clearly resulted from his conflation of multiple sources, awkward attempts at revision of work completed years before, or his own uneven handling of sources. Syme dissects them with gusto (pp. 62, 83, 104–106, 222).

No cohesive thesis unifies the separate chapters, and Syme seems to have wished them to stand independently, as there is considerable repetition. Also, Syme's conclusions about each problem must be sought within the relevant discussions, which vary slightly from passage to passage. For example, discussing the date of composition by Strabo, Syme opts for two redactions (p. 223); returning in appendix E (pp. 356–367) to the problems of dating, his conclusion is that the compilation received revision in A.D. 18. At various points he suggests dates between 6 B.C. and A.D. 2 for the completion of the manuscript, and cross-references in the footnotes would have been helpful; the reader seeking synthesis must use the indexes. Birley summarizes recent scholarship on this subject (p. 367, n. 6), to which should be added Aubrey Diller's *Textual Transmission of Strabo's Geography* (1973), pp. 3–18.

Given that Strabo was occupied in assisting various Roman administrators during the composition of the

*Geography*, it seems possible that "revisions" in the sense that Syme presumes may never have been made. Much of the syntactical difficulty he notes can be explained by postulating a messy original, additions being made at random over the entire period of composition. The sections may not even have been written in order, and the work was almost certainly issued long after Strabo's own death: parallels with *Anatolica* itself are worth pondering.

Syme's textual analyses still provoke interest, and whether one shares his low opinion of Strabo or not, his book adds much to our understanding of Strabo's methods. Readers unfamiliar with events in Greco-Roman Anatolia will need the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, however, since Syme assumes textual familiarity with Livy and Polybius as well as mastery of Republican history, and dates are used sparingly. A topographical map of modern Turkey is also helpful.

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ERIC REBILLARD. *In Hora Mortis: Evolution de la Pastorale Chrétienne de la Mort aux IV et V Siècles dans L'Occident Latin*. Foreword by PETER BROWN. (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, number 283.) Rome: Ecole Française de Rome. 1994. Pp. xi, 269.

This is a major contribution to the history of Christian attitudes toward and responses to death. While nuanced throughout, its central argument is bold and direct. Between the end of the fourth and the middle of the fifth centuries, the Fathers of the Latin Church rethought both the meaning of death and the ways in which ordinary Christians and clerics should respond to the "final hour" of life. Ambrose of Milan and other north Italian bishops of the later fourth century regarded death as a good thing. They told their congregations not to fear death but to welcome it as the end of the possibility of sin and the beginning of eternal life. For various reasons, but chiefly because they were shared by exclusive and rigorist groups like the followers of Pelagius, such attitudes came under sustained attack from Augustine of Hippo, who argued that fear of death was only reasonable given the effects of Adam's original sin and our ultimate dependence on God's mercy. A generation later, Bishop Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna and Pope Leo the Great were also recommending consciousness of sin, fear of God's judgment, and the desire for forgiveness as the only appropriate state of mind for dying Christians.

These changes, which Eric Rebillard documents through careful and subtle analysis of sermons, map in new ways the divide between late ancient and early medieval "Christianities"—marked on the one side by the belief that baptism was the key to salvation and, on the other, by the need for lifelong penitence, up to and including the moment of death. They also provide a context for the gradual emergence of a pastoral response to dying in the Latin West, for which the

pre-Augustinian church had no need. Until now, scholars have believed that communion as *viaticum* was a normal accompaniment to a Christian death in the antique church. Rebillard argues, however, that it did not emerge as a regular practice until the sixth century, and then only on the model of the *viaticum* given to official penitents whose untimely deaths prevented them from fulfilling their penitential obligations and undergoing a formal ritual of reconciliation.

Rebillard's treatment of the themes of fear of death and fear of judgment in the texts he analyzes is unlikely to be surpassed. Thus, it is wrong to think (as I have) that the penitential strains in early medieval death rituals originated among post-imperial Christian populations in the sixth and seventh centuries. Furthermore, Rebillard's analysis of the evidence from conciliar decrees and papal decretals of the fourth and fifth centuries supports his claim that the regular practice of deathbed communion emerged from, rather than preceded, communion as a rite of reconciliation for penitents in danger of death. None of his sources are, however, ritual texts per se, and the oldest document of that type on death and dying with any claim to ancient Roman origins (*Ordo XLIX* of the *Ordines romani*, whose earliest witnesses date from the eighth century) is decidedly non-penitential. What are we to make of this?

Rebillard rejects the antiquity of the Roman *ordo*. The *ordo* does not use the term *viaticum*, however, and it presents deathbed communion in eschatological language that echoes the earliest hagiographic texts, beginning with the *Life* of Ambrose. Moreover, its directions for the immediate response to death—the care of the corpse, vigil and burial—all celebrate the assurance of salvation with little or no evocation of fear of judgment or the need for forgiveness. While he mentions some of these things, Rebillard does not consider their implications. His argument forces us to choose between a Roman *ordo* that attests to communion as a rite for the dying before the year 400, at least at Rome, or one composed later that does not reflect the fundamental changes in attitude and behavior that he claims occurred after that time. My sense is that there were multiple streams of influence on the ritual response to dying throughout the period—triumphant, penitential, and eschatological—and that they coexisted and interacted both before and after the articulation of the "penitential spirituality" that Rebillard has so carefully teased out of the texts, but more research is clearly needed. In any case, this fine study injects plenty of new life into the history of death and dying in late antique Christianity.

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RICHARD LIM. *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity*. (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, number 23.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 278. \$48.00.



Richard Lim has written an interesting book that is difficult to evaluate. It does not so much advance a particular thesis or systematically investigate interlocking aspects of a single subject as explore parallel aspects of a broad theme in a series of loosely related chapters. In the preface, Lim states that he has attempted to write a social history of public disputation or public disputations in late antiquity, and he later defines disputation as "a ritualized verbal contest in which antagonists debated each other while adhering to the rules of a language game, whether of rhetoric or dialectic" (pp. 2–3). In practice, however, he does not restrict himself to public disputes between two adversaries but often discusses other forms of public verbal competition. It is unfortunate, therefore, that he was unable to draw on Maud Gleason's excellent study of the thoroughly competitive ethos of Greco-Roman elite culture as embodied in the second century sophists Polemo and Favorinus of Arles (*Making Men: Sophists and Self-Representation in Ancient Rome* [1995]). Moreover, Lim sometimes blurs the distinction between a debate in which two speakers participate and mere polemic against an adversary or rival, as when he calls Tertullian's treatise *Adversus Iudaeos* "a dialogue between a Jewish and a Christian interlocutor" (p. 5). Tertullian's invocation of an imaginary adversary with brief objections introduced by phrases such as "you say / you will say" no more makes his work a dialogue than use of the same device turns Cicero's forensic speeches into dialogues.

Two of the book's seven chapters set out a framework. The first discusses the social functions of disputation—among philosophers, in controversy between Jews and Christians, and in pre-Constantinian Christianity—and then sets out the implications for the fourth century, while the last illustrates how "the dynamic *logos*, reasoned speech" was tamed by a "growing reliance on consensual ideology," especially at councils of bishops. The intervening chapters explore the role of public disputation in several different contexts or controversies. Lim first studies the relevance of the "culture of competitive disputation" to the philosophers about whom Eunapius of Sardes wrote. One of his best observations has an uncanny resonance in these days of grade inflation: "in a competitive culture lacking a formal set of criteria for assessing a student's worth and therefore dependent on subtler hierarchizing principles, tokens of intimacy with the teacher were a crucial means of creating a pecking order among the students" (p. 43). Lim then turns to public debates between Manichees and their opponents and the role of stenography in publicizing their defeats; this is an illuminating discussion of an important subject. Next comes "dialectic, questioning and community in the anomoean controversy." In contrast to Lim's treatment of the Manichees, I find this chapter laborious, out-of-date, and too often secondhand. We do not need several pages summarizing two well-known articles on Eunomius's use of dialectical argument, while phrases such as "the victory

of the Arian party at the Council of Antioch in 358" (p. 119) suggest a willful ignorance of the precise historical and theological context in which Aetius and Eunomius propounded their ideas.

The fifth chapter presents another contrast in quality and advances a significant and attractive historical thesis: from a close examination of sermons by Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom, Lim argues that reaction against competitive speech lies behind the development of Byzantine apophatic mystical theology. Again in contrast, however, the sixth chapter is deeply flawed. Although it claims to discuss fifth-century views of the role of debate at the Council of Nicaea, Lim rightly accepts the arguments of Friedhelm Winkelmann that the extant ecclesiastical historians of the fifth century have based their unhistorical story of how an unsophisticated confessor silenced a pagan philosopher at the council on the lost history of Gelasius of Caesarea, who wrote in the reign of Theodosius.

This is a dangerous book for non-specialists, for it contains a large number of factual errors, and it frequently misreports both ancient evidence and the views of modern scholars. In addition, homonyms are confused (e. g., Cyril of Jerusalem and Cyril of Alexandria [p. 190 n. 33]), names of modern scholars are misspelled, and the excellent female Hellenist, Wilmer Cave Wright, has been transformed into a man (p. 53 n. 115).

Lim's book offers many illuminating aperçus from which specialists can learn to look in a new way at phenomena that they already think they know well. Yet the non-specialist cannot trust it to provide consistently reliable information.

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WILLIAM E. KLINGSHIRN. *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 22.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 317. \$59.95.

This book is the first full-length study since 1894 of Bishop Caesarius of Arles (A.D. 502–540), and it is a welcome and very readable addition to the long list of recent books dealing with late Roman Gaul. William E. Klingshirn examines the career of Caesarius as a politician and reformer in the broader context of the Christianization of southern Gaul during the first half of the sixth century. In his introduction, he suggests that the "reciprocal processes of christianization" (p. 1) between theologians and clerics, on the one hand, and peasants and townspeople, on the other, are exemplified in the "life and writings of Caesarius, bishop of Arles from 502 to 542" (p. 2).

Klingshirn proposes to avoid the "triumphalism that has characterized much of the study of Caesarius in the past" (p. 5). In this he is certainly successful, for in his pages Caesarius comes across as an individual whose

ambitions often exceeded his abilities to attain them, whose successes usually were qualified, and who generated chronic friction with the peasantry, townspeople, his own clergy, and his fellow bishops. In sum, he was an individual struggling, like so many others, to cope with the changing times that followed upon the disappearance of Roman authority in Gaul.

The first chapter covers Caesarius' early years. Born at Chalon-sur-Saône in 469/470, Caesarius soon departed for the southern monastery of Lérins, where he was appointed custodian of the monastery's resources. But, once in authority, he aroused opposition—a circumstance that was to follow him the rest of his life. He was discharged and soon departed to Arles, where his kinsman Aeonius was bishop.

Chapter two makes effective use of the archaeological evidence in particular to provide a detailed look at the history and geography of Arles beginning in the sixth century B.C. The chapter closes with the occupation of Arles by the Visigoths in 477. The next chapter considers Caesarius's early years at Arles. Aeonius favored him with several church offices, but Aeonius's expressed intention that Caesarius succeed him as bishop seems to have gone awry. Klingshirn may well be correct to suggest that the election of 501/502 was contested and that a certain Johannes briefly held the see before it was secured by Caesarius in late 502.

The fourth chapter considers the problems that Caesarius had with the Visigoths in the years 502–507 and discusses Caesarius's first church council, held at Agde in 506. The next chapter looks at the Ostrogothic occupation of Arles, 508–529, which saw Caesarius's "greatest successes as a pastor and reformer" (p. 112). He presided over church councils at Arles (423), Carpentras (527), Orange (529), and Valence (529); nurtured his monastery for women (which became a refuge for female and male members of his own family); and ransomed war captives. Caesarius also once again fell afoul of the authorities. After being cleared at Ravenna in 513 by the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, he traveled to Rome, where he received the title of "Papal Vicar" of Gaul.

The following three chapters examine Caesarius's efforts "of christianization in the city and countryside of Arles." In chapter six, Klingshirn considers Caesarius's "displays of word and action by which he attempted to establish his own authority" (p. 146). Chapter seven discusses the "model for living" that Caesarius envisioned for the people of Arles. In the next chapter, Klingshirn turns to Caesarius's efforts to impose his policies upon the countryside, where his "program of christianisation met its most severe test" (p. 201). Caesarius was faced, however, with "uneven success" (p. 244).

Chapter nine begins with the cession of southern Gaul to the Burgundians around 532. An unsuccessful attempt to discipline a senior bishop provides "the clearest indication of Caesarius' incapacity to impose his own vision of church reform and church order upon his suffragan bishops" (p. 249). To make matters

worse, in 536/537 Arles was occupied by the Franks. Caesarius became just one of many metropolitan bishops and faced having "his claims to power challenged by powerful colleagues" (p. 258). Caesarius spent his final years attempting to safeguard the women's monastery from interference by future bishops. When he died in 540, he was the last of the dinosaurs: "his world was no longer Roman, but Merovingian" (p. 259).

Klingshirn paints a portrait of a prelate beset with opposition at every step: at Lérins, at his election, in secular politics, at Arles, in rural areas, and in church councils. He rightly concludes that, "given this resistance to reform, the most surprising fact is that Caesarius's reform efforts . . . went as far as they did" (p. 144). Is it any wonder, then, that Caesarius's legacy is so slim? His reforms were largely opposed, and even his thought, as Klingshirn notes (pp. 2, 274), was derivative. Yet the preservation of his writings demonstrates that he did strike a chord in the medieval mentality and compels us to turn to him as an exemplar of his age. In putting Caesarius and his writings into context, Klingshirn not only has done a superb job, he also has helped to counteract the past emphasis on the works of Gregory of Tours and to show that for southern Gaul, "the power of rhetoric was more highly esteemed than the potency of relics" (p. 3).

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#### MEDIEVAL

JOHANNES FRIED. *Der Weg in die Geschichte: Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024*. (Propyläen Geschichte Deutschlands, number 1.) Berlin: Propyläen. 1994. Pp. 922.

The aim of the new Propyläen History of Germany is to provide first-rate introductions by well-known scholars, based on the latest research but immediately accessible to general readers with no previous knowledge. Like the medieval volumes previously published, Hagen Keller's *Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung und universalem Horizont: Deutschland in Imperium der Salier und Staufer, 1024 bis 1250* (1986) and Peter Moraw's *Von offener Verfassung zu gestalteter Verdichtung: Das Reich im späten Mittelalter, 1250 bis 1490* (1985), Johannes Fried's work, covering the period from Roman times to 1024, admirably fulfills the intention.

The book is valuable for scholars as well as general readers because it parades the modern historiographical debates, even if Fried often and justifiably prefers to emphasize one side of an argument. In his informative exposition of the educational and cultural program of the Carolingian Empire, for example, he advocates the case for its decisive social and political impact: "Aristotelian logic became the generally unifying scholarly theory of cognition in the West. This development was neither self-evident nor an accidental

result; it was the declared goal of Charlemagne and his advisers. The emperor urged the rationalization of the realm, of institutions as well as persons" (p. 284). Such claims will certainly give edge to the debate about the actual effectiveness of the Carolingian Renaissance that is opening up between the views of, say, Michael Richter in *The Formation of the Medieval West* (1994) and the school represented by Rosamond McKitterick's *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (1989).

Fried's excellent introductory essay, "What does German Mean?," squarely faces the issue that there is no meaningful German name or identity for society, politics, or language before the eleventh century because the land was inhabited by several *gentes* or peoples, from the Saxons in the north to the Bavarians in the south. The difficulties of writing about a misnomer, implicit in the volume's title (which translates as "The Way into History") Fried tackles, on the whole successfully, by pointing out the unifying dynamics of kingship, religion, culture, economic exchange, and aristocratic class interest in "the future Germany." The book guides us from the Frankish foundation to the Ottonian achievement with many a thought-provoking assertion such as: "The rise of the Carolingians introduced the decisive transitional phase from the late antique world to modern Europe" (p. 204), or "The culture of the West, as far as it arose in the tenth century, was a homage to death" (p. 94).

Good use is made of quotations from the more lively historians, biographers, and intellectuals of the era whose works have survived, from Gregory of Tours to Thietmar of Merseburg, and the bibliography provides some guidance to editions of their works. The lack of references will sometimes irritate readers unacquainted with the minor sources. For example, in illustrating the rough manners of the aristocracy, Fried aptly employs the story of Bishop Megingaud of Eichstätt who exclaimed to a messenger bringing bad news: "Son of a whore! Does your master dare to insult me openly? By St. Willibald! I'll have your eyes out!" (p. 101). You have to know that the source, the account of Eichstätt's bishops in *Anonymus Haserensis*, can be found in two editions (1846, 1987) in order to find out the message and whether the penalty was exacted. It turns out to be a joke. The bishop's colleague at Würzburg was in the habit of sending him consignments of excellent wine but this time offered him sour lees instead, claiming that Megingaud's own gifts were too paltry to warrant anything better. After fulminating for a while, the bishop was presented with the real goods and the messenger was sent back to Würzburg loaded with rewards.

Not everyone will want to work through nearly 860 pages of German when so much of the material and explanation can be gathered from a number of recent books in English, from Patrick Geary's *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (1988) to Timothy Reuter's *Germany in the Early Middle Ages c. 800–1056* (1991). But this is not to belittle what Fried has triumphantly

achieved, the best general book on early Germany, one that will be used for many years to come.

BENJAMIN ARNOLD  
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JESSICA A. COOPE, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 113. \$25.00.

The main problem posed by the ninth-century Christian martyrs of Córdoba consists in the limited nature of our sources. The martyrs do not appear in the works of Muslim writers of the time. The (abundant) contemporary Christian sources were all written by two men, Eulogius and Paul Albar, both of whom were strong advocates of the martyrs and rigorous critics not only of Muslims but also of those Christians (probably a majority) who disliked the movement. Jessica A. Coope has made a valiant attempt to construct a reliable account on the basis of this evidence.

The literature on the subject includes the useful discussion of the sources by Edward P. Colbert (1962) and, more recently, Kenneth B. Wolf's *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (1988). Coope uses these books and other modern scholarship, though unfortunately not Dominique Millet-Gérard's *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l'Espagne des 8e–9e siècles* (1984) or John C. Cavadini's new exploration of Spanish Adoptionism, *The Last Christology of the West* (1993). Her main strength, however, is her ability to make comparisons with earlier conflicts between Christians and Muslims in the east.

The controversial nature of the martyrdoms undergone by some fifty Christians (clerics and lay men and women) in Córdoba in the 850s stems from the fact that in almost all cases the martyrs were not hunted down by the authorities, as in Roman times, but came forward voluntarily to denounce Islam. Christians in Muslim Spain enjoyed relatively favorable conditions; some of them served in the army or the administration. Although, as Coope rightly points out, Christians "were not legally or socially equal to Muslims [and] were always vulnerable" to abuses of power (p. 51), it does not seem that the martyrdoms were due to increasingly harsh measures by the government. These measures were a response to the voluntary martyrdoms.

Coope's view that the movement was a protest against the assimilation of Christians to Arab Islamic culture is persuasive. Assimilation was especially tempting to Christians serving at court or in mixed marriages. Some martyrs were the children of such marriages. Officially Muslims while secretly Christians, they lived on an edge between two religions. A public profession of Christianity could bring about their death.

The reason why the martyrs were willing to act as they did becomes clearer if one examines the books they read. Had Coope consulted Jacques Fontaine's



"La literatura mozárabe 'Extremadura' de la latinidad cristiana antigua," in *Arte y cultura mozárabe* (1979), she would have seen the use made by the martyrs not only of Prudentius's poem on St. Eulalia (which she cites) but of other passages from the same author and from the Visigothic liturgy. These sources must have helped to inspire the martyrs' desire to revive the heroism of early Christianity. Living in a city they saw as being as pagan as third-century Rome, they felt it necessary to render their testimony to their faith in the unique truth of Christianity as the early martyrs had rendered theirs.

J. N. HILLGARTH  
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FREDERICK C. SUPPE. *Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches: Shropshire, A.D. 1066-1300*. (Studies in Celtic History, number 14.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1994. Pp. x, 191. \$63.00.

Frederick C. Suppe's study deals with the development of military institutions in one part of the borderland between England and Wales in the period between the coming of the Normans in 1066 and the final completion of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Wales at the end of the thirteenth century. Given its modest title, the book could easily have been just a locally based study, thorough in execution but narrow in conception and limited in its conclusions. It is to Suppe's credit that his book is much more than this.

Suppe takes as his starting point Robert Bartlett's thesis that the spread of political power from the "centre" of Europe—lands such as France, England, and Germany—to adjoining areas such as Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe was brought about by the spread of a superior military technology characterized by heavy cavalry, archers, and castles. This technology was diffused by three means: "by military conquest of outlying regions; by local rulers in these regions imitating the technology in direct reaction to attempted conquest; and by the local rulers adopting this technology as part of a broad indigenous effort to organise the institutions of a feudal polity to enhance their own power." Suppe understandably wonders why, given such overwhelming military superiority, it took England over two centuries after 1066 to achieve a final conquest of Wales.

Suppe points to a number of Welsh military tactics—such as the use of the long bow or the practice of swift and destructive raids, often accompanied by deliberate acts of terror, notably decapitation—the cumulative effect of which was to frustrate their Anglo-Norman opponents, who found it next to impossible to draw the Welsh into open battle. He shows that in response the Anglo-Normans adopted some of the Welsh methods, hiring Welsh longbowmen as mercenaries and practicing counter-raiding and acts of terror of their own. The mobility, which heavily equipped cavalry could not provide in mountainous and thickly wooded terrain,

was supplied by the development of lightly armed horsemen, known in the lordship of Oswestry as *muntatores*, but existing in various forms throughout the Welsh March. It is worth adding that conditions of warfare in Ireland produced a similar solution, the *hobelars*, who were later to be used extensively in English campaigns in Scotland and along the Anglo-Scottish border.

Suppe effectively demonstrates that the "militarily superior" conquerors owed more than they might have cared to admit to the military customs of their enemy. He also points out, however, that conflict was not universal or invariable, because "each Marcher lord and each Welsh *tywysog* in his commote was quite ready to make and unmake his own political alliances to his best advantage." Perhaps this, as much as any other factor, was the key to the very long time it took to complete the conquest of Wales. To a degree both sides (in Ireland as in Wales) became accustomed to their friendships and their enmities. Such a situation could have lasted almost indefinitely but for the intervention of Edward I, an outsider with a very different view of the appropriate relations between a "superior" and an "inferior" culture.

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ANNA SAPIR ABULAFIA. *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. ix, 196. \$64.95.

Twelfth-century Christian thinkers were preoccupied with reason and its uses. Aristotle's *Logic* had just been translated into Latin. Anna Saper Abulafia is concerned both with applications of logic in general and in particular with its use by schoolmen as a yardstick to measure the rationality of Jewish belief. The circular syllogism of the scholastics whose works Abulafia combs goes as follows: since humans are truly human by virtue of their logical use of reason, and since the correct use of reason must lead to the (Christian) truth revealed in Scripture, Jews who refuse to acknowledge the truth of Christian doctrine must not be capable of using reason correctly and must therefore be less than human. For example, Peter the Venerable insisted that the Talmud had crippled Jewish reason entirely, so that Jews could not even read the Bible properly: "I know not whether a Jew is a man because he does not cede to human reason, nor does he acquiesce to the divine authorities which are his own" (p. 116). Baptizing Aristotle meant anathematizing Jews. Here Abulafia makes her most important contribution to scholarship on anti-Semitism. As I have argued elsewhere using non-scholastic sources, hatred of Jews as a group rather than of Judaism seems to have blossomed in the twelfth century; here, too, we find the roots of later anti-Semitism.

The situation of actual Jews in medieval Europe does not have much to do with the intellectual prob-



lems at issue here. Abulafia does not connect concrete Jewish-Christian relations before or during the twelfth century to her findings, except in a very general way.

Her critique of Gavin Langmuir's influential theory of anti-Semitism (Christian doubt or insecurity is behind irrational hatred) is persuasive: Christian notions about "Jewish irrationality" and thus about Jews' humanity may have been more central. The accusation of cannibalism levelled at Jews in a notorious trial at Fulda in 1235, Abulafia argues, was less a product of irrational Christian fear than of the idea that Jews were less than human and therefore might well be guilty of inhuman behavior.

In the closing pages, Abulafia proposes that the roots of later expulsions lay in "the growing perception in medieval Europe that Jews could not play a meaningful part in their Christian host societies" (p. 140). The historiography of expulsions suggests that the weaker urban economies after 1390 and better access to credit lessened reliance on Jewish money-lenders and tolerance for Jewish competition. The perpetrators usually made reference to the good of the Christian community, however. Anti-Semitism was one fundamental cause for expulsions, if not, perhaps, the efficient cause. These issues must now be rethought in light of Abulafia's findings.

Abulafia has served students of scholasticism and of Christian-Jewish relations well by putting a fresh set of questions to seemingly well-known sources. Aside from a few textbook-like "context" passages that seem out of place in so erudite a work, this is a well-written book. Further investigation is needed to trace the subsequent history and influence of the simultaneously optimistic ("humanistic") and racist use of reason by twelfth-century Christian thinkers.

ANDREW COLIN GOW  
University of Alberta

ANDREW COLIN GOW. *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age 1200-1600*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, number 55.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1995. Pp. viii, 420.

Andrew Colin Gow has gathered and made available, generally in both the original language and English translation, an interesting and useful set of late medieval (thirteenth through sixteenth-century) texts that refer to far-off and threatening "red Jews." Since these texts regularly place the "red Jews" within the context of a series of well-known apocalyptic figures, Gow has added a second set of materials concerned with Gog and Magog and the Ten Tribes (pp. 295-349) and a third set concerned with Antichrist and the Jews (pp. 351-381). The second and third sets of materials derive from a far lengthier period, ranging from the fourth through the sixteenth centuries. The sense is that the "red Jews" collection is quite exhaustive, while the other two are sketchier, intended to provide requisite background.

Unfortunately, Gow's treatment of this valuable but

difficult material is far from satisfying. On the simplest level, the image of the "red Jews," while heavily documented, remains unexplained. Why the color imagery? Why the limitation of this imagery to German-speaking domains? Folding the image of the "red Jews" into the broader tapestry of apocalyptic thinking surely enriches Gow's portrait. The Gog and Magog, Ten Tribes, and Antichrist themes provide intriguing and diversified materials. This material, however, is extremely difficult to master and utilize. Gow's brief survey of "Christian and Jewish perspectives on the end in late antiquity and the Middle Ages" (chapter 2) is unsatisfactory. Bernard McGinn's *Antichrist* (1994), published too late to be cited by Gow, shows how deficient Gow's treatment of that rich but problematic theme is in its fifth chapter.

While tracing complex apocalyptic themes is a difficult enough task in its own right, Gow aspires to take matters yet one step further and to relate apocalyptic thinking to intensified anti-Jewish sentiment in late medieval western Christendom. Lack of a firm grasp of the apocalyptic motifs makes such an effort tenuous. Accelerating anti-Jewish sentiment in western Christendom from the thirteenth (indeed from the twelfth) through the sixteenth centuries is widely acknowledged. Scholars are far from clear, however, as to how to relate apocalyptic thinking to these sentiments. How broadly diffused was apocalyptic thinking during this period? To what extent did apocalyptic thinking fuel anti-Jewish sentiments? Alternately, were the anti-Jewish motifs found in apocalyptic imagery simply reflections of broadly held societal prejudices? These are some of the questions that will ultimately need to be addressed. Prior to effective treatment of the complex relationship between apocalyptic thought and anti-Jewish imagery, we will need more clarity in regard to the rich and diverse strands of medieval Christian speculation on the end of days, a better sense of the place that Jews occupied in that speculation, and fuller comprehension of the dynamics of anti-Jewish behavior and thinking.

ROBERT CHAZAN  
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ANDREW JOTISCHKY. *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 198. \$35.00.

This study of Western monks and hermits who settled in the territories ruled by Latin Christians during the two centuries following the first crusade centers on struggles between two sets of opposing views about the ascetic life.

The basic issue in one contest concerned the importance of geography in the religious life. On one side stood those who argued that the value of the monastic life was absolute, unbounded by space or time. St. Bernard of Clairvaux and others of this school considered the geographic location of a cell or monastery

utterly irrelevant to the spiritual life of its inmates. A monastery or hermitage, regardless of location, was paradise enough for a good ascetic. Adherents of this view considered that Holy Land pilgrimages subverted the monastic enterprise and maintained that residence at or near the holy shrines of the East was more a distraction than an asset for those dedicated to penance, prayer, and meditation. They strongly discouraged monks from undertaking vain and distracting expeditions in quest of holy places.

Ranged against this view were advocates of what Andrew Jotischky calls *geopiety*. These people maintained that physical proximity to the scenes and sites of sacred history provided monks and hermits with vital spiritual inspiration. Members of this camp claimed that propinquity to the sacred places added a positive value to the religious life, one that could not be experienced elsewhere. Both of these views had deep roots in the history of Christian belief, and proponents of each could cite respected authorities to support their views.

The second struggle that features prominently in Jotischky's study pitted those who believed that the hermit's solitary life offered the most demanding and effective approach to ascetic goals against advocates of religious community life. Like St. Benedict, medieval champions of cenobitical monasticism suspected that hermits, living alone and free from supervision, might often fail to maintain adequate spiritual discipline and fall victim to pride, arrogance, *curiositas*, and other vices. Obedience to a rule and a superior, communal observance of the daily round of liturgical offices, and the moral and emotional challenges of a life shared in community, according to their view, helped to combat pride, selfishness, and other temptations that hindered a truly Christian ascetic life.

Jotischky examines the various combinations and permutations of religious observance that found homes in the Latin Levant and the numerous obstacles that monks and hermits faced in this region during the lifetime of the Latin states. He devotes three chapters of his book specifically to the history of the Christian ascetics who dwelt in the highlands above Haifa and especially on Mount Carmel. Jotischky's account of the misty origins of the Carmelite Order and its development from a congregation of hermits into an order of friars deserves particular commendation. It is the most coherent and lucid version of that murky history that I have encountered anywhere.

This study of the interplay of ideas and institutions among the religious communities of the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is well balanced and agreeably written.

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MARY C. MANSFIELD. *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 343. \$39.95.

In May of 1989, Mary C. Mansfield received her Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. Only a month before that, she had been hired as an assistant professor of history at Stanford University, and everyone with an ear to the ground had heard about her masterful dissertation on public penance in thirteenth-century France. On August 31, 1989, Mansfield was killed in a car accident in southern France, along with her husband and her mother. Her father, her adviser, and her editor at Cornell University Press decided to publish her dissertation, which she had revised during the summer before her death. The book would be a memorial of sorts, as well as some faint and inadequate recognition of the work she had done; but most of all, the research was simply too good and too valuable to be ignored.

In the traditional view, once Innocent III established private confession and communion as yearly requirements for all Catholics, there was no room for the public penitential rites of the early medieval church. Mansfield shows convincingly that this is entirely untrue. Historians have thought that public penance disappeared only because it disappeared from the Roman pontificals, which they took as authoritative. Mansfield's careful reading of pontificals, ordinals, and synodal statutes from northern France indicates that no matter how important private penance became, public penance continued to be a significant and even thriving institution in local dioceses. In fact, according to Mansfield, sacramental theologians who popularized private penance had no intention of doing away with public penance, and always recognized its importance for certain types of cases. In some ways, the very success of private confession led to a routinization of the sacrament that periodic exemplary displays of atonement counteracted. At the same time, the church's increasing emphasis on the Body of Christ as a corporate entity, both sacramental and juridical, further privileged public forms of absolution and reconciliation.

What is perhaps most interesting about Mansfield's argument, and its best proof, is her evidence for the ways northern French liturgists actually changed the public penitential rites they had inherited, bringing them into conformity with the developing penitential theology and educative pastoralism of the post-Lateran church. By the thirteenth century, the heart of the rite had moved from Holy Thursday to Ash Wednesday. Absolution, pronounced by a bishop, was given prior to any formal public satisfaction at all. Individual public penitents became marginal figures in what was really a collective *Confiteor* for the entire people, all of whom now received blessed ashes, heard the bishop's Lenten sermon, and received a general absolution for a generalized state of sin. In perhaps her greatest insight, Mansfield argues that this establishment of Ash Wednesday as a rite of collective atonement and absolution was the precondition for the establishment of Carnival, which developed as a popular celebration

only in the wake of this reorientation of public penance.

Given the circumstances of its publication, this history is understandably incomplete. Readers familiar with recent work on ritual in general and penitential rituals in particular will recognize the loose ends, as well as some interpretive inconsistencies between chapters. Yet one remains impressed by how thorough and rigorous Mansfield's research was, and how mature her instincts and judgments. The surest proof of her talent is that the book is so central to issues of great current interest. Episcopal imposition of public penitential rites on local political rivals in northern France hints at an important reason for the strength of anticlerical agitation in this very same region. The refusal of the episcopacy to accommodate mendicants and lay groupings into its public rites suggests a likely reason for the appeal of Franciscans to these same lay groupings, an appeal whose nexus was, not coincidentally, private penance. Above all, Mansfield's demonstration of the continuing importance of public penance suggests that our recent fascination with the Eucharist as a discourse of community and piety may be somewhat misleading. If this book was meant as a memorial, it is a fine and lasting one.

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ALAIN ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG. *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction*. Translated by MARTIN THOM. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Architecture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 378. \$89.95.

This, the first volume of a new series "intended primarily for professional historians of architecture and their students" as well as a general audience, is the English version of Alain Erlande-Brandenburg's *La cathédrale* (1989). The announced goal of the series is compromised, however, by both format and content. Students of art history or architecture are accustomed to a written text where the author's points are demonstrated through references to a body of visual documentation and substantiated by footnoted citations. This publication breaks with scholarly tradition in providing no footnotes and no specific references to the illustrations. The deficiency is not remedied by the bibliography, which is inadequate. There are no photographs and no interior views.

All of this sharply reduces the book's usefulness. The new edition has introduced errors of all kinds. In chapter one, the headings at the top of the page do not correspond to the subsections. Figure 138, which purports to be a plan of Senlis cathedral, is actually Sens. The city name, "Strassburg" or "Strasbourg," is misspelled ("Strasburg") throughout. There are endless mistaken choices in the rendering of place names; it would have been better to keep to the English instead of "Köln," "Beograd," "Praha," and "Normandie."

The English and French elements of proper names are muddled: Guillaume of Sens instead of William of Sens, Grégoire of Tours, and so on. The gospel-writers Mark and Luke are "Marc" and "Luc" (p. 126). Robert of Luzarches, master mason of Amiens cathedral, would be tickled to find himself promoted to "archbishop" by the time he reaches the index (p. 376). None of these problems (and there are many, many more!) affected the original French version.

The translation is entirely inadequate. Technical terms and descriptive passages are at times misleading or quite impossible to understand. It is astonishing to read that "in the first plan [of Bourges cathedral], drawn up in 1195, the architect designed a chevet which, as was the case at Paris, had only one ambulatory" (p. 215). The French version did not say this—merely that Notre-Dame and Bourges had only an ambulatory and no radiating chapels—the translator has misunderstood the word "seul."

Although the problems of the present volume may be associated largely with the process of translating, editing, and production, Erlande-Brandenburg's original text was not entirely trouble free. Some passages are historically problematic: for example, I know of no evidence (and I am familiar with the original sources) that the construction of the Amiens west façade was blocked by buildings belonging to the *hôtel Dieu* (p. 187) or that access to the site of the Gothic cathedral was anything like as difficult as represented in these pages.

The publisher's blurb describes this as an "iconoclastic" book intended to dispel "popular images" and "romantic myths." Unfortunately, however, the "myths" to be demystified are either banal or ill-defined. The English-speaking reader hardly needs to be told that a cathedral is not necessarily a Catholic building. With a perfunctory look at the Gothic revivals in England, France, and Germany, Erlande-Brandenburg introduces the two principal myths to be debunked: that cathedral construction responded to a spontaneous popular movement and that the cathedral was an isolated and sublime entity, set apart from everyday urban life. His treatment of the "Spontaneist" (is this a word?) "theory" is contradictory; positive on page 23 and negative on page 231. The "isolationist" myth is introduced with the nineteenth-century Notre-Dame in splendid isolation on the depopulated Ile de la Cité. The glorious picture by Karl Friedrich Schinkel on the dust jacket presumably serves the same "myth"—however, the picture is radically cropped so that the cityscape that provided a context for the cathedral is here missing. It is not clear to me how these or similar images falsify our understanding of the cathedral as it existed in the Middle Ages. We know that the medieval cathedral with its institutional structure and physical fabric was simultaneously integrated with and set apart from the city, simultaneously a material entity and a powerful propagator of myth. It was an urban entity that served a rural diocese. Our understanding of the cathedral as a

totality is not enhanced by the concentration on one dimension to the exclusion of the other. With its gigantic size, its complex and integrated spaces, and its sophisticated articulation, the cathedral announces that it is, after all, different from the other buildings in the city. Visitors may, indeed, come away with an experience of the sublime. Are they wrong?

This is important material of great potential value. Erlande-Brandenburg sets out to provide a "global vision" over "the long period," from early Christian to Gothic. The concentration upon the institutional, physical, and sacramental life of the cathedral with its multiple buildings within the rapidly changing city is enlightened, promising a valuable supplement to the formalistic treatment of the "development" of the Gothic cathedral from the Romanesque. Particularly useful are the treatments of the institutional and physical framework and the functions of interior spaces (presbytery, canons' choir, congregational space) as well as the multiple buildings of the episcopal complex (bishop's palace, *hôtel Dieu*, cloister, canons' precinct). A wealth of graphic evidence (city plans and views) is provided.

The promise of this exciting material has not been met by the form of the present volume. This was, indeed, a lost opportunity.

STEPHEN MURRAY  
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SHEILA BONDE. *Fortress-Churches of Languedoc: Architecture, Religion, and Conflict in the High Middle Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 270. \$85.00.

The church militant cast a large shadow across medieval culture. Religion undergirds heroic epics like the *Chanson de Roland* as it provides justification for the crusades and their chronicles. In the early eleventh-century crypt of Fulbert's Romanesque cathedral at Chartres, embryonic pictures of knights fighting infidel giants next to church buildings may still be seen. Joseph Bédier elaborated a theory about the origin of the *chansons de geste* by linking them to the sanctuaries of pilgrimage routes.

It comes as something of a surprise, then, to discover that the most prominent manifestations of the church militant—the numerous fortified churches that still beguile the curious tourist in the south of France—have little in common with the warrior ethic of epic or crusade. Far from signaling an offensive church, fortress-churches "would seem to have been principally intended to discourage violence rather than to participate in it" (p. 176). These fascinating monuments attest rather to the pervasive domestic insecurity of the Middle Ages than to the fervor of soldiers of Christ: "A fortified church made a striking visual statement by the bishop or abbot in his capacity as the local advocate of peace . . . the more functional a fortress-church was, the less likely that it would ever have to be employed in military conflict" (p. 176).

Sheila Bonde fills a serious lacuna in the architectural history of the medieval church with this fascinating and informative book. Although church authorities had serious reservations about fortress-churches, outlawing them in theory toward the end of the twelfth century, such churches continued to be built as bishops and abbots of the region sought to exert control in the face of threats from outsiders identified as Saracens, pirates, heretics, and brigands. Fortress-churches, Bonde shows, shared with castle fortifications not only an analogous *raison d'être* but also the same architectural principle: machicolation over arches.

Thus, once a decision had been made to build a fortified church, the secular logic of defense determined that there would be no difference—as far as the perimeter of the church was concerned—between castle and church, to the point that even the church tower could function as a donjon, a place of security for persons and goods. Machicolation is the functional feature demarcating the defensive and sacerdotal architectural aspects of the churches, interior from exterior. Bonde properly describes how the presence of defenders, armed men whose function is not sacerdotal, must be imagined. Similarly, to complete the picture of the "active" fortress-church, we must envision them surmounted by hoarding—wooden platforms built into the top of the wall (a kind of "machicolation written in timber" as Bonde puts it)—and portcullises—openings which normally allowed doors to be raised and lowered through vertical slots.

In five lucid chapters, Bonde describes the fortress-church, situates it in the larger context of twelfth-century Languedoc, analyzes three specific examples (Maguelone, Agde, Saint-Paul), describes how the monuments were manned, and, finally, examines sources and parallels in the architectural context. The book is richly illustrated with maps and drawings and buttressed by appendixes of primary documents. Medievalists generally will appreciate this book, whose accessibility also assures its feasibility for undergraduate background reading.

STEPHEN G. NICHOLS  
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ANDREW D. BROWN. *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250–1550*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 297. \$55.00.

Based upon research in the county archives of Dorset, Wiltshire, and Berkshire (the constituents of the medieval diocese of Salisbury), Salisbury Cathedral, three major and five other local repositories, Andrew D. Brown's regional study emphasizes institutional expressions of piety. He has examined wills, chantries, guilds and fraternities, and contributions to church rebuildings, hospitals, almshouses, and other forms of charity as indicators of trends in lay religious sensitivities. The book tests generalizations about late medieval piety using data from a particular region.



Brown finds that by the later Middle Ages, although bequests were still made to monasteries and the friars still attracted more largesse than regulars, the focus of penitential giving had clearly shifted to the parishes, where the laity played a greater part, as churchwardens and in visitations where they reported on, among other things, their fellow parishioners' immorality. Brown finds that this corporate involvement had by the fifteenth century extended to chantries, often founded by groups of lay trustees. Lay concerns included the fabric of their churches. Up to ca. 1350, most church rebuildings involved chancels, but thereafter naves attracted most of the lay donations. The fifteenth century saw the greatest number of remodellings throughout the diocese, especially in prosperous regions.

Discussing lay participation in sub-parish institutions such as fraternities and guilds, Brown notes that in the thriving cloth towns some guilds cut across parish boundaries to establish a broader religious community. Elite guilds (mayors and burgesses) expressed civic leadership, pious concern for their dead in purgatory, and solidarity against competitive monastic or episcopal powers. Although guilds generally increased in numbers in the late-medieval diocese, endowed hospitals declined, becoming less available to outsiders and the sick and more concerned with the local poor.

Finding few notices of Lollards, Brown believes that this may reflect difficulties of detection rather than the absence of heresy, which undoubtedly existed in Salisbury diocese. Lollardy leads into the concluding chapter on the Reformation. Brown suggests that by the early sixteenth century, the laity were de-emphasizing some medieval forms of piety (chantries, guilds) and emphasizing others that were medieval in origin (education, poverty relief). Finding more evidence of conservatism than of reformist zeal, Brown concludes that the Reformation was accepted relatively quietly, partly because many public "religious" rites were also rites of social integration (processions, obits), partly because some Reformation ideals echoed late medieval desires among the laity for an ordered, moral society, and partly because newer forms substituted for related traditional forms (gatherings at sermons instead of at shrines). Such continuities created an atmosphere allowing the Reformation to be eventually accepted in the Salisbury diocese.

A few typographical problems surface, the maps are somewhat cluttered, the figures in table 1(a) do not quite tally with those of 1(b), and in table 17 one chronological category (1500–1545), cutting across Reformation changes, detracts from points made in the text. These are minor slips in an excellent regional study.

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JOHN HENDERSON. *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 533. \$85.00.

John Henderson provides a meaty survey of Florentine confraternities from the high Middle Ages through the end of the republican Renaissance. His purpose is to explore the interface between the secular principles and the pious activities of lay adults, almost exclusively men, over an impressively long duration. Henderson executes the task with notable analytic dexterity, taking full advantage of a burgeoning scholarly literature that addresses his subject. Additionally, he adds a fine case study of the rise and decline of Orsanmichele, Florence's first grand confraternity devoted to singing the lauds, or praising their Christian faith.

The *laudesi* (laud-singing) and *disciplinati* (flagellant) fraternities command most of Henderson's attention. Flagellant companies were always fairly small and were uncommon before the Black Death. One of the interesting features of the study, in fact, is its clear demonstration of something that the Black Death and recurrent plague epidemics actually transformed about Florentine society. The rich and respected Orsanmichele slid inexorably into poverty and insignificance, despite unprecedented bequests during the catastrophic 1340s and widespread respect for its charitable ministrations to the poor of Florence. Henderson demonstrates that the directors of the patrimony of Orsanmichele were consumed with gilding their oratory, thereby mismanaging their inheritance and probably insuring their subsequent exclusion from the beneficence of both middling and mighty Florentines.

The age of Medicean Florence, after the 1430s, is not equally addressed in this study. Nevertheless, Henderson maps out the features that best serve his purpose of showing how pious confraternities aided members with "access to important social or political networks within their city" (pp. 28–29). Over the course of the Quattrocento, the number and kinds of such foundations increased. Some, such as the *Buonominini* of San Martino, undertook well-publicized charitable interventions. Some, little discussed in this tome but quite visible to Benedetto Varchi in the early sixteenth century, were quite localized in the city, all-too-secular to elite observers, and most active at festival and processional public events. Wealthier Florentines over the same interval were notably attracted to exclusive, secretive flagellant fraternities. Finally, hospitals commanded an ever more important place in charitable ministrations of the later fifteenth century, but having published a study of them elsewhere, Henderson undertakes no separate treatment of hospitals here.

Henderson's study is far too nuanced to summarize in all its important particulars, especially in the pains he takes to give numbers and examples of the changing face—perhaps the changing definitions—of poverty in Florence. The evidence affirms the continual, material presence of the sacred, the pious, and the charitable in Florentine public life, from the objects of charity to the reasons for forming such associations. This attention to the smallest particulars of donor organizations and categories of recipients makes striking the absence of

the names and status of the principal players in this drama. To be sure, where any data are available Henderson tabulates every shred and feature. But just as their faces are hidden from us and each other in the art work they commissioned, so the elite members of confraternities are masked in this study of their actions. Eerily "the State" emerges to explain change and continuity over time, but who comprises the State, and how is the emergence of this State effected from the pervasiveness of pious confraternities?

The facelessness of confraternal action is particularly striking as we witness the unraveling Orsanmichele. The directors, whoever they were (for they are not named here) are found to be clumsy managers, fiddling with the decor of their meeting places even while many Florentines slipped into a more irresolvable indigence than had been visible in the more populous, potentially hungrier decades before the great plague. Was the money of confraternities always diverted to material projects—whether glorious altarpieces, burial ceremonies and prayers, or pittances of food and other subsistence aid to the destitute? Rich as this study is, Henderson is content to leave its summary to a description in minuscule and to spar with those who incautiously or improvidently tell a larger story. While it is compellingly clear that piety and charity suffused every aspect of Florentine public and private life during the time the Renaissance was invented there, it is not even suggested here that one story is essential to the other.

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CLARA ESTOW. *Pedro the Cruel of Castile, 1350–1369*. (The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, number 6.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1995. Pp. xxxvii, 288.

If fourteenth-century Castile was "a place which made men only to waste them," study of the region and its most controversial ruler, Pedro I the Cruel (1350–1369), threatens the same fate for even the most intrepid investigator. Mindful of the pitfalls of such research, Clara Estow has persevered to produce a truly magisterial biographical study of the Castilian monarch whose fall at the hands of his half-brother, Enrique de Trastámara, in 1369 altered the direction of Castilian dynastic history down to the accession of Isabella I in 1474.

As the last of a long line of investigators, including Jerónimo Zurita, Joaquín Guichot, Prosper Mérimée, and J. B. Sijes, who have focused on the tragic reign of Pedro I, Estow shows herself to be a fine textual analyst of many types of sources. Though largely depending on the two great works of Pedro López de Ayala that chronicle the Castilian civil war, Estow skillfully utilizes a broad and varied background of evidence to breathe life into the dramatic events of Pedro I's life and kingship, after showing how they naturally proceeded from the successful and flamboy-

ant reign of his father, Alfonso XI (1312–1350). The last chapter—*Mano a Mano*—is especially noteworthy for the fineness of its narration as well as the dispassion Estow displays in reviewing Pedro's bloody death. Unlike many investigators of the Castilian civil war, she seems neither on Pedro's side nor on that of Enrique de Trastámara. Instead, she lets the facts speak for themselves.

If fault is to be found with Estow's work, it can only be typified as a fault of both thoroughness in presentation and restriction of documentary focus. After an extremely well-argued narration of Pedro's early career, the trail of the king's life seems to get lost in two densely packed chapters on Castilian legislation and finances. These, I think, could have been greatly shortened by inserting a good deal of the material in appendixes or by referring the reader to Joseph F. O'Callaghan's *History of Medieval Spain* (1975). Scholars of eastern Spain may be inclined to take Estow to task for her relatively minor use of the massive documentary collections of the Crown of Aragon. Though she does utilize the *Crónica* of Pere III of Aragon, Estow does not seem to have delved deeply into the collections of the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* for clues to Pedro I's life, though they may very well be there for the finding.

The minor reservations I have about this book fade before the sheer excellence of Estow's scholarship and writing. I heartily recommend this work not only for students of medieval Spain but for scholars of the Hundred Years' War, the emergence of late medieval kingship, and the Iberian *Siglo de Oro*.

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#### MODERN EUROPE

ERIKA RUMMEL. *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. 249. \$45.00.

When intellectual history was still being written under the aegis of the idea of progress, the clash between humanists and scholastics was sometimes presented as the retrograde struggle of a repressive religious mentality to contain the advance of secular philosophy. For the last thirty years or so, because of the work of Paul Oskar Kristeller, scholars have understood the humanist movement not as a philosophy of any kind (whether secular or not) but as a set of intellectual and educational preferences giving greater weight to the beauty and emotive power of language than to the art of logic, beloved of scholastics. Although some have gone on to contend that the supposed great debate between the two currents of opinion was a mainly academic squabble between thinkers who shared the ideal of a synthesis between pagan wisdom and Christian faith, others have wished to preserve the notion of a conflict over basic principles.

Erika Rummel's book recasts the issue by proposing

a two-stage model for the controversy. In phase one, from the time of Petrarch until the early sixteenth century, humanists and scholastics debated the issues between them with touches of humor and an effort on both sides to present different points of view. The succeeding phase was dominated by academic turf wars focused on the claims of biblical philologists like Erasmus to speak with authority in matters of theology, and civility gave way to recrimination. In Rummel's view, the literature of phase one may be described as "epideictic," in that writers on both sides sought to display their talents by choosing formats that allowed authors "to distance themselves from the subject at hand" (p. 61) by giving voice to conflicting points of view. Thus scholastics adopted the *sic et non* method of presentation, while humanists wrote dialogues.

The debate began to degenerate into polemics when the stage shifted away from Italy, where theology was mainly taught in the houses of religious orders rather than at universities. In the universities north of the Alps, members of entrenched theology faculties excommunicated the humanists for (as they said) putting one's sickle into another man's crop and were repaid in kind by their humanist adversaries, especially by those who opted for the Reformation. By this time, taking an opponent's view seriously was considered a mark of indecisiveness. Thus, when Erasmus penned his tract against Martin Luther, the *Diatribes de Libero Arbitrio* of 1524 (a comparison of scriptural arguments for and against free will), he was presenting his arguments "in the urbane manner that had now become an anachronism" (p. 61).

This is on the whole a clear and persuasive argument. I make a partial exception for the last chapter, "The Humanist Critique of Scholastic Dialectic," which seems an afterthought. In the first chapter, one reads that the scholastic critique of humanists was "sustained by a general resentment of the New Learning" (p. 15), but, in the last chapter, one finds understanding for scholastics who wrote off humanist animadversions on logic as "silly chatter" (p. 162). Although there is a case to be made for both assertions, they might better have been considered together rather than separately. But the main line of argument here has to do with how scholastics perceived humanists to be undermining religious authority, whether by rhetorical frills not in keeping with the plain speech of a humble Christian or by proposing emendations to the Latin Vulgate. These are themes that permit Rummel to draw on her unparalleled grasp of the controversies between Erasmus and his Catholic critics and her sensitivity to the genres of classical rhetoric, including epideictic literature. This study should now be the first work consulted on the subject.

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DONALD WOODWARD. *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of North England,*

1450-1750. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 26.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 315. \$59.95.

Early modern urban historians face a dilemma: spend months—even years—analyzing quantitative data from voluminous administrative sources to achieve scientific rigor, or utilize eclectic methods to draw a well-rounded picture but face criticism for lack of rigor. The drawbacks to an exclusively quantitative approach to social history are illustrated in this study.

Given the use of familiar administrative sources, Donald Woodward reaches a number of unremarkable conclusions: guilds played a significant role in the urban economy; many apprentices had rural origins; journeymen often failed to become self-employed masters; power often derived from longevity; women were an important source of labor in late-medieval and early modern towns.

His analysis of the role of casual laborers reveals the fragile power of the unskilled. Hired by the day and subjected to brutally long hours, many were keen clock watchers who worked in a leisurely fashion. Recognizing the difficulty of determining working conditions from incomplete records, Woodward nevertheless suggests that many laborers were subjected to seasonal wage rates and received few non-food benefits and meals only intermittently. Welfare provisions, of course, were meager.

Despite governmental attempts to regulate wage rates, the chief factor determining real income was the interaction between the supply and the demand for labor in the context of an over-stocked labor market. For that reason, pay differentials between craftsmen and laborers declined significantly over the long-term and rural immigration often reduced the demographic consequences of sharp declines in mortality.

Woodward's chief concern is the standard of living of building craftsmen and laborers in northern towns between the early sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries. Here he parts company only marginally from Phelps Brown and Sheila Hopkins, confirming their analysis that real wages deteriorated throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and that the cost of living was sharply higher during these years. His conclusion that many workers became progressively worse off in the century before the Civil War, as food and fuel prices rose and wage rates stagnated, corroborates earlier findings.

One of the most interesting parts of this book is Woodward's analysis of the urban housing market. While it is not surprising that some in the building trades did not live a barren existence, his use of probate inventories to detail urban squalor for the majority is revealing.

Woodward is cautious with his data, warning his readers repeatedly of the difficulties of analyzing consumption and income patterns. His conclusion that in the century and a half before the Civil War those largely dependent on wages had to work more to

sustain life is amply demonstrated. Still, this book does not break new ground. Had Woodward concentrated on a few towns with particularly rich records, employed family reconstitution methods, traced the lives of representative individuals, and used literary sources, we might have gotten a richer and more interesting picture of the lives of a class of workers often neglected by historians. The single generation method, as is usually the case, fails to provide answers to the vexed problem of social mobility. Perhaps it is time to abandon our reliance on the time-consuming search for statistical certainty and so-called scientific rigor and return to the creative approach of economic historians like Eileen Power, who provided a rich and varied portrait of laborers in the pre-industrial period.

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Oneonta

JOHN GASCOIGNE. *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 324. \$59.95.

In his previous book, John Gascoigne focused on the interplay of science, religion, and politics in eighteenth-century Cambridge. Now he concentrates his attention on the intellectual and institutional world of Joseph Banks, the longest-serving president of the Royal Society. His aim is to relate Banks and his circle to what he calls "major movements" of the roughly half-century beginning in the 1760s. As before, the Enlightenment takes center stage in this process, Gascoigne arguing not only for the reality of an "English Enlightenment" but also for Banks as a model of its substance and limits. Thus, the book represents part of a recent trend toward re-associating England and the English with the eighteenth century's premier intellectual movement.

The author distinguishes between the Enlightenment as "a body of ideas, defined in conscious opposition to the prevailing order . . . and . . . as a set of barely conscious social attitudes" (p. 34), and he looks more frequently at the latter. In part, this emphasis emerges through an interesting examination of the transformation of the virtuoso tradition, alive and well during Banks's youth but substantially eroded by the early 1800s. These years, claims Gascoigne, saw the pursuit of natural history become less the realm of the mere collector and more that of the modern botanist and geologist. Just so in the study of the human realm, as the assembling of cultural rarities gave way to an anthropology employing the comparative method, linguistic research, and an openness to non-European cultures. The first half of this case is made more convincingly because it relies relatively little on secondary sources. In any event, Banks himself exemplifies these trends incompletely. Despite an ardent desire for the ordering of data that led him to support the Linnaean system, he displayed an old-fashioned Baco-

nian uninterest in theory and in the mathematicization of science, while exhibiting grave reservations about the establishment of specialized scientific domains penetrated only by professionals.

A scientific amateur himself and a member of the landed classes, Banks sought to sustain the longstanding power of the English elite in scientific organizations. Meanwhile, he promoted the "Enlightenment view" that science "should form part of the public culture of polite society" (pp. 4, 253) and should be put to work for the relief of man's estate. With such an attitude of scientific *noblesse oblige*, an aristocratic generalist like Banks naturally became an agricultural improver on his estates and learned to espouse the creed of improvement, which Gascoigne sees as flowing out from farming-related origins to engulf economic and social thinking generally. This creed is presented as promoting the harmony of social classes around the notion that any form of improvement—agricultural, industrial, imperial—strengthened British life and social order. And so the belief in improvement is to be distinguished from more socially unsettling, bourgeois ideas of progress, which Gascoigne finds emerging in the last decades of Banks's career—just as the social classes lost their harmony, the amateur elite its grip on scientific societies, and the Enlightenment its dominance over intellectual culture.

Gascoigne's insistence on agricultural improvement as the source of later eighteenth-century optimism ignores the prominent role of other intellectual and social factors. His distinction between improvement and progress leaves the reader wondering why the "belief in progress was . . . one premise of the Enlightenment" (p. 31). And his use of the outworn French philosophe model to define the Enlightenment as anti-establishment in its ideas makes problematic the conclusion that it seemed to the English elite to provide "a secure defence for the constituted order" (p. 237). Nonetheless, this insightful study of the Banksian world represents another powerful step toward understanding the shape, both intellectual and institutional, of the still-forgotten English Enlightenment, and especially the changing part played in it by late Baconian science.

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MARGUERITE W. DUPREE. *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries, 1840–1880*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 405. \$65.00.

Since the 1960s, researchers from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population have mapped the outlines of English population history. Marguerite W. Dupree's monograph stands firmly in that tradition and illustrates both its strengths and weaknesses. Rather than being a grand overview like E. A. Wrigley's and Roger Schofield's *Population History of England* (1981), this book examines a single area over forty



years. Dupree uses population samples (primarily the 1861 and 1881 censuses), parish registers, and other archival materials to recreate the patterns of family life in the Potteries. Her study provides information about household structure, birth and death rates, and the standard of living that adds considerably to our knowledge of the nineteenth-century family. Unfortunately, the weakness of her analytical framework limits an otherwise excellent work of quantitative history.

Dupree sees families as flexible and argues that they responded to local circumstances to create specific regional cultures of family life. In the Potteries, a string of six towns in northern England famous for the production of china and earthenware, a number of factors created a distinctive social environment. Steady growth led to higher wages and more regular employment for adult men without the social disorganization that characterized the textile areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The potteries employed large numbers of women and children, but a number of coal mines and iron works in the region offered alternative sources of employment for men.

These features left their marks on family life. Men and women married earlier than in the rest of England, and the region experienced a higher than average birth rate. Despite relative prosperity, the region suffered from high infant and adult death rates, which Dupree attributes to poor sanitation and dangerous working conditions. Women and children worked in larger numbers than elsewhere in England and could provide a significant portion of family income, producing a higher standard of living. Lower levels of migration meant more settled communities, which allowed more families to live with their kin. At the same time, the high death rates created a large number of broken homes.

While Dupree makes a case for the unique nature of the Potteries, she confirms much of what other family historians have found. Working-class households varied greatly in their composition, often sharing the home with kin or lodgers, though most households contained only nuclear families. Families showed a marked diversity of circumstances depending on the age and occupation of their members. Life cycle poverty in combination with illness, accidents, unemployment, and death created a pervasive problem of insecurity. Dupree devotes the last two chapters of the book to an analysis of how families relied on kin, neighbors, charities, and public assistance to deal with these crises.

Dupree takes issue with those who see occupation or employer paternalism as the dominant influence in family life, arguing instead for the "relative autonomy" of the family. She finds little evidence of families working together in the potteries, where men worked at different tasks than women and children. Family preferences and income, rather than simply the occupations of fathers and husbands, influenced the employment of other family members. For example, less than 25 percent of pottery workers' children were

employed in the potteries compared to 33 percent of the children of miners, a phenomenon that Dupree links to miners' lower income and the patterns of pottery apprenticeship. Her study of the village of Etruria demonstrates that the primary employer, Wedgwood Pottery, exercised limited influence over workers, who found friendship and assistance outside the village and the workplace.

Yet Dupree fails to pursue the implications of her important findings. She does not explore the coexistence of high birth rates and women's work or the lack of occupational fertility patterns, both of which contradict standard theories of fertility. Similarly, Dupree does not explain why, despite plentiful opportunities, only a small minority of married women worked outside the home or why, in the absence of any legislative prohibition and in spite of high demand for their labor, only 28 percent of all children aged eight to twelve worked in 1861.

Dupree relies heavily on the sociological theories of an earlier generation for her analytical framework and often fails to engage the new literature on gender and family life. She spends too much time comparing her findings with those of Michael Anderson for nineteenth-century Lancashire. While Anderson's exchange theory was pioneering when introduced in 1971, it is no longer of central concern to family historians. Dupree's emphasis on sociological models gives the book a narrow focus and excludes too much of the detail of daily life. Despite superb graphics and excellent maps, the Potteries remain unexplored in this work. Dupree drops fascinating hints—mine disasters, a Chartist uprising, a militant labor tradition—but fails to provide the details that would have enriched this book and made it more accessible to the general historical reader.

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ROWAN STRONG. *Alexander Forbes of Brechin: The First Tractarian Bishop*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 281. \$56.00.

On July 14, 1833, John Keble preached an assize sermon that protested the suppression of ten Irish bishoprics by Parliament. Some Anglican churchmen regarded this as the beginning of the Oxford Movement. A series of tracts subsequently attempted to defend the integrity of the Church of England from encroachment by the state and emphasized the divine nature of the church, its catholicity, and the apostolic succession of its bishops. In addition to theological matters, supporters of the Oxford Movement also encouraged pastoral zeal and work among the destitute. Opponents, however, questioned members' loyalty to Anglicanism and accused some so-called Tractarians of encouraging Roman practices. When Alexander Penrose Forbes (1817–1875) was elevated to the Scottish see of Brechin in 1847, the Tractarians

could rejoice that one of their number had become a bishop.

Born in Edinburgh, Forbes's early training had prepared him for a career in the East India Company. Poor health cut short his stay in India, and in 1840 he matriculated at Oxford, where he came under the spell of E. B. Pusey and others associated with the Oxford Movement. Two years after his ordination in 1845, Forbes became bishop of Brechin, and he soon became a spokesperson for the ideals of the Tractarians and an inspiration to the Anglo-Catholics in the Scottish Episcopal Church. As bishop, Forbes emphasized the need to minister to the laboring poor, advocated the use of the Scottish Communion Office and other native traditions, encouraged Christian unity, and proclaimed the gospel of the Oxford Movement in speech and action. In 1860, he was tried for heresy—because of his advocacy of the real presence in the Eucharist—and was eventually censured. Some believed that Forbes might follow the example of other Tractarians and convert to Roman Catholicism. By the time of his death, however, he had become disillusioned with Rome.

Rowan Strong's biography addresses many issues associated with the Anglican Church during the last century. "Forbes's career sheds light on the effects of Anglicization in Scotland, the diffusion of the Oxford Movement beyond England, and the response of the Churches in nineteenth-century Britain to the development of an urbanized, industrialized society" (p. vii). England and Scotland provide the background for Forbes's life and accomplishments, and Strong skillfully describes the history and the ecclesiastical environment and organization of both countries. He identifies the theological issues that became important in Forbes's life and shows how the bishop struggled to reconcile opposing views in his ministry. The 1860 heresy trial, for example, demonstrates how seriously religion affected nineteenth-century churchmen.

People such as Pusey, Keble, and W. E. Gladstone played an important role in Forbes's life, and Strong devotes sufficient space to the influence each exerted on Forbes. His description of the bishop's intense personal struggles and his influence in the Scottish Episcopal Church is superb. Dogma and ecclesiology played important roles in church debates, but Strong correctly reminds the reader that personalities such as Forbes's gave the Oxford Movement its passion and purpose.

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V. MARKHAM LESTER. *Victorian Insolvency: Bankruptcy, Imprisonment for Debt, and Company Winding-Up in Nineteenth-Century England*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 354. \$65.00.

Bankruptcy came to be seen by the Victorians as a national economic problem rather than a personal

misfortune, with losses due to business insolvency totaling millions of pounds annually throughout the nineteenth century. The belief that much of this loss was occasioned by fraud lent itself to government regulation of the bankruptcy process, which is the theme of V. Markham Lester's new book. Lester's admirably researched though dryly written account of bankruptcy focuses primarily on business and political history, with only passing references to the culture of insolvency. For example, there is no discussion of the Victorian shame culture that caused failed businessmen to be shunned socially and led many bankrupts to commit suicide.

Bankruptcy law followed a pattern similar to the Companies Acts, where early attempts at corporate regulation in the 1830s and 40s were abandoned in mid-century, only to be re-established by the 1880s and 90s. The government began regulating bankruptcy in 1831, using court-appointed assignees to collect and distribute bankrupts' assets. The bureaucracy that administered bankruptcy was one of the largest in Victorian government, employing more people than either the Home Office or Treasury. In 1869, under pressure from the business community, the official system was dismantled, but it was reimposed in 1883. Regulation was expanded in 1890, when the system for dealing with insolvent traders was also applied to corporations. Private debtors, however, did not have access to bankruptcy and remained subject to imprisonment for debt into the twentieth century.

Throughout the fluctuations in bankruptcy regulation, Lester documents the continual and growing influence of the business community through chambers of commerce. The lobbying efforts of businessmen shaped bankruptcy law and were instrumental in abolishing court supervision of insolvency in 1869. Yet the business community welcomed the return of regulation in 1883, since it had found it uneconomical to manage the assets of small bankruptcies, where the recovery of debts was seldom equal to the costs of administration. Government management of bankrupt estates was acceptable, even consistent with prevailing notions of *laissez-faire*, since this was an area where an individual's profit could not repay expenses. The retention of imprisonment for debt again testifies to the influence of businessmen who argued that without the threat of jail they could not extend credit to the lower classes.

Lester is cautious about the effects of legislation on the level of insolvency, though he generally views bankruptcy reform favorably. The statistical evidence would seem to support him, as levels of insolvency decreased toward the end of the century. Lester might have been less optimistic had he paid greater attention to fraud, which continued to tarnish the bankruptcy process. There is no mention, for example, of Ernest Hooley, the most famous and fraudulent Victorian bankrupt, whose continued high-living after his 1898 business failure led the press to dub him "the splendid bankrupt." Hooley, like many other Victorian financiers, cheated his creditors by salting away assets in his

wife's name—a common abuse of the Married Women's Property Act.

Wading into the morass of Victorian bankruptcy is a daunting project, and Lester has done a fine job of clarifying a complex legal and economic process. This useful institutional history could nonetheless be improved by a greater attention to the social and personal implications of insolvency and business failure.

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MILES TAYLOR. *The Decline of British Radicalism, 1847–1860*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 422. \$69.00.

Miles Taylor provides a detailed analysis of the opinions and political behavior of a small cohort of reform-minded liberal Members of Parliament during the 1850s. His chief contention is that this period saw the decline of a received radical agenda focused on the monitoring (by individual MPs) of executive policy and its replacement by a more meliorist political strategy predicated on the belief “that securing the co-operation of individual members of the cabinet was a better way of making legislative progress, or containing expenditure, than forcing the government into the division lobby on every possible occasion” (p. 332). Narrowly conceived and executed within a highly conventional historiographical framework, his study chronicles the activities of sixty-odd radical representatives who promoted a conflicting array of political causes—including parliamentary sovereignty, fiscal responsibility, anti-slavery, administrative reform, military interventionism, and the peace movement—within and without the walls of the House of Commons. Although the histories of the great bulk of these movements have been dealt with adequately by a number of historians in the past, Taylor performs a useful service in collecting them in a single volume and in augmenting his descriptions of radical movements with potted biographies of the activists who led them. His painstaking account of the radicals' largely unsuccessful effort to hold successive liberal administrations accountable to the principles of public economy and parliamentary accountability will provide scholars of Parliament with an excellent compendium of information on now-forgotten moments in the history of the Commons at mid-century.

As an analysis (as opposed to an encyclopedia) of political history, Taylor's book is, however, highly problematic. Three limitations are especially disabling: his partisan reading of secondary literature, his exceptionally limited conception of politics, and his restricted chronological focus. Taylor's partial and selective engagement with the historiography of popular politics is especially pronounced in his discussions of the Chartist movement. Here he repeatedly seeks to establish the originality of his own claims by comparing them to the putative orthodoxies of a supposedly unified school of “Chartist historians.” Absent is any

recognition of the fundamental fissures that have divided historians of radical politics in this century, even as they divided radical politicians in the previous one. In failing to distinguish among the many (and divergent) strands of Chartist analysis that have developed in the past decades and to note the emergence of new lines of approach to radical language and popular constitutionalism (by James Epstein, for example), Taylor both misrepresents the broader context of parliamentary radicalism and overstates the novelty of his own arguments.

Taylor's etiolated notion of politics—the practice of which he largely divorces from social and cultural life—is similarly limiting, rendering the decline of radical politics in Britain less surprising by the end of his account than its existence there in the first place. By concluding his study in 1860, moreover, Taylor severely weakens his ability to trace the impact of radical reform on the liberal politics of the later nineteenth century. Much is claimed in his conclusion for the impact of the decline of one strand of radical parliamentary activism upon the later tenor of liberal politics, but the vigor with which these arguments are presented fails to compensate for the lack of rigor with which they are substantiated. Historians of popular politics will continue to turn to the writings of Eugenio Biagini rather than to this curiously antiquarian work to comprehend the character and appeal of liberalism and radicalism in the later nineteenth century.

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H. C. G. MATTHEW. *Gladstone, 1875–1898*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 421. \$35.00.

This is the second and final volume of H. C. G. Matthew's study of William Ewart Gladstone. Like its predecessor, *Gladstone 1809–1874* (1986), it originated as introductions to *The Gladstone Diaries* (1968–1994), of which Matthew was the editor in succession to M. R. D. Foot. The *Diaries* themselves have set new standards of scholarship and editorship; they represent a monumental achievement that has had, and continues to have, a profound impact on nineteenth-century studies. That the introductions could be turned into two volumes, over 700 pages altogether, is an indication of the depth and breadth of Matthew's editorial work. Although he describes this volume as “an introduction to the study of [Gladstone's] life, an interpretative essay” (p. vii), together with the *Diaries* it constitutes an epoch-making piece of research. Before Matthew, biographies of Gladstone were mainly commentaries on John Morley (*The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* [1903]); from now on they will be commentaries on Matthew.

Matthew's approach is thematic rather than strictly chronological, a distinct advantage in terms of both historiographical originality and the practical implications for the reader. Each of the sixteen chapters is

divided into short, subtitled sections that make the book easier to consult and browse through (although it is unfortunate that the table of contents does not include the section titles). Like the first volume, this one, too, devotes considerable attention to Gladstone's private life and examines his religious convictions for the background against which his policies ought to be interpreted. Chapter one, for instance, explores the High Anglican theme of "religious nationality" as one of the sources for Gladstone's writings against "Vaticanism" in 1875 and the "Bulgarian atrocities" in 1876. High church views also informed his understanding of the Concert of Europe, which he vainly tried to uphold in the early 1880s.

The Balkan crisis stimulated Gladstone to consider the implications for the British Empire of his ideas about religious nationality. The contrast with Ottoman rule in Europe seemed at first reassuring: the Turks had failed to "amalgamate" their "subject races," and as a consequence their rule had not developed "beyond the 'government of force' which they had originally been" (p. 27). The British Empire was, by contrast, "a splendid example of success." Yet there was one festering exception: Ireland. In 1878, "Gladstone [referred] to Ireland as 'the far slighter case . . . a vastly milder instance' [than Ottoman rule in Bulgaria], but nonetheless admitting an analogy" (p. 29). In the case of Bulgaria, he proposed a combination of home rule and Turkish suzerainty; it is significant that ten years later, disillusioned with British rule in Ireland, he would adopt a similar approach there.

The long-term evolution of the Home Rule strategy emerges even more clearly in the three chapters devoted to Ireland (pp. 183–258). With the onset of the agricultural depression, tenant evictions and "outrages" led to the rise of Charles Stewart Parnell's National party. Gladstone's response to this challenge comprised four policies designed to have a cumulative effect in achieving stabilization: 1) radical land reform (1881, 1886); 2) equal electoral rights and legislation for Britain and Ireland (1884–1885); 3) coercion as a temporary measure to gain a breathing space for reform; and 4) legislative autonomy, with a Parliament in Dublin subordinated to the "Imperial Parliament" at Westminster (1886–1894). The combination of concession and repression had the desired effect: after 1881, the Land League lost its grip on farmers, who flocked to the land courts to have their rents reduced. The effect of the Land Act on Irish tenants was comparable to that of factory legislation on the Chartists in the early 1840s: it diverted the nationalist movement from revolution to constitutional reform (p. 190).

In a sense, Gladstone was transplanting a kind of "popular liberalism" among the Irish farmers. Yet, however "constitutionalized," Irish popular nationalists were still primarily nationalists, and it was difficult to cooperate with them without accepting, at least in part, their demand for Home Rule. Bringing to an end old controversies, Matthew establishes beyond any

doubt that Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule was not a sudden event but a gradual change that began in 1880–1881 (pp. 188–89, 199–200) and unravelled itself in a typically Burkean, historicist way. In 1885, this change was accelerated by the electoral result in Ireland—practically a referendum in favor of Home Rule—and by the fact that Parnell's demands looked both viable and temperate.

The eventual rejection of Home Rule by the British Parliament is often referred to as Gladstone's major defeat, but it was also the defeat of a centralized "United" Kingdom that included of Ireland. Twice in Gladstone's time, the British people voted to reject his proposed constitutional experiment, branded as "a threat to the unity of the Empire." As King George V later observed, however, it had rather offered the last chance of preserving the political unity of the British Isles, although on the basis of a new constitutional model reflecting Canadian federalism as much as the British tradition. In the 1990s, in the face of continued political support for a rigid adherence to the notion of Parliament's indivisible sovereignty (even to the extent of jeopardizing Britain's influence in the European Union and exasperating the Scots and Welsh communities), Gladstone's defeat a century earlier is hardly surprising. It should not be ascribed only to his mistakes.

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MARGARET O'CALLAGHAN. *British High Politics and a Nationalist Ireland: Criminality, Land and the Law under Forster and Balfour*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xi, 223. \$55.00.

This book is about British perception and treatment of Irish protest in the 1880s and 1890s. Information about Ireland came to the British through a number of channels—politicians, Parliament, newspapers, civil servants, the police, courts, and state commissions—that filtered and distorted the facts. Political rhetoric, Margaret O'Callaghan claims, made a difference. Liberals, Conservatives, and even Irish nationalists created myths that affected policies. Although opinions on Ireland varied greatly in Britain, there was nevertheless a general portrait of the country as barbarous, lawless, and overrun with "duplicious wretches, cattle maimers, murderers, congenial liars and, orchestrating the squalid chorus, a partnership: the banners of the priesthood and self-seeking Irish MPs" (p. 102).

O'Callaghan's principal argument is that ideology and politics also shaped government policy. Liberal and Conservative policies operated within certain ideological and political constraints. There was considerable opposition in Britain, especially among landowners, to the infringement of property rights in order to appease the Irish. At the same time, there was considerable hesitation in the Liberal Party to setting aside due process in order to combat crime in Ireland.



Many Liberals who did not believe that Irish landowners were performing their duties found it difficult to use the powers of the state to enforce the rights of owners. The result was the gradual conversion of the Liberals to Home Rule. The Conservatives, for their part, became trapped in their own ideological-perceptual net, in which landlords were seen as the victims of robbery from which they could be rescued if they were helped to sell their land to the occupiers. The settlement of the Irish land question, O'Callaghan insists, was more the consequence of Conservative ideology and policy than of political and economic forces in Ireland. Although I would not go this far, I certainly appreciate her demonstration of the importance for Irish land agitation of forces external to Ireland.

There was much, however, that I did not like about this book. I was bothered by O'Callaghan's distortion of the revisionist argument on the Irish land question. The revisionists have not claimed that Irish landlords were a "preordained ruined class" (p. 95), nor have they ignored political forces. The book is also ineptly organized and documented. O'Callaghan frequently loses focus, makes points without developing them, provides quotations with little if any commentary, and makes claims without sufficient evidence. Even some major arguments, such as her assertion that the position of Irish landowners was not economically untenable or that the Charles Stewart Parnell's constitutional movement was destroyed by the Special Commission, are not adequately supported with evidence. The book needed more research and rewriting before it went to press. It is nevertheless worth reading. O'Callaghan is perceptive and thoughtful, and she has important things to say.

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STEFAN BERGER. *The British Labour Party and the German Social Democrats, 1900-1931*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 302. \$55.00.

The British Labour and German Social Democratic (SPD) parties have often been contrasted as opposite types of workers' parties. In this comprehensive comparison, Stefan Berger concludes that the "difference" between them "was one of degree rather than substance" (pp. 172, 206). After outlining the methodological problems of comparative history, Berger compares the Labour Party and SPD in terms of integration into society, party organization, labor movement culture and solidarity with the working class community, political ideology, and international party relations. Berger's truly comparative approach is noteworthy. The book is organized analytically by theme, not country or chronology, and the parties are compared point by point rather than juxtaposed in separate national histories. Though based on a judicious, thorough reading of the secondary literature, it also adds some significant original primary research, espe-

cially on party organization. Berger's main contribution is to test previous interpretations of the Labour Party and SPD as polar opposites that, for different national reasons, followed exceptional paths away from an ideal-typical form of workers' party development. Berger refutes the view that either party followed a *Sonderweg*. Despite contrasting origins, they converged by 1931.

The study's main weakness is its failure to explain this convergence. Berger initially suggests that party development should be understood in relation to class formation, but he does not define or apply this or any other framework. The narrowly empirical comparison can not specify the nature, extent, or meaning of the parties' similarities and differences. The extensive theoretical literature on party organization, party-union relations, and workers' culture, as well as the impact of major factors like socioeconomic development, the state, mass consumer culture, and domestic politics, is either not addressed or mentioned only in passing. Differences between the parties are de-emphasized; methodologically, a more fruitful approach would distinguish between substantive differences, formal differences that obscured practical similarities, and coincidental similarities that left underlying differences unchanged. Although Berger admirably breaks with convention in defining the time frame analytically, he does not follow up with an analysis of changes over time. The chapter on international party relations addresses personalities, not more profound patterns of political influence. Finally, much of the SPD's convergence toward Labour after 1918 can be attributed to the displacement of revolutionary activism to the Communist Party and other left-wing groups; in contrast, Labour's convergence toward the SPD can partly be explained by the radicalization of segments of the British working class. Both parties need to be discussed in the context of the broader workers' movement, where significant national differences persisted but, ironically, may have encouraged the convergence of Labour and the SPD.

Berger has amassed impressive evidence that, in virtually all areas of party life, the Labour Party and SPD became substantively similar. Far from diverging along exceptional national paths, they moved toward a common middle position. Needed are a more sophisticated conceptualization of this party type in relation to others, an analytic framework to distinguish between significant similarities and persisting differences, and a theoretical argument to explain why two parties, so unlike each other in 1900, quickly found common ground.

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ANGELA V. JOHN. *Elizabeth Robins: Staging a Life, 1862-1952*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. xiv, 283. \$25.00.

This is a well-written, comprehensive life of Elizabeth Robins, the American-born actress and novelist. After

a rather traumatic childhood, Bessie, as she was known to her extended family, defied her father by joining an itinerant group of thespians, traveling from one town to another and, in the process, marrying a weak but handsome actor. He committed suicide, leaving Robins only grief. Angela V. John has mined information about these years through her own extensive travel and research.

Through several flukes, including a brief encounter with Oscar Wilde, Robins settled in England, where she not only acted but produced and directed many of the plays in which she had a part. The one criticism I have pertaining to this fascinating study is that John never quite makes clear that Robins really was a minor figure as an actress. She was active in bringing Henrik Ibsen to the British stage but has never been identified by historians of the theater as a leading lady in his plays. John notes that it was Robins who introduced Ibsen to the American stage, but she is not credited with having made an impact during her brief run in New York.

Ibsen's characters, however, seem to have influenced Robins, and John brings her to life beautifully in discussing her relations with friends (including lovers) in a chapter entitled "Theatre and Friendship" (pp. 75-97). Robins's best-known novel, *The Convert*, was published during the exciting and dramatic years when the suffrage campaign in Britain was at its height. Known and remembered as a stalwart advocate of "Votes for Women" (also the name of one of her plays), Robins was the darling of the women's movement. John covers these years in depth and with panache.

Robins's later years were filled with anguish pertaining to her brother, Raymond, bringing her back to America often and leading her to write about their relationship in a posthumously published book. Robins led an active literary life in England, coming into contact with a long list of luminaries including Leonard and Virginia Woolf and George Bernard Shaw, but much of her attention remained focused on America and race relations there. (Several of her novels deal with this theme.)

A workaholic until nearly the end of her long life, the energetic Robins practically commuted between the United States and England in her last years, although she was often in considerable pain. An example of the flowing narrative that marks this volume is found in the sentence that closes Robins's biography as well as her life: "On 8 May 1952, the year when another E.R. succeeded to the throne, Bessie Robins, child of the American Civil War, died in Brighton in her ninetieth year." For social history that links the United States and Britain, the stage and dominant literary circles, early to mid-twentieth-century politics, and the British suffrage movement, this book is required reading.

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ELIZABETH ROBERTS. *Women and Families: An Oral History, 1940-1970*. (Family, Sexuality and Social Relations in Past Times.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1995. Pp. xi, 277. \$54.95.

Elizabeth Roberts's new book is a study of working class families in postwar Britain, based on ninety-eight interviews with both men and women in the three neighboring towns of Lancaster, Preston, and Barrow. As in her earlier work, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working Class Women, 1890-1940* (1984), Roberts's themes are marriage, family life, and work. In contrast to her conclusions about the period between 1870 and 1940, however, Roberts finds more continuity than change between 1940 and 1970, a period that "seemed to be a sensible span to investigate" (p. 17). Unfortunately, the transitional nature of her chosen period makes for less than satisfying history. For example, Roberts decided not to treat World War II separately because her group of respondents were so young at the time that they had few reminiscences except of the problem of feeding and clothing their families during the war. Instead, postwar policies and the growth of the welfare state had much more impact on their lives. But changes over time are therefore more dramatically evident when one makes the comparison to Roberts's earlier work than they are within the confines of the present study.

Roberts concludes that family responsibilities and domestic life have been most marked by the wider employment of married women outside the home, that gender roles were increasingly blurred by 1970, but that the fundamental separation of roles in the family has remained. Women continued to be principally responsible for childcare, childrearing, and housework. Neighborhood closeness had declined, and the relationship of parents with their children had changed. Indeed, Roberts concludes that, although it was possible to speak of a "working class" earlier in the century, education, changes in work patterns, declining neighborhood sociability, and the isolation of the family made it increasingly difficult to define such a group at all.

A significant problem with the current study is precisely this issue of defining the working class. The respondents to the study were selected because they lived in a working-class area, they were women whose husbands' jobs fell into the semiskilled or unskilled census categories and were paid a weekly wage, or they had working-class parents who had been interviewed for the earlier study. Although Roberts argues that it is still possible to discern a "working-class culture" (pp. 6-7 and 237) in the attitudes expressed by her respondents, she does not confront the irony of studying women's experience according to categories that assign class status on the basis of their fathers' or husbands' occupations, nor does she fully explore her intriguing suggestion that married women's waged work left them "marginalized" and less powerful than in prewar days (p. 235).

Historians will probably find Elizabeth Roberts's earlier work more satisfying because it is so useful for understanding working-class women's experience in modern Britain.

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ASA BRIGGS. *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom. Volume 5, Competition.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxvi, 1133. \$75.00.

In the first volume of his history of broadcasting in the United Kingdom, Asa Briggs wrote that the work would have three volumes. Thus far five have appeared, and they take the story only to 1975! Revised editions of the first four volumes accompanied publication of the fifth reviewed here. But what once was an accurate series title now misleads, for Briggs's history of United Kingdom broadcasting is really a history of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). It is rooted in extensive primary research in BBC archives and interviews with former BBC staff. As such, it is a definitive and indispensable work. Volume five begins in 1955, when commercial television was introduced in Britain (and thus to Europe), and ends after 1133 pages in 1975.

In volume one, Briggs wrote that "American experience served as a warning throughout the whole of this period as is apparent in all the writings on radio on this side of the Atlantic" (p. 67). This latest volume testifies to the positive influence of American broadcasting in the United Kingdom. The introduction of profit-distributing, advertising-financed television is the most striking instance of influence, but the adoption of American program formats, stars, and work practices by the BBC and its new commercial competitor are further cases in point. Briggs's story of how the largely negative prewar perception of American broadcasting shifted to a positive postwar view is paradigmatic of general shifts in British attitudes toward the United States.

Here, as in so many ways, the BBC exemplified general changes. No less representative was its experience of competition. The United Kingdom broke the mold of European broadcasting by ending the national public service broadcasters' monopoly of television in 1955. Later, other European states followed. But as late as 1982, there were only four advertising-financed television channels in the whole of Europe—two of them in the United Kingdom. The early and traumatic experience of competition, which Briggs recounts so well, gave British public service broadcasting a head start in orienting its output to the audience's tastes and interests rather than to what one of the BBC's modernizers acidly referred to as "the fag end of Bloomsbury" (p. 44). In consequence, the BBC today has a much higher share—44 percent in 1995—of its national television audience than have public service broadcasters elsewhere in Europe.

Competition shifted power and resources in the

BBC from radio to television. Briggs nicely crystallizes this change in his comparison of Broadcasting House, built for radio as a contemporary Temple of the Muses, and the Television Centre opened in 1960 as "the world's largest television factory" (p. 31). Here as elsewhere his history tells us about much more than broadcasting. Accounts of Hugh Greene's era as Director General; of "That Was the Week That Was" mercilessly lampooning politicians; of Parliament's slow loss of control over the reporting of politics; and of the first television coverage of election campaigns put flesh on the dry bones of big historical generalizations about the decline in deference toward authority in general, and politicians in particular, in postwar Britain.

Each volume of the series is stuffed with information and of compelling interest both to broadcasting specialists and to historians of British politics, culture, social values, and of all that happened in the United Kingdom between the birth of broadcasting and the end of the BBC's monopoly.

RICHARD COLLINS  
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CIARAN BRADY. *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland, 1536–1588.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 322. \$59.95.

The welcome appearance of Ciaran Brady's revisionist work is a signal event in the historiography of early modern Ireland. The book has evolved from its origins as a definitive account of the important mid-Tudor era in Irish history into a slimmer and more economical interpretive essay, without maps or appendixes. Brady is largely convincing in his essential thesis that reforming chief governors were united in their acceptance of the ideal of common law governance in Ireland, based on a systematic introduction of English constitutional norms. But he is sometimes swept away by his own *obiter dicta*. For example, the assertion that "the idea of establishing a model English kingdom in Ireland fell from sight" (p. 300) after 1588 is drastically oversimplified. Furthermore, Brady occasionally engages in some speculative over-reaching, such as his undocumented view that ruthless Machiavellian justifications replaced earlier Tudor reform proposals in the mid-1580s.

At the core of the book, Brady explicitly rejects the view of Nicholas Canny (in *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland* [1976]) that a Tudor conquest of Ireland began in 1565, executed by colonizing military adventurers and supported by the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney. Rather, Brady sees a great deal more continuity in Irish government, beginning with the gradualist anglicization introduced by Lord Leonard Grey and Sir Anthony St. Leger. Brady rehabilitates the earl of Sussex, claiming that he adapted the work of his

predecessor in a novel "programmatic" and time-sensitive pattern of reform after 1556 (p. 81).

Sussex and Sidney are both portrayed in this volume as energetic courtiers who came to Ireland to enhance their respective reputations by adroit management of an archaic and alien infrastructure. They devised clever plans to introduce English common law procedures and land titles throughout Ireland to produce more revenue and more loyal subjects within a definite time frame, enabling them to return in glory to Elizabeth's court. Unhappily, Brady accuses these two leaders of being intoxicated with power and blames them for a lack of sufficient patience with the process of reform. Moreover, his emphasis on the rival patronage systems of Leicester and Sussex at the English court diminishes the roles of William Cecil and Francis Walsingham who, after all, received most of the Irish correspondence. Brady also declines to assess the negative role of their tight-fisted monarch, who arbitrarily withdrew support from her viceroys and allowed factional in-fighting at her court to impugn them and nearly to destroy their careers.

Brady chooses to focus primarily, although not exclusively, on the principal architects of Irish policy, an old-fashioned treatment of history from the top down. Fortunately, he does not uniformly adhere to these limiting strictures, and his work on the Gaelic chiefs, the network of Pale families and the provincial administrators is first rate. But the overall thrust of the work is to deny the importance of Irish politics and to render the vital matrix of Irish governance somehow irrelevant to its practice.

Brady's own researches, however, often confute his premise of arbitrary dominion. He offers, for example, a detailed and generous analysis of the controversy over the cess that undermines his conviction about the unrivalled power of the chief governors in Ireland. Although the study of the origins of cess, its evolution as an extraparlimentary tax, and the stages of resistance to it is exhaustive, Brady is careful to explain that the cess was often avoided in practice, thus lessening its actual effect. Indeed, he shows that the loyal opposition of Pale agents and attorneys, carrying their extensive briefs to London to plead their causes before the queen, was an early deployment of constitutional forms rather than outright resistance to Tudor policies. In making this case, he rejects the nationalist interpretation of Brendan Bradshaw (in *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* [1979]), who argues that the Pale began to realize itself as a political nation in rivalling the crown. Brady himself is reluctant to accept this evidence of accommodation to English legal remedies, claiming that the Pale became estranged and alienated from activist government, a "distinct zone" (p. 241) that evolved into a preserve of declining Anglo-Irish influence.

To support his larger themes, Brady doggedly employs paradox as a schematic explanation of events. For example, his treatment of anglicization by means of presidencies, seneschals, and small colonies is re-

plete with examples of the gaelicization of English captains and other compromises essential to coexistence. Although he claims that anglicization by these means was largely a failure, he also demonstrates that the imperfect hybrids that took root in the provinces became fully entrenched English institutions. Despite its flaws, this book is exceedingly well-documented, clearly written, and purposefully executed. It now replaces Canny's slender volume on the Elizabethan "conquest," and it must be read as an important restatement of the "pattern" of governance in mid-Tudor Ireland.

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TIMOTHY VENNING. *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xiv, 324. \$65.00.

The foreword describes the contents more accurately than the title of this book, for it is there that Timothy Venning explains that his study is mainly about English relations with France and Spain and much less about other countries. A section of the book focuses on relations with the Dutch, and chapters are devoted to the Baltic, Mediterranean, and even Russia. France and Spain, however, are the only countries for which thorough research has been undertaken, and Venning forthrightly acknowledges this.

Venning's justification for his emphases is that he views the "two crowns" policy as both central and innovative, in that Cromwellian England thought itself to be secure as long as it encouraged France and Spain to war against each other. He also holds that Oliver Cromwell and many other English politicians were prisoners of rigid, anti-Spanish, Black Legend views. This intellectual captivity was to be expected in men of Cromwell's generation. Anti-Spanish fears were their Elizabethan inheritance, reconfirmed in their young manhood in the 1620s and enshrined in their maturity in statements such as the Grand Remonstrance of 1641.

Sometimes Venning's position is not as clear as it might be. His examination of the personality of the Protector emphasizes Cromwell's role in the formulation of Cromwellian policy; at other times, his descriptions of advisers, the Council of State, and the influence of the New Model Army reduce Cromwell to one important influence on foreign policy.

Venning does well to remind us that even when Cromwellian policies resembled Stuart policies, the illegitimacy and isolation of Cromwell's government made it act more defensively than royal governments. Regicides, especially Puritan regicides, justifiably could feel that they were the targets of foreign and domestic conspiracies. The difference must be that, whether based upon policy or prejudices, the Cromwellian actions rested upon real or perceived military power, and, except for the expedition to Santo Domingo, its remarkable military successes were the distinctive foundation of the Cromwellian period.



Finally, it must be noted that the editing, or lack of it, ill serves both the author and the readers. The frequency of typographical errors and the number of sentences that read like awkward translations are probably the results of haste, and perhaps it is a hastiness to publish that accounts for some of the substantive difficulties. A complete study of English foreign policy in this period would be valuable; this, unfortunately, is not that study, but perhaps, with more time, Venning will be the person to write it.

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DÁIRE KEOGH. *"The French Disease": The Catholic Church and Radicalism in Ireland, 1790–1800*. Dublin: Four Courts Press; distributed by ISBN, Portland, Ore. 1993. Pp. 297. \$39.50.

Based on Dáire Keogh's doctoral dissertation, this book elucidates the foundations of the modern Roman Catholic Church in Ireland by following the complex interaction among the Irish supporters of French Revolutionary principles, the bishops, the radicalized laity, the people, and the changing political aims of the English government in Dublin. Those familiar with the period will recognize some of the more prominent names and faces: John Thomas Troy, Archbishop of Dublin; Bishop Thomas Hussey of Waterford; the laity of the Catholic Committee; the political leaders the earl of Westmorland, William Fitzwilliam, and Lord Camden.

Keogh's focus is narrow, presenting in order a re-evaluation of the impact of the penal laws on the Irish church; the growing awareness of the French Revolution and the part played in this by priests educated on the continent; the developments among the laity as symbolically bearing fruit at the Catholic Convention of 1792; the foundations of the Royal College Maynooth; the spread of radical ideas through newspapers, assemblies, public readings, and debating societies; the rebellion of 1798; and the actions of the hierarchy leading up to the Act of Union in 1800. More important, Keogh has used primary archival sources in Rome, Dublin, and London, extensive contemporary accounts, and an impressive array of secondary studies to present a balanced evaluation of the foundations of the Royal College, the participation by the clergy in the rebellion of 1798, and Troy's astute pastoral and political maneuvering to maintain unity among Catholics and placate the fears of the government. The papacy's need for British military support and the impact of this on the Irish bishops' views during the rebellion and the bishops' move toward the Act of Union are particularly interesting. Much can be discovered about the history of modern Irish Catholicism by a careful consideration, such as this book offers, of the dilemma articulated by Troy: "If we had rejected the proposals [for veto over episcopal appointments and government provision for the clergy] in toto, we would be considered here as rebels . . . If we agreed to

it without reference to Rome, we would be branded as schismatics" (pp. 212–13).

I found the surveys of the bishops' pastorals, the assessment of the nineteenth-century myth of the "radical priest," and Keogh's treatment of the use of the church organization itself by those interested in political change to be exceptionally well done. A good case is made for the foundations of the modern Irish church in this period's growing corporate identity of the bishops, strong leadership, seminary education, catechetical developments, and proliferation of church buildings. The view that Archbishop Troy and not Paul Cullen oversaw the "romanization" of the church in Ireland, however, is questionable, and any nuanced approach to the differences between regular and diocesan clergy remains elusive.

Keogh is to be commended for a well-researched if narrowly focused work that helps explain developments in the English Catholic community in the same period and sheds extensive light on the relationship between political and religious developments in the wake of the French Revolution. The work concludes with a helpful bibliography and index.

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BRYAN A. FOLLIS. *A State under Siege: The Establishment of Northern Ireland, 1920–1925*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 219. \$49.95.

JAMES LOUGHLIN. *Ulster Unionism and British National Identity Since 1885*. New York: Pinter, distributed by St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. viii, 257. \$62.00.

Bryan A. Follis has produced a very thorough and well-crafted account of the establishment and workings of the Northern Ireland government during its first five years. Especially valuable is the narrative in his early chapters of the activities of Sir Ernest Clark, the official who was appointed even before the passage of the 1920 Government of Ireland Act to begin arrangements in Belfast for a provincial administration. Later chapters recount the new government's efforts to deal with security, financial relations with Westminster, and the problem of the Boundary Commission, whose miscarriage in the 1925 agreement between Dublin and London left the original border unchanged. While the main lines of this story are reasonably well known, Follis adds considerable revealing detail, primarily by mining the rich collections of the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI).

It is perhaps not surprising that Follis tends to see the events of the period through the eyes of the senior civil servants and Unionist politicians who produced his most important sources. His tendency to crow over the errors of nationalist historians, however, will strike some readers with long memories as a bit inconsider-

ate. At least one of those nationalist historians, Michael Farrell, was denied access by the PRONI to materials previously consulted by other scholars. It is fair to add that the present PRONI administration, in which Follis is a senior archivist, has atoned for the sins of its predecessor by taking steps to insure equitable access to its collections.

In the early years of the present Northern Ireland troubles, a "two-nation" school of historiography arose to contest the "one-nation" orthodoxy that held that all of Ireland was a single nation and that Ulster unionism was a mere false consciousness induced by British occupation. The two-nation alternative, which tended to depict Ulster unionism as an authentic nationalism in its own right, originated in a Marxist revisionist pamphlet literature. Its perspective quickly found its way into serious academic discourse in works by Peter Gibbon, Henry Patterson, Paul Bew, and, more recently, in non-Marxist writing by Alvin Jackson. I proposed another alternative: that Ireland contained one (mainly Catholic) nation and another authentic community (the Ulster Protestants) whose ethos was not well captured by the concept "nationalism." The insight that "nation" is not a helpful concept for understanding the Protestant North also informs more recent works by Steve Bruce and Arthur Aughey. Given this array of interpretations of the Ulster Protestant role in Irish history—"one-nation," "two-nation," and "one-nation-plus-something-else"—perhaps it was inevitable that some scholar would come along to advocate the only other plausible alternative: that Ulster Protestant attitudes are best understood as part of a British nationalism that arose in the nineteenth century. James Loughlin has stepped forward to play that role.

Loughlin's book deploys the results of impressive research in a very wide range of sources, including the papers of political figures in both Britain and Northern Ireland, official and government-inspired publications, and a huge array of newspapers. Among the most valuable sections of the book are those in which he exploits film and television archives to tease out official and other views of Northern Ireland. The reader will gain a deep understanding of the evolution of the relationship between Ulster unionism and British conservatism from the first Home Rule Crisis to the recent IRA cease-fire. Whether the evidence adds up to a case for Loughlin's thesis is more problematic. His argument is hedged about with so many qualifications that one wonders whether it is worth making.

It is instructive to reflect on a common retort that used to be made to the "two-nation" argument by beleaguered advocates of the old "one-nation" orthodoxy: "Sure and don't they say that they're Irish?" The answer is yes, Ulster Protestants do sometimes describe themselves as Irish, but when they do they generally have an Irish audience in mind, and the subtext of such a self-characterization is "We have as much right to be on this island as you do." In other words, Ulster Protestants are well aware that in the

modern world a community must adopt the vocabulary of nationalism to assert its rights. It does not follow that they have developed an authentic nationalism, certainly not an *Irish* nationalism. The same difficulty bedevils Loughlin's heroic efforts to make his case from the rhetoric of Unionist politicians, editorial writers, and publicists. Of course, these spokesmen for Ulster unionism knew all too well that they must speak the language of British nationalism in order to claim the right to remain in the United Kingdom. It simply does not follow that British nationalism is the best way to conceptualize the political identity of the community for which they spoke. Indeed, the inability of that community to retain the sympathy of the British public in the quarter-century since the collapse of the state whose origins Follis describes suggests that its behavior has been governed by quite a different ethos from the one promoted by its spin doctors.

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DERMOT KEOGH. *Ireland and the Vatican: The Politics and Diplomacy of Church-State Relations, 1922-1960*. Cork: Cork University Press. 1995. Pp. xxvi, 410. Cloth £37.50, paper £17.50.

Dermot Keogh has written a study of Ireland's relationship with the Vatican from the elevation of Pius XI to the papacy and the proclamation of the Irish Free State in 1922 until 1960, when changes in both Ireland and the Vatican demonstrated a closure of the mind-sets and assumptions from that earlier period. Without access to Vatican archival material but with the availability of both national and ecclesiastical archives in Ireland as well as relevant archives in London and Washington, D.C., he has produced a study that is not likely to be modified in essentials when Vatican documents do become available.

The central theses of Keogh's book are that Irish political leaders from the foundation of the state—William T. Cosgrave, Eamon de Valera, and John A. Costello—all believed that Ireland should enjoy a "special relationship" with the Vatican and that they worked consistently toward the achievement of that goal. This conviction was based on the fact of the shared Catholic ideology of Dublin and Rome, an ideology that had sustained the Irish people through centuries of harsh subjugation by Protestant England. What Keogh's evidence demonstrates, however, is that Vatican authorities were never as disinterested and enthusiastic about the relationship as Irish politicians were. Over and over again, the Vatican sacrificed what the Irish perceived as Irish-Vatican interests for what the Vatican perceived as its own interests, and the Vatican authorities always won out because they played on Irish Catholic loyalty and the traditional Irish love of the pope. Although Keogh is extraordinarily detached and objective in his presentation, the evidence with which this book abounds testifies to the overwhelmingly paternalistic, authoritarian, and, in-

deed, arrogant mind-set that underlay the Vatican's dealings with Ireland. In the end, the Vatican showed itself consistently more impressed with the power and world standing of a nation than with the quality of its Catholic belief. While the Irish people may have been, and perhaps still are, unaware of this reality, Irish politicians certainly were not after the mid-1960s.

Anyone not familiar with the details of twentieth-century Irish history will find this a difficult book to follow. It is filled with detailed pieces of information, sometimes tediously so, but it is almost entirely lacking in interpretation, the chief characteristic of the historian's craft. Keogh's book is also weak in contextualization. His tendency is to follow minutely some diplomatic give-and-take on an issue of importance either to the Vatican or to Ireland or to both but rarely to rise above the details to place the issue and its development in any larger context.

The book's strengths are its character delineations and its ability to throw new light on some crisis points in mid-twentieth-century world history. Joseph Walshe, the Irish Ambassador to the Vatican from 1946 to 1954, is the man whose impression most strongly emerges from the book. The world events seen in a new light are, perhaps most importantly, the World War II bombing of Rome, the postwar struggle to prevent Italy from falling to the communists, and the early years of the Cold War. For those interested in ecclesiastical history, the evidence found here of Pope Pius XII's almost demented tyranny through the 1950s until his death and the uneasiness of the Irish episcopate in dealing with the Irish state, especially with the Irish Republic after 1949, are important.

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JAMES R. FARR. *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy (1550–1730)*. (Studies in the History of Sexuality.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 252. \$45.00.

Historians have long suspected that the elites of Counter-Reformation France were oddly obsessed with sexuality. James R. Farr's new book confirms this suspicion. In this outstanding study, Farr shows how Burgundy's judges prosecuted and punished, sometimes with surprising ferocity, an array of sexual behaviors. Farr begins by describing the mental world of the judges at the very end of the sixteenth century. Using both literary and judicial sources, he demonstrates that the chaos of the Wars of Religion left magistrates with a longing for a new "moral and political" order (p. 8). Few historians would be surprised by such an assertion, but Farr goes on to demonstrate that this order was based upon a strictly delineated "gender hierarchy" that subordinated women and sexual delinquents to an iron-fisted patriarchy. Between 1580 and 1730, Burgundy judges prosecuted individuals who failed to recognize the claims of patriarchy on their bodies. Lascivious priests, men

who seduced girls, unwed mothers, and procuresses came before the courts of Burgundy. Using records from both primary and appellate courts, Farr demonstrates how the judges hounded poor desperate servant girls, well-heeled seducers, and saucy whores in attempts to eradicate sexual "disorder."

Why Burgundy? Farr mentions the wealth of its records (p. 7) and the "importance" of its inhabitants in elaborating a new moral order (p. 8). But one still wonders why this provincial elite is more deserving of study than any other. At the same time, the Burgundian judges seem strangely absent from what is (after all) largely their story. Farr discusses the magistrates as a group, but he rarely lifts the veil of judicial anonymity. The Burgundian judges only take on individual identities when they misbehave, when they write naughty poems (p. 154) or tryst (for an astronomical sum of four *louis*) with a common prostitute (p. 149).

Better served by Farr are the desperate women who attracted the judges' ire. Farr's handling of old regime judicial records is masterful, and his detailed knowledge of Burgundian life allows him to make sense out of even the most fragmentary court case. Particularly fascinating is Farr's chapter on the difficult issues of seduction and marriage without parental approval. Religious historians will not want to overlook the section on clerical concubinage, and women's historians should not miss Farr's analysis of Burgundy's unusually rich prostitution records. In general, there is much here for seventeenth-century historians to learn and ponder. Farr demonstrates that gender was a key category in the consolidation of French society, the very basis of the new monarchical order. After reading his book, it will be hard for historians of France to overlook this particular gender issue.

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JOHN D. WOODBRIDGE. *Revolt in Prerevolutionary France: The Prince de Conti's Conspiracy against Louis XV, 1755–1757*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 242. \$39.95.

In the summer of 1755, a series of secret meetings took place in an abandoned hotel along the Seine in Paris. Pastor Paul Rabaut, a leader of the Reformed churches in southern France, was one of the participants. The other was the prince de Conti, powerful cousin of Louis XV. The ambitious prince had previously aspired to the hand of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia and the throne of Poland. When this project failed, he simply elevated his designs: now he would strive to become King of France through a marriage with its oppressed Protestant community. Promising Rabaut that he would convert once he wore the crown, he earnestly encouraged the pastor to join him in conspiracy. But Rabaut, though deeply committed to the pursuit of freedom of worship for French Protestants, was no rebel. Indeed, one of the most interesting

aspects of this study is that it emphasizes, on the one hand, the recrudescence of religious persecution in the 1750s and, on the other hand, the moderate political stance of Protestant leaders in the face of this persecution. Rabaut transmitted Conti's treasonous plans to his fellow pastors and the great majority urged him to break off all commerce with the prince. The irony is that the privileged royal personage was far more subversive than the suffering subjects to whom he appealed.

John D. Woodbridge's book is an account of conspiracies that issued from within the pre-Revolutionary French state. It is no small feat of research, since Conti guarded the strictest secrecy in his communications, composing his letters with pin pricks so that the court's skillful handwriting experts could not trace his intercepted correspondence. In addition to covering Conti's overtures to the Protestants, Woodbridge establishes the bonds that connected him with Damiens, the servant who tried to murder Louis XV in 1757. But he gives the most attention to another episode, the aborted Anglo-French war of September 1757. Ordered by William Pitt, a huge British fleet approached the coast of La Rochelle and Rochefort and was supposed to be joined by an awaiting army of Protestant rebels whose readiness had been guaranteed by Conti. But the domestic insurrection never materialized; in fact, the Protestants of La Rochelle rushed to defend the city as the British fleet approached. Sensing that the invasion was doomed, the British returned home.

All of Conti's conspiracies failed, but his actions were not inconsequential. The prince sought to precipitate the vacancy of the throne by creating fear and havoc, and, according to Woodbridge, the terrorized monarch did consider resigning in 1756-1757. Woodbridge also suggests that Conti's plots stimulated the more liberal religious policies that began in the 1760s. His analysis on this score is ambiguous, for he offers two different arguments, the first being that Louis XV granted more toleration to Protestantism because he feared a revolt, the second being that he granted more toleration as a reward to Protestants who had proven their loyalty during the British expedition. Analysis of the relationship between event (Conti's conspiracies) and process (the liberalization of religious policy) is not the strong suit of this otherwise fine study. Unfortunately, Woodbridge plays a weak card in his last chapter, in which he goes even further and maintains that Conti deserves a place in the history of the origins of the French Revolution. When Louis XV accepted his Protestant subjects, he contradicted, according to Woodbridge, the religious premise of the French state, its divine mission to unify the kingdom under the banner of Catholicism. This "desacralization" of the state undermined its legitimacy and heralded the Revolution. Since Conti's machinations helped to bring about the change in religious policy, he can be seen as one of the Revolution's progenitors.

Here, as in some other recent studies of the origins

of the Revolution, the concept of desacralization functions as a perverse philosopher's stone, transforming the more lustrous features of the late Old Regime into subversive cancers. Of course, had the state intensified the persecution of Protestants, historians would be arguing that the Revolution was an upsurge of resistance against a hyper-sacralized state. Since the government actually softened its position, one is forced to use the desacralization idea to suggest that it was freedom that undermined the monarchy. But why should a more liberal state engender more opposition? It is an intriguing question requiring the dialectical imagination of a philosopher in addition to the documentary knowledge of a scholar. While Woodbridge does not push this dialectic into very deep territory, he should be credited for what he does accomplish. The book is a refined example of the historian's passion to establish events that were organized in secret and never meant to be chronicled. The text is written very clearly. Woodbridge manages to credit many other scholars, though he is the sole expert on Conti. He conveys a delightfully modest temperament even as he unveils in a masterly fashion the activities of one of the most colorful conspirators in European history.

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JACK R. CENSER. *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment*. New York: Routledge. 1994. Pp. xii, 263. \$59.95.

In this book, the periodical press of 1745-1787 in France is analyzed as an Old Regime rather than a pre-Revolutionary phenomenon, meaning that an attempt is made to evaluate it in its historical context without anticipation of the cataclysm that followed. Rather than tack together a series of "press biographies," Censer seeks to synthesize and create a general interpretation of a subject that has, up until now, been treated piecemeal. He works from a number of case studies, some already done by others and some original in this book, and then gives an overarching picture of the general features of the press that he hopes can be integrated into broader eighteenth-century French historiography. He has divided the journalism of the day into three categories: the political papers, the advertising *affiches*, and the literary or philosophical papers, which he also refers to as the "discussion press." First he treats the contents of the publications, then the milieu, examining editors, royal censors, and audience. At all times he is trying to assess to what extent traditional arrangements in society and government were being accepted or challenged in these various categories of papers. The goal is to present a balanced treatment, claiming neither too little nor too much for a press that some scholars have deemed radical and others have considered disappointingly tame.

While Censer never argues that the press caused the Revolution, he makes a convincing case for its impor-



tance in illuminating the causes. For example, the limits and strengths of monarchical authority at particular points in the second half of the eighteenth century can be gauged by measuring the robustness of the criticisms published in periodicals and how, when, and why they were censored. This censorship was erratic, with great pendulum swings between leniency and repression. Censer does an excellent job of recognizing the oblique, elliptical ways in which criticism was published, for there could be no frontal attacks by any paper that wished to remain in print. Instead, there was considerable examination of, and praise for, the achievements and foreign policies of enemy governments such as England's, and in this indirect way readers—Censer does some very original work on estimating the numbers here, which far exceeded the official lists of subscribers—were provided with alternative political systems for their consideration. Surprisingly, Censer finds that right before the Revolution the press seems to reflect a strengthened monarchy, a widespread defense of the systems and structures of the Old Regime. He also presents the novel argument that political discourse was taking place considerably earlier than Jürgen Habermas's interpretation would have us believe.

Although he devotes a lot of attention to the "discussion journals," to my mind they do not get a sufficiently nuanced treatment in this book. Censer sees in them some "troublesome ideas" but no "rising crescendo of criticism" (p. 118). Yet they had a continuous eroding effect nonetheless, one perhaps obscured by the author's quantitative analytic approach. On the other hand, his work on the commercial *affiches* is particularly fascinating and sensitive. These papers, seemingly devoid of any politically threatening content, managed to eat away at the socio-economic system of the Old Regime by tacitly assuming that the price of things was ultimately more important than rank and status. This steady stress on commercial interests and industry in papers that circulated broadly made the idle, privileged nobility increasingly irrelevant, validated a whole new set of rules of conduct, and assaulted traditional measures of power and significance.

Censer's is an ambitious and complex book, far more so than this abbreviated review allows me to explain. His conclusions challenge the views of François Furet, Keith Baker, and also of some Marxist historians and suggest avenues for further work on the character of France in the last decades of the Old Regime.

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RICHARD MOWERY ANDREWS. *Law, Magistracy, and Crime in Old Regime Paris, 1735–1789*. Volume 1, *The System of Criminal Justice*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 608. \$64.95.

This is the first half of a major work of research and reinterpretation. In it, Richard Mowery Andrews ana-

lyzes the social and professional features of the Parlement of Paris and the Châtelet, the forms of punishment inflicted on criminals, and the general character of criminal procedure under the *ancien régime*. He also fully describes three illustrative cases: an assault on a police patrol in 1749, a theft in 1761, and a murder in 1781. Andrews plans a second volume tracing changes, from 1735 through 1789, in the kinds and number of various crimes and punishments, the characteristics of criminals, and the nature of judgments in criminal cases.

The work began as a study of antecedents of criminal justice during the French Revolution. Andrews is known for his original and critical studies of Paris politics, especially the *sans-culottes*, in 1793–1795. This volume embodies extensive research carried out with exemplary thought, depth, and precision. It also contains challenging general interpretations that are inevitably debatable. ("Royal magistrates were the true rulers of Old Regime Paris" [p. 29]. They "were not free, in any modern sense; but they knew and accepted who they were" [p. 277]).

The largest part of the volume is devoted to what Andrews calls "themistocracy": he coined the word to refer both to the system of rule of law under the old regime and to the socio-political group whose members embodied and animated the system. He shows how this group was distinctive because of its combination of family heritage, property rights in office, and intellectual and vocational formation.

In elucidating epistemological doctrine, Andrews asserts that shaming and humiliation, not physical torture or imprisonment, were the essence of legally imposed punishment. These were manifested in spectacles of public chastisement numbering several hundred in an ordinary year and in public executions at the rate of one or two per month.

From 1258, when Louis IX ordered the abolition of the judicial duel in royal courts in favor of the canonist inquest as a mode of investigation and judgment, the French monarchy was committed to an inquisitorial method of fixing criminal responsibility, relying on experts and their rational procedures, in contrast to the prosecutorial and adversarial approach that developed, with the jury, in England. Andrews picks up the story in 1670 with the *ordonnance criminelle* of Louis XIV. With the aid of ten eighteenth-century jurists' commentaries, he offers an illuminating explication and defense of a text rarely read nowadays. He imagines the cognitive psychology of the magistrate and his unprejudiced commitment to ascertaining the truth, which, Andrews says, did not require a presumption of innocence in order to yield just verdicts.

Andrews's discussion of his illustrative cases brings them vividly to life in their social context. He shows that judges were contained within a system of trial, proof, and judgment that required them to treat each case as something resembling a laboratory experiment. The system forced the judge to acquire knowledge, but it firmly limited his power. How this system became

overburdened and was finally dismantled by revolution remains to be described in Andrews's second volume.

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CYNTHIA MARIA TRUANT. *The Rites of Labor: Brotherhoods of Compagnonnage in Old and New Regime France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 356. Cloth \$43.95, paper \$19.95.

Historians have never been quite sure what to make of the *compagnonnages'* myths and rituals: their claims to originate with builders of Solomon's Temple or medieval cathedrals; their mysterious initiation ceremonies; the public *entrées* and *conduites* held to mark the arrival and departure of *compagnons*; and, perhaps most of all, their sectarian divisions, which often culminated in violent rumblings. The most significant body of work on the *compagnonnages* has been antiquarian. The *compagnonnages'* valorization of their past, the *folklorization* of this past, and the disparate nature of records on the *compagnonnages* all encouraged this approach. A second body of work has interpreted the *compagnonnages* in terms of the labor market in France between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries. The *compagnonnages* sought to control hiring in individual trades by establishing closed shops, blacklisting uncooperative masters and renegade workers, and sending *compagnons* on their way when there was no work for them. In several important essays, Michael Sonenscher furthered this analysis by asking us to put aside the view of *compagnonnages* as proto-trade unions. He has suggested that the overlap of skills and trade designations and the efforts to establish claims to jobs in the high turnover world of the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century workshop encouraged workers to differentiate themselves from other workers through mechanisms—including violence and harassment—that *compagnonnages* provided.

Cynthia Maria Truant approaches the *compagnonnages* with the tools of cultural anthropology. Drawing upon extensive research, including local studies of provincial municipalities (*compagnonnages* were rare in Paris until the late eighteenth century), Truant provides the best introduction to the history of *compagnonnages* to date, with an illuminating focus on the ways in which *compagnons'* beliefs and practices articulated a fictive kinship based on a shared code of conduct. She brings out how the rites, ceremonies, and myths of the *compagnonnages* drew upon corporate and clerical practices in the Old Regime and Masonic rituals in the nineteenth century to forge bonds among young unmarried workers from different regions as they made their way on the *tour de France*. Whereas Sonenscher's *compagnons* fought for individual honor within the *compagnonnage*, Truant's *compagnons* battle to defend the honor of their brotherhoods; she emphasizes the *compagnonnages'* role in "civilizing"

members' behavior (p. 137). Truant's study is particularly valuable for its careful attention to the transformation of the *compagnonnages'* cultural practices over time—a sensitivity that runs against the grain of the *compagnonnages'* own valorization of themselves as institutions that derived their legitimacy from the claim to have changed little over time. She emphasizes the ways in which *compagnonnages* during the first half of the nineteenth century responded to changes in the production process and in the state's regulation of the economy by becoming more bureaucratic and more closed than their predecessors both to the initiation of new members and to the admission of new trades. This was embodied in a new emphasis on the control of novices, the correct performance of ceremonies, and the value of the proper narration of origin myths and of the practice of rituals.

Truant provides an explanation as to why Agricol Perduiguer failed in his efforts during the July Monarchy to do away with the hierarchy, exclusiveness, and more arcane (and publicly ridiculed) ceremonies that had come to the fore in preceding decades. Perduiguer hoped to purge *compagnonnages* of the irrational hatred of rival sects, often leading to violence, while preserving the solidarity that myth and ritual generated. Yet, Truant suggests, such an effort was doomed. *Compagnons'* community was based on internal hierarchies and stigmatization of workers outside the sect. The strength of the *compagnonnages* was also their Achilles heel.

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GARY KATES. *Monsieur d'Eon Is a Woman: A Tale of Political Intrigue and Sexual Masquerade*. New York: BasicBooks. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 368. \$25.00.

How many historians of France have not wanted to write the biography of the Chevalier d'Eon (1728–1810), a legendary character from the history of eighteenth-century Europe? At a time when there was no shortage of sensational public figures, the Chevalier stood out because, having carried out many a diplomatic mission as a man, he started floating the rumor in the 1770s that he was a woman and followed that up by assuming the role of one in mid-life. Gary Kates tells d'Eon's complex story in depth, bringing in the political, social, and cultural background to aristocratic institutions. This is important enough in itself, but Kates also analyzes d'Eon's story using insights gained from gender studies, including scholarship on sexuality. Thus, the sometimes gripping story of both the Chevalier's career as diplomat and spy and his later life as a woman opens onto a wide-ranging set of institutional issues and problems, especially those of the French monarchy and elites.

Kates sets out an argument in the first few pages. He believes that d'Eon's decision to dress as a woman was a considered, intellectual one based both on the dead

end his diplomatic career had reached and on his esteem of women. The Chevalier had performed innumerable diplomatic services for France, which gained him an immense reputation across Europe. However, he also operated in a less open diplomatic institution, the Secret, which enmeshed him, disadvantageously it turned out, in a nexus of intrigue and struggles for place. The intense debates in Europe at the time over sex, sexuality, and gender further informed the Chevalier's decision to change his sex, showing him how he might take advantage of the blurring and indeterminacy of sex roles. Even as d'Eon slowly dropped hints of his "real" sex and thus piqued general interest, some were not so comfortable with the new identity as Kates makes d'Eon out to be. The king, for one, allowed no backsliding when the Chevalier wanted from time to time to reassume male clothing. The public had frenzied instances when it frantically sought the "truth" about the Chevalier. However, Kates maintains, among the many who switched identity during the century (mostly from female to male) d'Eon gave the most inspiration to feminists, who argued from his case that women could achieve as much as men if only they were well-trained and allowed opportunity to use their talents.

On his death (when it was shown that he was physiologically male), the Chevalier left copious unpublished manuscripts justifying his life as a woman in terms the author labels "Christian feminism." Basing his arguments on scriptures and the church fathers, d'Eon mapped out Christianity as optimally a place without sex. At the same time he maintained that only women were capable of sustaining the high-minded virtues Christianity demanded, whereas men sank into vice. In evidence of this virtue, d'Eon adduced his own virginity and renunciation of the flesh. Using these writings as well as evidence from the Chevalier's career, Kates gives in one sense a predictable interpretation to such an unusual life: that is, the disposition of the body, its sex, and its sexuality is an epiphenomenon of mind, exemplified by d'Eon's utilitarian reasoning about his career and the virtues of womankind. Their decisions and life course so rationalized, few historical characters have received a more empathetic treatment, however, and Kates has provided the detailed diplomatic and political density that makes this story of sex, sexuality, and gender believable and important.

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WILLIAM H. SEWELL, JR. *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: The Abbé Sieyès and What is the Third Estate?* (Bicentennial Reflections of the French Revolution Series.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 221. Cloth \$36.95, paper \$11.95.

The revolutionary career of Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès (1748–1836) offers a striking example of how the French Revolution transformed obscure provincial figures into the most prominent leaders of France.

Unknown in French public life before 1789, the Abbé Sieyès moved almost overnight from an ecclesiastical office in Chartres to the fame of a Parisian author and political activist after publishing *What is the Third Estate?* (1789), which William H. Sewell describes as the most influential pamphlet of the entire revolutionary era.

Sewell uses Sieyès and his famous pamphlet to examine the intersection of written texts and social-political life, arguing that revisionist cultural studies have gone too far in de-emphasizing the social conflicts of the French Revolution. Although his book follows the linguistic turn in revolutionary historiography, Sewell insists that the power of written works comes from "social determinants" as well as from language, and he assumes that "the social situations in which texts are produced and interpreted lead to the multiplication of linguistic meaning" (p. 37).

Building his insightful account of Sieyès's work on this assumption, Sewell argues that the rhetorical strategies and influence of *What is the Third Estate?* cannot be separated from the social experiences of the eighteenth-century French bourgeoisie. Sewell's definitions of class refer to culture and occupations rather than to economics, but he suggests that class conflicts and resentments provide a good explanation for why Sieyès's critique of noble privileges found a receptive audience among well-educated bourgeois elites. It would be wrong, however, to conclude that Sieyès was simply a "bourgeois ideologist," as Sewell explains by tracing patterns of coherence and incoherence that defy all simple labels for Sieyès's writing and politics.

The coherence appears when Sieyès expresses hostility for noble privileges, produces the rhetoric of bourgeois resentment, and offers a political agenda for the Third Estate during the first months of the revolution. Sewell finds much coherence as he analyzes these themes in Sieyès's writing and as he argues for a close connection between the text and the social-political context in which Sieyès's pamphlet helped to justify revolutionary action.

In contrast to this initial description of coherence, Sewell's later chapters stress the incoherence and contradictions in Sieyès's texts and in the wider revolutionary project. Expanding his analysis into Sieyès's other writings, Sewell notes that the denunciation of privilege did not extend to the special rights of the church or the commercial bourgeoisie, and it did not effect Sieyès's views of women or manual laborers. Sieyès wanted to exclude these latter groups from political institutions, thus contradicting his own account of a unified Third Estate with a defense of new privileges for political elites and an enduring distrust of the lower classes.

The contradictions within Sieyès's texts were matched by the divergence of his ideas from the revolutionary culture of the 1790s. Sieyès believed strongly in the legitimacy of political representatives, whereas the Jacobins advocated more direct democracy and alliances with the *sans-culottes*. He also

continued to describe the revolution with metaphors of economic productivity, even after most revolutionary leaders adopted the language of "virtue" and classical Roman republicanism. Sieyès thus lost his connection with the new political culture, though Sewell argues that his rhetorical assault on privileged aristocrats reappeared in nineteenth-century socialist critiques of the bourgeoisie.

Sewell therefore provides more than an excellent, well-informed reading of the French Revolution's most famous pamphlet. He also develops an important, wider argument about the interactions of language and social experience and suggests how Sieyès's anti-noble rhetoric challenged other privileges that bourgeois elites wanted to protect.

The claims for Sieyès's influence in 1789 would be more persuasive if Sewell had discussed specific individuals who read Sieyès's texts or commented on his ideas; the theoretical argument for how rhetoric works in the political world needs more direct evidence from the world that acted on the rhetoric. This valuable book nevertheless shows how a "postrevisionist" approach to the French Revolution can combine cultural history with an emphasis on the social conflicts that historians used to place at the center of revolutionary events.

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THOMAS CROW. *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. 364. \$40.00.

This book is not, as the subtitle might suggest, about artists in general who lived through the Revolution of 1789. It is almost exclusively about Jacques-Louis David and his circle and rivalry among them—especially Jean-Germain Drouais, François Gérard, Anne-Louis Girodet, Philippe-Auguste Hennequin, Gioacchino Serangeli, and Jean-Baptiste Wicar. Thomas Crow emphasizes that the studio was not only a male world, but one preoccupied with the male body, a preoccupation that prepared its artists well for revolutionary political culture with its male leaders and heroes. In many of the works of this circle Crow finds homoeroticism, a predilection fed by the same phenomenon among classical warriors. The book deals mainly with paintings; there is only passing mention of David's role in orchestrating revolutionary festivals, of his political role during the Terror, of his part in producing propagandistic caricatures, of his designs for a national costume, of his activities on the committee planning the embellishment of the area around the Convention.

Crow offers new evidence about and insightful analysis of some of the well-known works of this circle. Especially skilled are his analysis of David's *Belisarius* (1781), *Death of Socrates* (1787), *The Lictors Returning to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons* (1789), and *Death of*

*Joseph Bara* (1794); Drouais's *The Dying Athlete* (1785) and *Marius at Minturnae* (1786); and Girodet's *Pietà* (1790) and *Endymion* (1791). Also invaluable in his account of Girodet's failure to repeat the success of *Endymion* in his later paintings, especially *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1819). In fact, Crow uses the failures and frustrations of Girodet to illustrate the end of the ascendancy of David's style. Nevertheless, according to Crow, Théodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1819), despite its contemporary theme, drew important elements from the Davidian tradition, especially in the treatment of nude male bodies.

Few readers, however, will accept Crow's attempt to say something new about David's *Marat at His Last Breath* (1793). Crow argues that because the upper line of Marat's head and body slumped in his bathtub is similar to the line of the Virgin and her dead son in Girodet's *Pietà*, a female figure, the "Universal Mother," is suggested although visually absent. Nor will many readers agree that since the lower part of Marat's body is hidden by the bath, this gives the whole image an androgynous air. They are unlikely to accept the contention that the center of the painting is "empty," since it is the details of the papers under Marat's left arm, the letter from Charlotte Corday in his left hand, the note and the money for the war widow on the crude table, and the table itself, like an inscribed tombstone, which convey the meaning of the painting. It is unconvincing to argue, as Crow does, that on this occasion David could not depict the ideal male body because Marat's body was ravaged by disease and dismembered by the composition. In fact the painting minimizes the defects of the martyr's body and idealizes his expression.

More disappointing to historians is that Crow's concentration on David's circle omits the bulk of artists at work during the period; there were well over three hundred painters in the Popular and Republican Society for the Arts in Year II. Several analyses of the works displayed at the salons have shown that the vast majority of artists during the Revolution did not do paintings of heroic deeds by male heroes, either classical or contemporary, but preferred to paint landscapes, portraits, familiar scenes, and still lifes. Nevertheless, Crow has great riches to offer those interested in David and his circle. No other scholar has steeped himself for so long or thought more deeply about this particular group of artists. Moreover, the book is beautifully illustrated.

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JANIS BERGMAN-CARTON. *The Woman of Ideas in French Art, 1830–1848*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 261. \$30.00.

"Woman of ideas," a term borrowed from the title of Dale Spender's 1982 book, *Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them*, refers to a figure principally



identified by her nineteenth-century contemporaries as an intellectual being who recognizes and uses the power of words to influence public opinion. Like Spender, Janis Bergman-Carton spends more time describing the efforts of men to undermine and transmute the image of real women of ideas, thereby limiting their influence with the public, than in depicting the women's "dangerous" ideas.

Bergman-Carton explains that the woman of ideas found her public with the rapid growth of the popular press between 1830 and 1848. She summarizes the creation of literary avenues for women authors—*La Femme libre*, *Le Journal des femmes*, *Gazette des femmes*, and *La Voix des femmes*, among others—and then turns swiftly to the caricatures in the popular press that portrayed these authors as deviant and dangerous.

She devotes one chapter to Honoré Daumier's sixty-five lithographs of intellectual women published between 1837 and 1849. Despite the many recent works about Daumier, Bergman-Carton contends that there has been little critical attention to "Les Bas-bleus," "Les Divorceuses," and "Les Femmes Socialistes," in part because art historians have missed the significance of the woman of ideas in this period. Daumier downplayed what was genuinely powerful about women of ideas by figuring them only as negative models of female behavior—disrupting households, neglecting children, and opportunistically using fame to satisfy unnatural sexual appetites. Bergman-Carton notes that Daumier's publisher, Philipon, at once denigrated and cultivated the bourgeois woman of ideas who comprised a significant percentage of his audience. He published texts and images that trivialized their achievements but flattered them with attention.

Bergman-Carton continues her study with a chapter about images of *la liseuse* (the reader) and Mary Magdalene, which were prevalent in the high art of this period. For *la liseuse*, reading (of trashy novels) was the cause of her downfall, while for Mary Magdalene it was the agency of her salvation. By conflating the images, artists linked the act of reading by a woman with sin and contrition. As Bergman-Carton concludes, the fact that reading may be redemptive and enlightening was disguised by a visual culture that would not acknowledge and therefore could not see the simultaneous existence of a female body and female self.

Nevertheless, she points out some women like Louise Colet, Marie d'Agoult, and George Sand worked within this social norm while challenging it. Unfortunately, Bergman-Carton does not extrapolate from this insight to recognize the power of all women of ideas to resist attempts by artists to fix their identities. She does not include the comments of two other women of ideas of this period, Flora Tristan and Marie-Noemi Constant, who wrote about their dissatisfaction with the representation of women in both popular and high art. Had she devoted more time to the reader/viewer of

caricatures and salon art, this fine book would have presented a more complete picture of the period.

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GERALD L. GEISON. *The Private Science of Louis Pasteur*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 378. \$29.95.

A centenary biography of Louis Pasteur "pas comme les autres!" Pasteur was a central figure in the intellectual and scientific life of the Second Empire and the Third Republic. A loyal supporter of Napoleon III, Pasteur was the best known French scientist during the early years of the Third Republic. A co-creator of the germ theory of disease and owner of an anthrax vaccine business that brought him 130,000 francs a year, he was also the master statesman of science funding. In his heyday, he may have garnered ten percent of the entire governmental budget for science.

Gerald L. Geison deconstructs the standard Pastorian legend of the public record and history of science lectures with the help of Pasteur's research notebooks, only recently opened for scholarly research. Pasteur jealously guarded these notebooks, and after reading Geison's account, I am convinced that historians should care about them too. The study of laboratory notebooks has recently attracted a cluster of able practitioners within the history of science and medicine. These scholars have examined in fine detail the conceptual and experimental challenges of science at the level of the laboratory bench. Their lengthy studies, not memorable for their concision of presentation, followed myriads of investigative pathways including the successful, the abandoned, and those not taken. Geison's book, which selectively treats research problems spanning Pasteur's entire research life, is notable for weighing in on the shorter end of this literature.

Geison's methodology measures the Pasteur of the printed record, both Pasteur's own publications and those of biographers and contemporaries, against his "private science," the Pasteur of the notebooks. In the majority of cases, Geison found little or no divergence of accounts. The exceptions provide his major topics, including optical isomerism and the development and application of vaccines for anthrax and rabies. Taken together, these instances add to our knowledge of Pasteur and revise the Pastorian legend in several aspects. We can no longer be sure, for example, that the social context of industrial Lille in some way led or encouraged Pasteur to study fermentation; nor can we continue to hold that the civilian medical community stated numerous objections to Pasteur's work on human rabies.

Contrary to the assertions of some reviewers, Geison does not accuse Pasteur of committing scientific fraud. Such accusations would have to be sustained by figuring out what constituted the norms of wider laboratory practice and clinical trials in nineteenth-century Paris.

Moreover, perhaps the non-physician Pasteur, in virtue of his exceptional achievements, should not be held to these standards, if indeed they existed. Yet by today's norms and standards of laboratory practice and clinical trials of experimental therapies, Geison's selective study provides evidence that Pasteur gave insufficient credit to competitors, close collaborators, and perhaps even mentors. Geison is excellent at following the manifold details and precise chronology of scientific problems as they developed. Numerous diagrams and chronologies help keep the reader on track through the considerable intricacies of chemical dimorphism and vaccine production and its human application.

Pasteur's most celebrated achievement was his rabies work of the 1880s, which occasioned the first applications of a laboratory vaccine against a human disease. Standard accounts of this story tell of the great Pasteur curing the horribly bitten peasant boy, Joseph Meister. But in fact, Pasteur had undertaken therapeutic experiments on humans before treating Meister. In one case the person died, in the other the person was "discharged" from the hospital, a status which in no way implied "cured." Even in Meister's case, Geison shows that Pasteur wavered between biological and modified chemical conceptions of immunity. Indeed, the vaccine given to Meister must be deemed highly experimental and had not been tested on animal models. In attenuating disease organisms for vaccine production, Pasteur passed the organisms, some treated with chemicals or partially desiccated, through different animals. He found that passage through some animals actually increased the virulence of the organism when applied to humans, and some rendered it weaker and fit for vaccine. The method of production of the vaccine was vitally important, and Pasteur had withheld such information from the public in the celebrated Pouilly-le-Fort public trials of a vaccine for sheep anthrax.

Geison's book closes with a consideration of the ethics of Pasteur's therapeutic experiments, particularly the case of Meister, who presented Pasteur with asymptomatic "rabies." Circumstantial evidence strongly indicated that Meister was in danger of developing rabies but this probability was unconfirmed by laboratory diagnosis. The latter point has been unfairly disregarded by at least one reviewer (*New York Review of Books*, December 21, 1995; April 4, 1996). Meister's physician, and not Pasteur's physician colleague Émile Roux, injected Meister with the therapeutic dose. But I am not convinced by Geison's evidence that it was ethical considerations that kept Roux from the bedside. I am also unconvinced by the case Geison builds for Claude Bernard's *Introduction to Experimental Medicine* being the measure of medical etiquette and ethics in the 1880s and by his conclusion that Pasteur therefore violated some sort of code. The great vivisector Bernard had held that therapeutic experiments could not be done on humans if they endangered the patient. But clinical medical ethics in nineteenth-

century Paris was a loose affair; moreover, Pasteur was not part of that world and had limited clinical knowledge. In addition, the dynamics of power within the physician-patient relationship and the accuracy of the diagnosis in Meister's case make it difficult to identify firm guides of appropriate behavior. One small regret is that while Geison comments saliently on the recent literature of science studies, he does not squarely confront the Napoleonic Pasteur of Bruno Latour's *Pasteurization of France* (1988). All things considered, though, this is a thoroughly researched and well-written book with methodological implications beyond the history of science. Geison has achieved his goal of rewriting the history of Pasteur and in so doing challenges us to reconceptualize how we view scientists and scientific activity.

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GEORGE WEISZ. *The Medical Mandarins: The French Academy of Medicine in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 306. \$55.00.

Founded in 1820, the French Academy of Medicine was often the scene of violent disputation, fueled by a contentious elite of Paris professors and surgeons who had staked their careers on the defense of one grand system or another. Although its purpose was to answer government queries on public health problems (and, more generally, to foster progress in the medical sciences), the Academy quickly dispelled any notion that it was a purely technical body. Its reports arrived on the desks of cabinet ministers interlaced with advice on political details, and if this were not enough to arouse suspicion, there was the glacial slowness with which its committees responded to official inquiries. Ten years elapsed between a request for advice on a bill of 1828 to reform the medical profession, for example, and submission of a final report.

All this helps to explain why the Academy of Medicine played little part in the key medical and hygienic legislation of the period, but, as George Weisz's new study shows, it had other problems as well. Although the group sometimes heard reports of immense significance—on the contagiousness of typhoid fever, for example, or on Louis Pasteur's experiments on anthrax inoculation at Pouilly-le-Fort—it was overshadowed by the Academy of Sciences and largely ignored by the most fertile minds in the biological sciences. By the twentieth century, it had become a graying gerontocracy, preoccupied with the technical aspects of public health and occupying, in Weisz's words, a "less than central place in French medical and scientific life" (p. 103).

Despite these weaknesses, the Academy of Medicine remains important to our understanding of French medical history, providing a window for observing the formation and influence of medical elites. Well written

and richly detailed, Weisz's book describes how the shift from corporate to national medical elites occurred in France, starting with the Revolution and Napoleon. Restoration leaders continued the process, creating the Academy of Medicine both to enlist help in fighting epidemics and to signal "the monarchy's commitment to the welfare of the people" (p. 16). The book's early chapters trace the Academy's membership and structures during the first half of the century, a time when it suffered from low status, weak budgets, and perennial feuding. Despite their rancor, Weisz believes that its debates formed "a major scientific genre" in their own right (p. 82), mirroring the belief of contemporaries that truth would emerge through public disputation. And dispute they did, on topics ranging from bleeding to homeopathy, phrenology to animal magnetism, vitalism to the germ theory.

The shock of defeat in 1871 helped transform the Academy into a more focused scientific body, concerned not only with the social consequences of depopulation and alcoholism but also with the implications of Pasteur's ideas. While this transformation was occurring, the Academy had its hands full in regulating a growing spa industry (the chapter on water cures and mineral waters is one of the most fascinating in the book) and in trying to withstand the powerful commercial pressures emanating from inventors of secret remedies. On the other hand, Weisz shows that the Academy was more open to innovative therapies and new surgical procedures than commonly assumed, so long as these posed no discernable harm to the patient.

A computer analysis of Academy membership in 1821, 1861, 1901, and 1935 rounds out these themes and provides an overview of the Academy's geographical and social origins. Of particular interest is the analysis of its *éloges*, the annual tributes by the permanent secretary to recently deceased members. These helped mold the idealized public image of medical men as self-made, self-sacrificing heroes.

Although Weisz admits that his methodology suggests certain "social constructionist" tendencies (p. xvi), he has declined to offer any unifying thesis or to speculate on those Foucauldian "discourses" current in the history of science. Instead, his goal has been to elucidate the history of therapeutic reasoning and the process by which clinical facts were constructed in the past. If the book succeeds in these aims, it leaves other intriguing questions unanswered. It would have enriched the collective biographies, for example, to have included more attention to the moral values that underlay the members' claims to authority—on the nature of sickness, for example, or on such delicate issues as religion, privacy, women and the family, normality, and deviance. Still, this is far and away the best study of the Academy of Medicine yet published, and it will be an important and lasting addition to the literature of French medical history.

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WILLA Z. SILVERMAN. *The Notorious Life of Gyp: Right-Wing Anarchist in Fin-de-Siècle France*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 325. \$35.00.

This is a difficult book to read. Although Willa Z. Silverman's style is admirably clear and her research thoroughly sound, the biographical subject—Gyp, pseudonym for the writer Sybille de Martel (Sybille-Gabrielle Marie-Antoinette de Martel De Janville [1849–1932])—is, quite frankly, repellent. She was from an aristocratic and monied family, granddaughter of both the Revolutionary orator Mirabeau and the counter-Revolutionary Tonneau-Mirabeau. Her politics were a blend of right-wing authoritarianism and rebellious anarchism. She supported Bonapartists and legitimists, but never Orleanists; she supported Communards and Boulangists, but never Third-Republic parliamentarians; she supported populists, but disdained workers; she took positions that are recognizably feminist, but disdained women. She was an immensely popular writer, author of "over one hundred novels, twenty plays, hundreds of articles, four volumes of recollections . . . [and] a voluminous correspondence . . ." (p. 43), who supported her family in a grand style, but who declared her profession as "anti-Semite." Silverman acknowledges that "the repulsiveness of [Gyp's] anti-Semitism may help account for her total neglect as a 'fitting' subject for a biography . . ." (p. 4). It is good that Silverman, however, was not deterred, for she has unearthed a wealth of material that will enliven our portraits of French political and social life in the years coinciding with Gyp's long life.

Gyp was raised in Nancy by her strong-willed mother, also a popular author, and her maternal grandfather, a former officer in both the armies of Napoleon and the legitimists after the Restoration. She moved to Paris after she had already married, become a mother of three, and begun to write scathingly witty pieces depicting aristocratic social life for the daily *La vie parisienne*. Established in the fashionable suburb of Neuilly, she entertained and corresponded with—thus the rich archival materials for this biography—writers (Anatole France, François Copée), artists (Edgar Degas, Jean-Louis Forain), and her conservative political allies (Paul Déroulède, Maurice Barrès, Edouard Drumont).

Silverman's description of Gyp's relationship with her Jewish publishers, the Calmann-Levy brothers, is particularly fascinating. Theirs was in part a partnership of convenience. Her bestsellers were important to the Calmann-Levys, enough so that they usually overlooked her offensive portraits of Jews; the prestige of the Calmann-Levy house was important to Gyp, enough so that she sometimes acceded to their demands that she delete her most offensive language.

There is a real challenge in writing the biography of a repugnant person. In the case of Gyp, that challenge is doubled, for she is not really a historical personage of great and lasting significance. I am not convinced



that Silverman met the challenge as well as she might have. She writes with calm, treating Gyp's politics with a dispassion that I ultimately found disturbing. She presents copious details about Gyp's daily schedule, her dress, her working style, the furnishings of her homes, social gossip, and family news, but these matter only if Gyp is made to matter. Silverman offers psychological interpretations for Gyp's views—for example, that Gyp's hatred of Jews related to her hatred of her feminine self, that her nationalism related to sexual anxieties, that her disdain for women was driven by anger for her mother—but psychological interpretations further focus our attention on a biographical subject who simply does not merit all this attention. A strategy more to my liking would have been to focus our attention instead on the broad intellectual and political discourses of Gyp's era. What matters about Gyp is that she was at the center of the most significant events of her time: the birth of racialized anti-Semitism, fascism, and totalitarianism. Gyp's life takes on significance for the light it sheds on these events.

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MARY JO MAYNES. *Taking the Hard Road: Life Course in French and German Workers' Autobiographies in the Era of Industrialization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 263. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Mary Jo Maynes bases her book on ninety working-class autobiographies, allowing us to hear a myriad of previously unheard French and German men's and women's voices during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To Maynes' historically keen interpretive ears, they tell their life histories from childhood to early adulthood, emphasizing issues of class. Maynes not only regales us with stories from these invaluable autobiographies, but she also provides a clear and nuanced analysis of their content, evaluating similarities and differences in the recorded life experiences according to gender, age, geography, chronology, and cultural milieu. This book contributes in original ways to working-class and gender history.

Maynes acknowledges the pitfalls of studying the formation of working-class consciousness from selected published autobiographies, and she approaches her sources with caution, realizing that only a narrowly defined group wrote their life stories. She does not claim that these represent the voice of the average European worker. Rather, they are emblematic of special, literate, working-class constructed memories. Maynes points out that by writing these autobiographies for a public audience, men and women transmitted a particular culture while fashioning their own identities. Her book follows the life course of the autobiographers, revealing the remembered experiences of their childhood, their education, their early work record, their initial sexual involvement, and the beginning of their adult lives. The socialist movement

played a crucial role in the writers' lives, helping them in their self-definition and education.

With a sensitivity to gender, Maynes distinguishes the working-class men's discourse from the women's. She begins with the workers' remembrances of their bleak childhoods, demonstrating that those autobiographers born early in the nineteenth century recount more stark material and emotional family deprivation than those born after 1870. Furthermore, she shows marked national differences; French children born after 1870, more than German children of that age cohort, remember work-free childhoods. These chronological and geographical differences also obtain for school experiences. The French writers, especially those born after 1870, remembered a more humane and rational approach to education and discipline than their German counterparts, with school more appealing to girls than boys. Unfortunately, Maynes does not adequately explain why these differences occurred. Did they write with distinct political agendas, thereby placing disparate emphasis on certain negative aspects of their lives according to different working-class cultures emerging in Germany and France?

Leaving school, entering full-time work, and experiencing a First Communion or confirmation marked the passage to adulthood, usually at age fourteen, with the transition more clearly conspicuous at the end of the century. The stories poignantly express the humiliations due to family poverty. When forced to leave school, the workers educated themselves, with help from the socialist movement. Both male and female autobiographers condemned the sexual victimization and harassment to which they had to submit. It is unsurprising that women told different stories of sexual experiences than the men, that the working classes had arranged pragmatic marriages, or that preserving one's virginity (for women) was the key to success and upward mobility. However, it would have been meaningful to know what the working class thought about the politics of sexuality affecting it in Germany and France. The book ends with young adulthood; it would have been more complete if Maynes continued the lifestage approach to the end of the recorded passages into adult life. Maynes presents a working-class consciousness with a strong—and sometimes successful—desire for upward mobility. By their writing and experiences, these autobiographers moved across the cultural boundaries of class.

Historians owe a debt to Maynes for bringing to us the hard-to-find words of working-class men and women, interpreting them, and allowing us to understand better one segment of the working-class experience.

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JEAN-PIERRE LE CROM. *Syndicate nous voilà! Vichy et le corporatisme*. Foreword by ROBERT O. PAXTON. Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier. 1995. Pp. 410. 190 fr.



This is a large, solid, and workmanlike study of the Vichy's regime's relations with working-class organizations from a legalistic, organizational, and intellectual perspective. Jean-Pierre Le Crom is especially interested in corporatism, which might be best defined as the state mediation of the government-employer-worker triangle. The origins of twentieth-century corporatism in France are traced back to World War I when Albert Thomas, a socialist, became Armaments Minister. Once again, as in so many other histories, the Great War is the starting point. Thomas introduced new social legislation benefitting workers and, at the same time, tried to limit strikes. This "corporatist" beginning was short-lived, and precorporatist anomie quickly returned at the war's end.

The Popular Front attempted to overcome this anomie with a barrage of social legislation. The legislation, which included the election of shop stewards and collective bargaining agreements, instead reduced productivity and, most importantly, enraged employers, who took their revenge after the failed strike of November 30, 1938, and during the *drôle de guerre*. Le Crom emphasizes the persistence of class conflict in France during 1939–1940 and contrasts what he perceives as the dismal state of French industrial relations with the stability and lack of animosity that supposedly existed in Great Britain and the United States. Here Le Crom's legalistic-intellectual orientation reveals its weakness. He should have done more reading in recent American labor history, which documents continuing class conflict even at the height of World War II. France is less exceptional than he argues.

The social unrest of the 1930s and especially the defeat of 1940 guaranteed a renewal of interest in corporatism. Le Crom views the corporatist tradition as heterogeneous with roots in both social Catholicism and republican *solidarisme*. He argues that the Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (CFTC) was influenced by both traditions, and its portrait in this book is much more positive than in much previous literature. The CFTC is pictured as unquestionably democratic and progressive. One of its principal leaders, Gaston Tessier, emerges as a hero who rejected aspects of the authoritarian state. In contrast, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) is viewed as less visionary and increasingly divided between pro-Vichy elements, who wanted to play an active role in the regime, and others, including both Communists and non-Communists, who were reduced during much of the war to rather impotent opposition. The pro-Vichy faction was led by René Belin, who wanted to reinvigorate a moribund trade unionism by cooperating with Pétain's authoritarian state. By Le Crom's estimation, the anti-Communist Belin was somewhat successful in carving out a niche for unionism, at least in comparison to Italy and Germany where unions were totally subordinated to their respective regimes. However, the autonomy and successes of Vichy's *syndicalistes* were limited by the power and influence of employers, who overwhelm-

ingly supported the government. Furthermore, the union members who collaborated with the regime acquiesced, in effect, to its repressive policies against other *syndicalistes* and, of course, Jews. Some justified themselves by claiming that they were only trying to alleviate the suffering of the workers. Others had a grand vision of building a Saint-Simonian state. Their productivism led them to many dubious political compromises.

According to the prefects, most workers were "indifferent" to the actions and visions of their supposed leaders. But the rank-and-file were aroused by the possibility—or threat—of having to work in Germany. Certain union and state officials attempted, often successfully, to cheat the German war machine of its quota of French workers. Even more preoccupying for most workers was the price of food and clothing. Many wage earners became convinced that in return for their labor, their employer or firm should guarantee them a decent standard of living. After the war, they insisted that the state provide a basic minimum.

Le Crom is critical of what he sees as the injustices of the purge initiated at the Liberation. He is at pains to discriminate between a Germanophile corporatism, which was rightly discredited by the Vichy experience, and a more patriotic or Christian Democratic current, which could mend class divisions and contribute to building a more cohesive and prosperous society.

This work is supported by admirable and detailed archival research. It explores a multitude of unions and committees during the Vichy period. Sometimes, though, in the inventory of organizations, their significance is lost. The reader must make a considerable effort to penetrate a cloudy prose: "Entre les descriptions historiques valorisant l'unicité de la corporation primitive et les réflexions prospectives marquées par les distinctions fonctionnelles s'affirme une contradiction rendue inéluctable par l'absence de prise en compte de l'évolution économique et la réduction assez générale des travaux à une dimension morale" (p. 67). This regrettable opacity will not prevent Le Crom's work from becoming a key text on the ideological and organizational aspects of union movements in the Vichy period.

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MAURICE LÉVY-LEBOYER and HENRI MORSEL, editors.  
*Histoire générale de l'électricité en France*. Volume 2,  
*L'Interconnexion et le marché 1919–1946*. Paris: Fayard. 1994. Pp. 1438. 490 fr.

What French railroads were to the nineteenth century electricity has been to the twentieth: a key arena where entrepreneurs and engineers cultivated an ideology of technical efficiency and industrial planning to advance the twin goals of making money and modernizing the country. This fine volume, edited by Maurice Lévy-Leboyer and Henri Morsel, is the second of a three-

volume, chronologically organized series that explores nearly every dimension of the French electrical industry during a pivotal period. From 1919 to the nationalization of electric power in 1946, electrical companies in France undertook vast projects: stretching electric power to every commune, electrifying railways, and building huge hydroelectric dams in the mountains. Although France still lagged well behind Britain and Germany in electric output in 1939, the interwar years nonetheless brought breakthroughs. Electric lighting and radios became standard household fixtures. Well-off urban housewives began using the refrigerators and vacuum cleaners that would finally become ubiquitous in France in the 1960s.

This collection of essays by nearly twenty historians charts all this territory and more. Subjects range widely across the fields of business history and the history of technology. Each of the major branches of the industry, from the production and distribution of electric power to its application in industry, transport, and household consumption, is examined in impressive detail. The volume is at its best in analyzing business elites, engineering education, the changing structure of the industry, strategies of investment and finance, the diffusion of technology, and the politics of governmental intervention. Themes in labor history and mass consumption are competently treated as well, but these get shorter shrift. Producing this book must have broken the bank: it is graced by dozens of photographs, splendid graphics, and glossy reproductions of Raoul Dufy's murals from the electricity pavillion at the Paris exposition of 1937.

Within this vast scholarly enterprise, two questions loom large. Did industrialists and engineers rise to the challenge of endowing the country with the electrical industry it deserved? Should nationalization be viewed as an indication of their shortcomings? In the 1930s, after all, critics accused the big French electrical companies of "malthusianism," deliberately impeding expansion in an effort to keep electric rates high.

Although the authors in this volume are hardly of one mind about the quality of the industry's entrepreneurship and the roots of its troubles in the 1930s, a balanced verdict does come through. Industry leaders are given credit for taking advantage of the opportunities that markets, financing, and technology offered them. They built holding companies to help meet the capital requirements that grew rapidly as the century unfolded, and they welcomed foreign investment when they needed it in the 1920s. Although handicapped by company rivalries, especially between coal-oriented producers and hydroelectric firms, industrialists did prove to be astute in lacing together power grids, expanding capacity, and absorbing weak competitors.

Still, as several essays show, the industry faced difficulties that eventually made it vulnerable to state intervention. Chief among these was a chronic shortage of cheap capital and a market stunted in its growth by the slow pace of urbanization. Although the first calls for nationalization came as early as 1919, ironi-

cally it was only with the rate controls in 1935, imposed by the conservative government of Pierre Laval, that the door opened to state intervention. By 1938, rearmament had expanded the power of government planners, as did Vichy's structure of oversight committees that bound employers and state officials tightly together. Nationalization in 1946 was by no means inevitable, but when it came, much of the road toward state control had already been travelled. After the defeat of 1940, shocked engineers in private companies and government ministries alike came to understand that some sort of nationalization could provide the financial footing and popular legitimacy that the industry needed.

This volume makes the case for acknowledging both the triumphs and failures of the industry in the interwar years and for seeing the subsequent history of nationalized electricity in France as rooted in this earlier period.

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JONATHAN ISRAEL. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*. (Oxford History of Early Modern Europe.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxx, 1231. \$39.95.

Though compact in size, the Dutch Republic had an importance during the seventeenth century that surpassed that of many larger polities. Its precocious urbanization, advanced commercial economy, complex political culture, and vigorous intellectual life were unmatched in Europe and have been the subject of a significant historical literature. In this book, Jonathan Israel performs the great service of charting a path through this literature and, building on his own earlier work, presents a coherent and comprehensive picture of the Dutch Republic. To achieve his goal, he adopts a broadly chronological approach, using major political events to divide the work into four parts and, within each part, alternates chapters on politics with chapters on social, economic, religious, and cultural affairs.

In part one, "The Making of the Republic, 1477-1588," Israel begins by describing the physical geography of the northern Low Countries, the rise of Holland during the late Middle Ages, and the incorporation of the Low Countries into the Burgundian and Habsburg states. He goes on to review late-medieval intellectual life, the Reformation, and the social and economic structures of the Low Countries before offering a detailed examination of the revolt against Spanish rule and the creation of the United Provinces or Dutch Republic in the northern Netherlands by the end of the sixteenth century.

Beginning with part two, "The Early Golden Age, 1588-1647," Israel narrows his geographical focus from the Low Countries to the northern Netherlands, though he continues to refer to events and circumstances in the southern Netherlands. He examines the emergence of the Republic as a great power through

diplomatic and military efforts aimed at preventing Spanish reconquest, the institutions developed to administer the Republic, and the origins of Dutch world trade primacy. Further, Israel discusses the Twelve Years Truce and the resumption of war with Spain, along with growing internal political opposition between the Holland regents' faction, under Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, and the Orange faction, under *stadholders* Maurits and Frederik Hendrik, up to the eve of the Treaty of Munster. In between, he looks at the social and economic effects of republican institutions and expanding trade and at the emergence of the Dutch Reformed Church, its relationships to Catholic and other Protestant groups, and the growing divisions within it concerning the role of religion in public life. He concludes part two with discussions of art and architecture and intellectual life during the early seventeenth century.

In part three, "The Later Golden Age, 1647–1702," Israel continues his discussion of the Republic's political, social, economic, and religious affairs against the backdrop of the brief *stadholderate* of William II, the republican regime of Johan de Witt, and warfare with France and England, culminating in the *stadholderate* of William III. Of particular importance are his examination of confessional issues (including the toleration debate, the role of the public church, and the Catholic Jansenist controversy), his analysis of party and factional strife and the "True Freedom" of the republicans, and his chapters on education, art and architecture, and intellectual life during the second half of the seventeenth century.

In part four, "The Age of Decline, 1702–1806," Israel reviews the Republic's commercial decline and loss of great power status, its internal divisions underlying the Patriot Revolution, and its replacement by the Batavian Republic and final absorption into the Napoleonic empire. He makes clear, though, that the Republic's changing fortunes did not reduce it to insignificance. For example, it, and not Britain, continued to be the "technological showcase" of the world until around 1740 (p. 998), while its still substantial educated elite made important contributions to Europe's Enlightenment. Still, the Dutch Golden Age had come to an end.

Israel makes clear that he intended his book to be a general history. Noting that most historians concentrate on one or more aspects of the Dutch Republic, he opts instead to look at the Republic in its entirety, because "striving to grasp the total picture unfailingly serves to deepen and enrich perceptions of each and every particular dimension, as well as the whole" (p. 5). Clearly, he has succeeded in this venture to a remarkable degree. The book is comprehensive in scope (and massive; the text alone runs to 1,130 pages) and yet so clearly and carefully written that it could serve as a textbook for graduate history courses. Because it is so thoroughly researched and up-to-date, however, it is also the kind of indispensable handbook

that deserves a place on every early modernist's bookshelf.

This is not to say that Israel's book is perfect. Besides a scattering of typographical errors and an occasional redundancy, it contains at least one misleading passage. In his review of the soggy conditions that dominated the western and northern Netherlands (pp. 9–11), Israel repeats a badly outdated view, that land drainage was possible only after dikes were constructed, around 1200. H. van der Linden [*De Cope* (1956)] and others after him have demonstrated that dikes were necessary in much of Holland only after peat bogs were drained and had begun to subside: in most cases, some centuries later. In Israel's defense, the passage on drainage is not central to his work, though perhaps he should have paid more attention to hydraulic matters, a major preoccupation of many in the Republic.

Deciding what to include in a single, comprehensive volume such as this is not easy to do. As it stands, some may find too much emphasis on politics or too much emphasis on Holland at the expense of the other provinces. In most respects, Israel has struck a good balance; his choices are defensible and coherently worked out. His book should be required reading for anyone who teaches or writes about early modern Europe. Israel clearly demonstrates that the Republic represented the European cutting edge in politics, economic development, technological innovation, and intellectual life, a fact never sufficiently established in general views of the period.

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KARL WEGERT. *Popular Culture, Crime, and Social Control in 18th-Century Württemberg*. (Studien zur Geschichte des Alltags, number 5.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1994. Pp. 240. DM 68.

Like Karl Wegert's earlier book, *German Radicals Confront the Common People: Revolutionary Politics and Popular Politics 1789–1849* (1992), this monograph contributes significantly to current revisions in our understanding of the relationships among elite and popular cultures in Central Europe. Both volumes rest on Wegert's firm command of the archival sources, secondary literature, and theoretical perspectives that inform his work. In both, he balances theory with careful empirical investigations, which in turn buttress recent interpretations underscoring the interdependence of subordinate and official cultures. Particularly important for the German field, where the acculturation thesis long shaped the interpretive paradigm, is Wegert's strong emphasis on the integrity and vitality of popular cultures. While his first book traced an active popular politics relatively free of radical influence and even state control in the "age of revolutions," here Wegert presents an impressive study of eighteenth-century crime and punishment to elucidate

social and cultural relations between official elites and the populace.

After rejecting elitist models of social control, the opening chapters offer a lucid summary of the case being made today for a general convergence of elite and "encapsulated" popular cultures on many issues, especially those of law and order. Village society was as important as state power in disciplining early modern Europeans, Wegert argues, and he demonstrates this thesis concretely by decoding plebeian justice in the duchy of Württemberg. Although some 300 criminal cases adjudicated in the privy council over the eighteenth century could not sustain a study of the general incidence of crime, they provide rich documentation on the social context of serious criminality and deviance. Dossiers on the three capital crimes accounting for ninety percent of death sentences—homicide, infanticide, and bestiality—reveal valuable information about offenses and criminals themselves as well as the reactions of neighbors, village leaders, the Tübingen law faculty, and central officials in Stuttgart.

With such thick descriptions at hand, Wegert has written a cultural history so wide-ranging, penetrating, and insightful that a brief review of its major arguments cannot begin to capture its broader implications. Not only does he trace the histories of various penal codes and practices, indicate the social status and mental condition of malefactors, and assess the tensions and sociability of village life, but Wegert also challenges historians to give serious consideration to personal genetic constitution as well as to environmental influences on criminal behavior. While social historians may remain skeptical about some of his suggestions (like borrowing theories of genetic fitness from evolutionary psychologists to help explain infanticide or male violence), they will be impressed with a solid interdisciplinary scholar who explores a wide variety of evidence and methodological approaches critically and judiciously.

Wegert's focus remains, however, popular culture and plebeian justice, particularly the interaction between folk custom and formal institutions. Fully aware of the severe penalties involved, neighbors and even kin rather than local officials reported infanticide and bestiality, and apparently all groups approved ritualized public executions. Here Wegert succeeds brilliantly in demonstrating how different conceptions of crimes themselves and divergent notions of apotropaic and deterrent punishments could unite elites and populace in accepting the same penal practices. His study of homicide also shows a convergence of local and state evaluations of a crime based on the defendant's reputation and place in the community. Such results are only some of the findings in a rich cultural history that belongs on the reading list of all students of European popular culture.

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CHRISTOPHER M. CLARK. *The Politics of Conversion: Missionary Protestantism and the Jews in Prussia 1728–1941*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. vi, 340. \$65.00.

Christopher M. Clark analyzes in this volume the considerable efforts of Pietist Protestants to convert Jews in Prussia during the two centuries preceding the Holocaust. The focus of Clark's study may seem narrow, but he manages to break out of the traditional mold of in-house mission histories to explore the larger setting.

It was a largely lay movement of Pietists that undertook missionary efforts among Prussia's Jews, often in the face of hostility from the established church. Clark devotes two of his seven chapters to the background and founding of the *Institutum Judaicum* in the early eighteenth century in Halle, a center of Pietist philanthropies. The culture of the rationalist Enlightenment snuffed out this first attempt. But Pietism revived in the Prussian Awakening of the early nineteenth century, and Pietists renewed their earlier missionary focus on Jews, first in Berlin and later in the Rhineland. The study largely ends with World War I.

Clark develops two major themes in this lengthy history. The first is adumbrated by the book's title. In periods when missions to the Jews seemed to thrive, Prussian kings encouraged them, in part for political reasons. In the early eighteenth century, they hoped to integrate Jews through conversion and to use dogmatically indifferent Pietism to consolidate the Calvinist Prussian monarchy against the fractious Lutheran aristocracy. In the nineteenth century, Pietist missionaries joined the government in resisting Jewish emancipation, arguing that only converts should be admitted to full participation in the Christian state.

A second major theme revolves around the peculiar nature of Pietist philosemitism. Pietists labored to realize St. Paul's expectation (Romans 11) that Jews would be restored to Christian fellowship in the last days. But Pietist missionaries lacked respect for Judaism and claimed to see in unconverted Jews stereotypical vices. Only conversion could transform the putatively noxious Jewish character and facilitate assimilation. As Prussian society increasingly secularized in the course of the nineteenth century, as reformed Jews seemed to ally themselves with Prussian liberals, and as perceptions of Jewish "influence" grew, the Pietistic missionaries to Jews increasingly saw themselves as defenders of a Christian Prussia against secularized Jews. Pietists began to fear that the bulk of the Jews might be found on the wrong side in the eschatological struggles to come.

Clark concludes by calling the Pietist missionary an "antisemite who loves Jews" for Christ's sake and by noting that this "philosemitic tradition of eschatological hope" (p. 281) set off these Pietists from traditional Christian anti-Semites. One must wonder, however, whether this distinction was really a difference in kind, as he implies, since both anti-Semitismisms held similar



views on unconverted Jews. Such a question should not detract, however, from the high praise that Clark merits for having identified and documented a distinctive strand of Christian anti-Semitism before the Holocaust.

Clark avoids writing from the condemnatory perspective of one shocked by the later Holocaust. To do so might well wrench parts of this history out of their context. And yet the reader must be curious to know what philosemitic anti-Semitism had to do subsequently with Nazism and the Holocaust. Clark devotes a short epilogue to the fate of these missions in the 1920s and under the Nazis, but the analysis here does not quite measure up to the high level of the rest of the book.

DANIEL R. BORG  
Clark University

GORDON A. CRAIG. *The Politics of the Unpolitical: German Writers and the Problem of Power, 1770–1871*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 190. \$29.95.

This collection of essays is a pleasure to read but will perplex many of its readers. Despite the provocative title, Gordon A. Craig offers only the briefest introduction and no conclusion to the volume, so it is never quite clear what his argument is. Nor is it clear for whom the book is intended. It was first published in Germany, where the general reading public could understand his unexplained references to individuals and events in German history. This English-language version cannot count on such an audience, however; eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German history is not familiar to most American or even British readers. Scholars—be they historians or *Germanisten*—also will be puzzled, since the volume offers no new information, no new interpretations, and not even a fully developed thesis.

In the introduction, Craig raises the perennial question of whether or not men of letters have a moral obligation to address political issues. He believes they do. Craig then cites Thomas Mann's famous dictum about the "unpolitical" German and admits that while Mann's generalization may have held true for many Germans in the Bismarckian and Wilhelmine eras, it is less true for the post-1945 and the pre-1870 periods of German history. The ten essays that follow focus on individual writers and cover the century between the French Revolution and German unification in 1871, "years in which German intellectuals received their apprenticeship in politics" (p. xiv).

The essays themselves are vintage Craig: graceful and wide ranging. He reminds us that, for all his philosophical detachment, Goethe served the prince of Saxe-Weimar for almost forty years. Similarly, Georg Forster, Johannes von Müller, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Gottfried Gervinus actively engaged in politics during their careers. The other literary figures discussed—Friedrich Schiller, Heinrich von Kleist,

Friedrich Hölderlin, Nikolaus Lenau, and Heinrich Heine—were not activists, but Craig shows us how they expressed their political engagement through literature.

Craig explains that these stories represent German intellectuals' "first hard lessons in the difficulties of prevailing against the manipulators of power" (p. xiv). He then argues that "The fact that so many of them lost heart and withdrew from the conflict in the subsequent period gives us no reason to forget these pioneers of commitment" (p. xiv). This is an admirable sentiment, to be sure, and it does serve as a silken thread to tie the essays together. But one is left in the dark as to the significance of these "pioneers of commitment." Craig never indicates whether or not the individuals he writes about represented the norm in their own age or were exceptions. Should we understand these men's lives and works as merely a curious footnote to history, or do they suggest that we need substantially to revise the stereotype of the "unpolitical" German?

The weaknesses of this otherwise interesting collection are due in part to the fact that only three of the essays were written expressly for this volume: the others are spruced up versions of articles first published between 1967 and 1972. It is understandable that publishers are eager to print as many as possible of Craig's works, but it is a shame that he apparently gave into their pressures for an English edition without making substantial revisions.

MARY LEE TOWNSEND  
University of Tulsa

FRÉDÉRIC BARBIER. *L'empire du livre: Le livre imprimé et la construction de l'Allemagne contemporaine (1815–1914)*. Foreword by HENRI-JEAN MARTIN. Paris: Cerf. 1995. Pp. xi, 612. 240 fr.

Politics is present only at the margins of this work, an ambitious and stimulating history of the economy and culture of books in nineteenth-century Germany. It is Frédéric Barbier's eschewal of political discussion and explanation that most sets his book apart from others on the subject such as Johann Goldfriedrich's *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, published early in this century, and Reinhard Wittmann's book of the same title, published in 1991.

Wittmann's *Geschichte* is a good place to begin study of the topic, because politics is inescapably a part of modern German history, including cultural history, and because his historical time frame is considerably longer than Barbier's. But Barbier's book also deserves wide reading. It is much more than a history of *Buchhandel*. It has an interesting, if largely implicit, comparative dimension. Because it employs common features of modern French historiography that remain uncommon among historians of Germany, it shines light from new angles on the idea of Germany as *Kulturnation*.

Aspects of the history of the book that interest

Barbier most include the economic, geographic, technical, and organizational features of the book trades, as well as the cultural significance of the book and prominent personalities in book businesses. He has a keen sense for regional variation and makes useful observations on the evolving roles of the book fair cities of Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main as well as newer centers of publishing and wholesaling such as Stuttgart, Munich, Hamburg, and Berlin. What he writes about differences in book selling and reception between eastern and western Prussia, the north and the south, thickly and thinly populated areas, is also instructive.

Barbier's knowledge about production and marketing is impressive. He uses many data series and statistics, calculating, for example, the elasticity of book consumption and production by relating changing numbers of books published over time to median incomes and prices. Although he faces familiar difficulties of scarce, problematic sources on who read books and how they read them, the extensive fund of published sources, monographic literature, letter collections, and memoirs that he has employed allows Barbier to make as good a reconstruction of these circumstances as any.

He has organized his study in four sections treating book production and marketing, "bookmen" and the book professions, printing and related industries, and, finally, the book as object, the reader as subject, and reading as practice. This is a work of comparative history in the sense that the author knows the comparable history of France and, to some degree, Great Britain and the United States. It is comparative in the sense that readers who know the history of the book in France will find instructive counter-examples for much that seemed to happen naturally when words were printed, bound, and distributed in the homeland of the Enlightenment and modern revolution. Paris has long been single hub of the national wheel in both culture and politics; in Germany, the book has had a different history and significance.

Barbier demonstrates how democratization and "massification" of the book from the mid-nineteenth century was accompanied by the persistence of family firms, apprenticeships, and personal commercial networks, all pre-industrial remainders. He provides a lucid description of the "industrial book," an expression signifying new arrangements in production, content, physical form, marketing, distribution, pricing, and use of books by the early twentieth century. Barbier's assertion that Germany's coming together as a national state is attributable to the unique character of the book culture on that side of the Rhine remains in the end a provocative notion, though not proved.

FREDERIK OHLES  
Illinois College

SABINE KIENITZ. *Sexualität, Macht und Moral: Prostitution und Geschlechterbeziehungen Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts in Württemberg; Ein Beitrag zur Mentalitätsge-*

*schichte*. (Zeithorizonte: Studien zu Theorien und Perspektiven Europäischer Ethnologie, number 2.) Berlin: Akademie. 1995. Pp. 336. DM 48.

Sabine Kienitz' book on sexuality, power, and morality is an example of the best kind of history written today. Her astounding story of prostitution, extortion, concealment, protest, and suicide is also a cultural history of small-town life in early nineteenth-century Württemberg. Kienitz skillfully employs more than three thousand pages of judicial transcripts to construct a history not only of gender relations and sexuality but also of changing class relationships.

In 1824, the juristic authorities of Hall (6,500 inhabitants) learned quite by accident of a prostitution and bribery network that involved lower-class women and numerous males of the respected social strata. Merchants, lawyers, innkeepers, town officials, landed noblemen, a pastor, and even Prince Alexander von Württemberg were implicated.

The trial testimony makes it clear that the ring was widely known and tolerated, as surely it must have been in this small community. Much of the activity centered in the familiar house of the thirty-seven-year-old divorcee, Maria Catharina Röthlin. Citizens knew of her residence as a brothel, but Kienitz emphasizes that it was not one in the traditional sense, for the women did not live in Röthlin's house; they came there by appointment or when summoned by patrons. But other women—many of them married—also exchanged sex for money, food, clothing, and other items. This activity occurred on the streets. A part of the culture that Kienitz uncovered is the lower-class women's strong assumption that they were justified in extorting payments from their customers. Women throughout the town, and many men, supported them, and to avoid embarrassment the patrons usually paid.

Kienitz argues that the trial, involving over 150 individuals, epitomizes a profound transformation of the culture of Hall. An imperial free city until the Napoleonic upheaval, Hall was annexed into the new Kingdom of Württemberg in the consolidation of state power that followed the French invasion. Kienitz contends that the old elites would never have prosecuted the women, for they tolerated prostitution so long as it stayed within certain bounds. But the new Württemberg judicial administrators—outsiders anxious to assert the authority of their government—involved the populace in an extended scandal, gravely embarrassing many citizens. The trial represents "a revolution in mentality" (p. 53) resulting from the shift in power from municipal patricians to state civil servants determined to enforce new bourgeois norms.

Kienitz is interested in the cultural construction of gender as revealed in the language of prostitution and sexuality. She also analyzes the contrast between the normative rules governing sexuality and the informal understandings of local inhabitants. Men controlled the laws, and the evidence is clear that men dominated intimate sexual relations. The distinction between rape

and other sexual intercourse was indistinct in the testimony of Hall citizens, illustrating the victimization of women. Kienitz emphasizes that, despite their exploitation, the women possessed a "great . . . repertoire of negotiation possibilities" (p. 55). Using "their bodies as objects of barter" (p. 313), they engaged in "lower-class collective protest" (p. 317). Kienitz stresses that while authorities judged the women's behavior from a moralistic, bourgeois stance, the women—and often their families—saw it differently. They were frequently in extreme poverty or financial crisis, and the opportunity to support their households took precedence over a morality that they could not afford.

Not only is Kienitz's scholarship methodologically innovative, but her book is also a gripping narrative. She capitalizes on the human element of her story. Her nuanced conclusions, resting largely on language analysis, are contained within a very concrete text. Richly substantiating her interpretations with trial testimony, Kienitz successfully gives voice to the lower-class women. Through a sensitive reading of sources, she reveals inequalities inherent in emerging modern Western gender systems while also demonstrating the inseparability of gender and class.

MARION W. GRAY  
Kansas State University

JOHN J. KULCZYCKI. *The Foreign Worker and the German Labor Movement: Xenophobia and Solidarity in the Coal Fields of the Ruhr, 1871–1914*. Providence, R.I.: Berg. 1994. Pp. xiv, 297.

The management of the Ruhr coal mines began in the 1880s to recruit workers in the impoverished, ethnically Polish eastern provinces of the Kingdom of Prussia; by 1914, roughly 500,000 residents of the Ruhr industrial district spoke Polish or Masurian as their first language. The mineowners hoped, and the "native" German miners feared, that these immigrants would be docile workers, compelled by their supposed lack of education and poverty to accept employment on almost any terms. John J. Kulczycki has undertaken the first thorough effort to compare the actual behavior of Polish and German-speaking miners in the various strikes that convulsed the Ruhr from 1889 to 1912, and he argues persuasively that these hopes and fears were both misplaced. Kulczycki amasses overwhelming evidence that the Poles were almost always as likely and sometimes more likely than the Germans to demand higher wages, go on strike, and join trade unions. He suggests that the Polish peasants' tradition of collective resistance to landlords and the Prussian authorities fostered militant class consciousness just as well as did the craft tradition cited by German labor historians as the foundation of trade unionism among "native" miners.

Kulczycki is not as persuasive when he indicts the German miners for xenophobia. He is no doubt correct that the first two major unions for Ruhr miners, the (socialist) Old Union and the (predominantly Roman

Catholic) Union of Christian Miners, did not do an effective job of organizing the immigrants, so Polish miners should not be reproached for a "lack of solidarity" because they founded their own trade union in 1902, the *Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie* (ZZP). But the interpretation seems strained when Kulczycki insists that the Old Union revealed xenophobia "clothed in a concern for safety" when it demanded that newly arrived peasants without any training should not be sent down into the pits, or that the chairman of the Union of Christian Miners revealed "nationalist hostility toward the migrants" when he earnestly sought to persuade them to embrace the goal of assimilation into German society (pp. 87–88, 92–93).

Kulczycki relies on the files of the Prussian police for most of the quotations from trade unionists that display overtly negative stereotypes of the Poles (see the footnotes on pp. 129–31 and 147–51). As he points out, however, the police were definitely biased against Poles and eager to detect antagonism between them and German workers (pp. 126–28, 144–46). Kulczycki has made no serious effort to analyze the attitudes toward Polish immigrants expressed in the socialist or Catholic press. He surely goes too far by concluding that "the main obstacle to solidarity among miners was the xenophobia of the native workers" and that this xenophobia explains "the German labor movement's betrayal of the international solidarity of the working class in August 1914" (p. 259). The story told in the body of this book is actually one of increasingly close cooperation between the Old Union and the ZZP, so that their positions became virtually indistinguishable in the strikes of 1905 and 1912. Kulczycki has probably underestimated the influence on German workers of the many Social Democrats and the many Catholic priests who agreed on at least one thing: the evils of racism.

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MARCUS GRÄSER. *Der blockierte Wohlfahrtsstaat: Unterschichtjugend und Jugendfürsorge in der Weimarer Republik*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 107.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1995. Pp. 306. DM 58.

Despite a spate of recent scholarly publications exploring aspects of youth welfare policy during the Weimar Republic, this excellent analytical monograph by Marcus Gräser demonstrates that the subject is far from being exhausted. Through new research and a detailed account of the development and decline of youth welfare and correctional education from the late nineteenth century to the Nazi seizure of power, Gräser contributes significantly to our understanding of the Weimar welfare state. His study combines a social history of urban "underclass" youth—delinquent or morally endangered young people often from broken working-class families, who were assigned to foster care or correctional education—with a sophisticated

critical assessment of the ideologies and institutions of youth welfare.

Gräser's primary polemical target is the late Detlev Peukert's Weberian and Foucauldian-inspired examination of German youth welfare policy as an example of the emergence of the disciplinary society and the potentially pathological consequences of modernity. Although Gräser shares Peukert's sharp criticisms of Weimar youth policy, his analysis is more historically specific. The author argues that despite the passage of the Youth Welfare Law of 1922 and the creation of some promising experimental institutions, general modernization and reform were handicapped by divisions between Social Democratic and middle-class reformers, ambiguities of reformers over preparing endangered youth for an industrial capitalist labor force, and jurisdictional disputes between state, municipal, and private agencies. More importantly, however, conservative and religious groups successfully blocked general reforms. These groups regarded urban life and an industrial economy as the roots of delinquency and moral degeneration among lower-class youth. Hence, they staunchly defended isolated institutions that fostered piety, discipline, and preparation for work in the declining agricultural and craft sectors. Thus Gräser's study falls within a historiographical tradition that ascribes the failure of Weimar democracy to deficient modernity and the persistence of preindustrial ideologies, institutions, and elites.

Gräser also denies that the Depression precipitated the crisis of youth welfare. One of the many strengths of this book is Gräser's extensive treatment of the revolts, suicides, and scandals that shook correctional education institutions and attracted considerable public attention well before 1929. Moreover, Gräser emphasizes the acute deficiencies of the standard ideologies legitimating youth welfare that had emerged before or during the war. Neither the middle-class social imperialists who promoted youth welfare for national efficiency nor the social democrats who sought to transform youth welfare agencies into vehicles to equalize the life chances of underclass youth could accommodate to the economic difficulties and political weakness of the Republic. Well before 1929, racial hygienists and conservatives were already excoriating public correctional education institutions for supposedly spending lavishly, breeding young criminals and pampering the ostensibly degenerate and ineducable. The fiscal crisis that accompanied the Depression enabled these critics to launch a concerted onslaught against the inmates of these institutions, at the very moment that the social conditions of young workers rapidly deteriorated and unemployment, impoverishment, vagabondage, and urban youth gangs became pervasive.

Although Gräser's study is thoroughly researched, tightly argued, well written, and largely persuasive, it suffers from two shortcomings. First, some comparison with youth welfare of other nations would have made Gräser's analysis more compelling. Were religiously or

publicly sponsored youth correctional facilities in other industrial nations, including Britain and the United States, markedly different from their German counterparts? Second, although the meanings of "modern" can usually be inferred, the character of "modernity" is undertheorized. Sometimes, "modern" means industrial and urban, but at other times, it seems to be equated with liberal, secular, and democratic values, a problem given Gräser's critique of Peukert. Nonetheless, this work deserves to become the standard analysis of youth welfare during the Weimar Republic and substantially enriches historical understanding of the insurmountable impediments confronting the construction of a welfare state and humane youth policy in Weimar Germany.

DEREK S. LINTON

*Hobart and William Smith Colleges*

CHRISTOPHER KOPPER. *Zwischen Marktwirtschaft und Dirigismus: Bankenpolitik im "Dritten Reich" 1933–1939*. Bonn: Bouvier. 1995. Pp. 400. DM 75.

The restraint and lucidity of this account effectively set off the magnitude of Adolph Hitler's diabolical political genius in creating a great war machine with the help of Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht, a banker of technical and some political genius. Hitler and Schacht began with a minimally armed nation in deep economic depression, and their future victims observed, deplored, and cooperated. Part of Hitler's genius was his ability to mediate between his rubbishy conceptions, including crank monetary ideas, and his instinct for what worked politically at home and abroad. He easily manipulated a banker who believed in sound banking principles and was conceited enough to think that he could make the manipulation mutual and set limits to an appetite for deficits and war.

While hurling his real or imagined enemies into concentration camps, Hitler worked flexibly and tolerantly with an invaluable expert who frequently said "no" to him. One intriguing aspect of their collaborative work had to do with the situation of the major Jewish banks. Christopher Kopper subtly traces the pattern permitting their survival into 1938, Schacht having protected them as convenient to his (and Hitler's) operations. Not until that year did Hitler feel he could indulge his anti-Semitic principles and eliminate such embarrassing assistance.

Before Hitler took power, he had accurately seen Schacht, the former president of the Reichsbank under the Weimar Republic, as the "Guarantor" of his employment and rearmament policies as well as potentially persuasive in retaining foreign funds that might otherwise flee the country (p. 27). He made Schacht president of the bank again in March 1933, economics minister in the summer of 1934, and, in May 1935, the extravagantly entitled general plenipotentiary for the war effort. Fluently justifying his chief's choice, Schacht organized an efficient financial economy to serve rearmament internally by providing



cheap money and externally by using Germany's growing economic power to negotiate bilateral agreements.

In early 1935, Schacht achieved the cheap money for the Third Reich through the artful conversion of a huge debt burden to lower interest rates. The artfulness combined modest premiums for cooperative debt-holders with a threat that the noncooperative would find their paper worthless. In the summer of 1932, without being able to wield a totalitarian state's uninhibited power, the British Treasury had converted its five percent War Loan, a huge internal war debt, to three and a half percent, a huge success. Schacht's slicker and easier conversion scheme won a written note of congratulation from Hitler. A half-year later, the leader began to withdraw his favor.

In August 1935, Hitler gave Hermann Göring, responsible for the (expensive) Four-Year Plan, authority over Schacht, trying as ever to restrain expenditures. Now, with the modest measure of economic strength already provided, Hitler accelerated his war preparations, overwhelming Schacht's financial pedantry. His *Helfershelfer* was out of the Economics Ministry in November 1937 and the Reichsbank in January 1939. If Schacht could not outmanipulate Hitler, he could take revenge for his master's ingratitude by living. A genius at survival, Schacht (1877–1970) rose out of Nazi and Allied internment (for having plotted against and for Hitler) to resume his career as banker and to tell the self-congratulatory tale in his *My First Seventy-Six Years* (1955).

Kopper, who was able to take advantage of the 1989 democratic revolution to search the old East German archives, has managed his statistics and personages economically and meaningfully. While he provides exhaustive figures and pursues intricate banking maneuvers, his sense of proportion frames them carefully within a larger significance. His account is a generous contribution to understanding a confusing combination of the recondite and the overwhelming. He might have relaxed his discipline as writer of a model monograph to expand more, even speculatively, on the broader political context. Schacht's effectiveness was conditional, as Kopper notes, on "the abolition of parliamentary institutions" (p. 355) and, one must add, on Hitler's conscious administration of wholesale murder.

DAVID FELIX  
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ENZO TRAVERSO. *The Jews and Germany: From the "Judeo-German Symbiosis" to the Memory of Auschwitz*. Translated by DANIEL WEISSBORT. (Texts and Contexts, number 14.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 215. \$33.50.

When, more than thirty years ago, Gershom Scholem, the German Jewish intellectual and pioneering scholar of Jewish mysticism, first published his denial that a dialogue between German Jews and non-Jews had ever taken place, he provoked an ongoing debate. Scholem

insisted that the German Jews had only conducted a monologue, that there had been no mutuality at all. Enzo Traverso, an Italian scholar who does documentary research on Germany in Nanterre, fully shares Scholem's view that the notion a dialogue took place between ca. 1750 and 1933 was simply a cherished Jewish myth. In a variety of ways his book serves to strengthen that position. Yet Traverso does believe a different kind of encounter took place, not between Jews and Germans, but between the Jewish tradition and the German *Geist*. This phenomenon, which resulted in an extraordinary burst of creativity, he is willing to call the real "Judeo-German symbiosis."

Drawing copiously on the controversial historical work of Hannah Arendt, Traverso devotes two chapters of his book to categories that Arendt had laid out beginning in 1944: the Jew as pariah and the Jew as parvenu. The pariahs were mostly Jewish intellectuals, ranging from the *salonnière* Rahel Varnhagen, whose biography Arendt wrote in her own image, to Heinrich Heine and to Hannah Arendt herself among German Jews, and to Rosa Luxemburg, Bernard Lazare and Charlie Chaplin among non-German Jews. Traverso gives one Jewish pariah special attention, devoting an entire chapter to the Austrian Jewish writer Joseph Roth, whom he calls "the archetypal incarnation of the rootless Jewish intellectual" (p. 66). The parvenus, in Traverso's view, were most Western Jews, those who were intent upon what the author casually calls "assimilation," a term most historians have come to regard as methodologically problematic. Into this category Traverso places—not surprisingly—Bismarck's status-seeking banker Gerson Bleichröder and the worshipful admirer of Germanic traits Walther Rathenau, but also—more questionably—religious figures like Moses Mendelssohn in the eighteenth century and Leo Baeck in the twentieth. Like Arendt, Traverso grossly misunderstands Baeck, whose decision to remain as the leader of German Jewry in the 1930s he mistakenly implies was due to his failure to awaken from the "dream of assimilation" (p. 37).

The last two chapters are only loosely linked to the rest of the brief volume and contribute even less that is original. They take us once more through an analysis of historical interpretations of the Holocaust (intentionalists versus functionalists), the question of its uniqueness, the German *Historikerstreit*, and Holocaust revisionism. All of this subject matter was a bit more novel when the book first came out in French in 1992. Literature on these topics since then—not considered in this English version—makes its review here largely superfluous. One must also regrettably take note of the extremely sloppy editing, which allowed dozens of errors in the spelling of personal names and German terms to pass into the printed text. A factual error that allows Rosa Luxemburg (born 1871) to carry on a correspondence with Rahel Varnhagen (died 1833) is unforgivable. Finally, the German terms *Deutschtum* and *Judentum* are rendered here, in keeping with the French *Germanité* and *Judéité*, as "Germanity" and

"Judeity," neologisms that in my view have no advantage over "Germanness" and "Jewishness" (or German and Jewish identity).

MICHAEL A. MEYER  
Hebrew Union College

HERBERT HIRSCH. *Genocide and the Politics of Memory: Studying Death to Preserve Life*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 240. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

Years ago, Isaiah Berlin borrowed a saying from the Greek poet Archilochus—that "the fox knows many things, the hedgehog knows one thing"—to differentiate between philosophers of history. Holocaust literature also has its foxes and hedgehogs. The foxes of Holocaust historiography, such as Raul Hilberg, Christopher Browning, Randolph L. Braham, and Gita Sereny, have laid bare the destructive process through meticulous research; others, such as Richard Rubenstein, Peter Hayes, Alan Rosenberg, and Ervin Staub, have attempted to view the Holocaust philosophically and comprehend its meaning for us. Herbert Hirsch's work belongs in the latter category. Its substantial scholarship is always in the service of an only thinly veiled, desperate *cri de coeur*. Hirsch, using memory as an organizing concept, surveys some of the major issues of Holocaust interpretation.

Although written from a sociological perspective, Hirsch cannot escape his need to romanticize and mystify: "My own view is that we learn much more about life from the memory of those who have survived mass death than from any social science text. People who have struggled to survive and bear witness to evil are heroes and prophets" (p. 41). This viewpoint governs his interpretation of the Bettelheim/Des Pres conflict. Bruno Bettelheim, a psychoanalyst who spent some time in a concentration camp (but not a death camp), argued in his now famous article, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations" (*Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 38 [1943], 417–51), that one aspect of the adjustment process of most prisoners was the development of a personality structure willing and able to accept SS values and behavior as its own. He had further asserted that the SS was successful in its attempts to infantilize prisoners. Terrence Des Pres (among others) viewed this as calumny, an insult to the prisoners who coped heroically under extreme conditions. Hirsch, critical of Bettelheim on both scholarly and moral grounds, comments: "Yet all memory is not constructed with the same compassion for those who have suffered. In fact when the experience of the survivor is filtered through some forms of theory which can function as an ideological screen separating the survivor's experience from the survivor's humanity a great deal of the compassion and humanity are removed. The memory that is thus constructed is harsh and condemning and not likely to lead to empathy and understanding" (p. 55).

The question of "how people can do these things" is

a perennial one, appearing in nearly all studies of the Holocaust. Hirsch discusses conditions for genocide by providing a critical and valuable discussion of some of the salient works (Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil* [1989], Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority* [1979], and Herbert C. Kelman and V. Lee Hamilton, *Crimes of Obedience* [1989]). He concludes: "Society encourages conscientious behavior, or following orders, without conscience" (p. 173). Christopher R. Browning's *Ordinary Men* (1992), regrettably not discussed by Hirsch, has taken these analyses out of the realm of theory by showing how nearly all the men in one unit actively participated in mass killings even when offered the opportunity by their commanding officer to withdraw from them. Hirsch's book serves as a valuable point of departure for an examination of some of the major issues of Holocaust interpretation.

GEORGE M. KREN  
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LAWRENCE BIRKEN. *Hitler as Philosopher: Remnants of the Enlightenment in National Socialism*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1995. Pp. viii, 118. \$45.00.

A self-proclaimed postmodernist intellectual, Lawrence Birken attempts to "reconstruct (and thus deconstruct) Hitler's thought" (p. 8) in relationship to the Enlightenment, thereby integrating him into the history of ideas. Though not seeking to rehabilitate Adolf Hitler, he criticizes others for not taking him seriously as a thinker, because Birken is honestly worried about the enduring appeal of Hitlerian ideas. Birken treats Hitler as an intellectual on a par with Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, and others; he frequently compares their ideas. But Birken fails to establish why a figure so hostile to intellectuals and abstract thinking as Hitler, whose writings consist only of *Mein Kampf* and an unpublished secret book, and who formulated no original concept or systematic theory, should be considered an intellectual.

To show that Hitler popularized "Enlightenment values," Birken extracts parts from Hitler's writings and statements to make abstract comparisons with the ideas of the philosophes. Thus, Hitler appears as a proponent of Enlightenment optimism, progress, and human perfectibility through adherence to natural law theory, as these were revised by racial nationalists. In reconciling social classes around the nation as a substitute God, he is a Jacobin; in his sexual politics, Hitler "resembled none other than . . . Rousseau" (p. 65); and he was an insightful economic thinker, a "classical physiocrat" (p. 52) in the tradition of David Ricardo.

One receives a narrow, distorted view of the Enlightenment as essentially the progenitor of racial nationalism and anti-Semitism. Birken disregards the broad spectrum of Enlightenment thought, including those historically consequential liberal, humanitarian, and other progressive and universalistic trends against which the Nazis actually defined themselves and so

fervently struggled. Similarly, except for *völkisch* nationalism, Birken neglects nineteenth-century currents, although Nazi ideology stemmed mostly from these. Equally surprising, Birken depicts Hitler and Nazism as pre-Darwinian, despite the fact that Social Darwinism provided the main foundation for Nazi ideology. He also ignores the racial theories and eugenics movement, without which Hitler, Nazism, or the cultural climate in which they emerged and functioned are incomprehensible.

Birken acknowledges the centrality of racism for Hitler but interprets it as something "carefully constructed to correspond to his economic ideas" (p. 57) and nationalism. Anti-Semitism was "nothing more than German self-hatred projected" (p. 75) onto the Jews. Racism and anti-Semitism were clever means Hitler used to unite the Germans and to furnish nationalism with a "metaphysical foundation" (p. 87) to compensate for the lack of any other firm basis for unity. In a more cosmic sense, racial nationalism filled the niche between medieval Christian morality and relativistic twentieth-century nihilism. Birken sees a resurgent racial nationalism threatening to fill just that niche in multicultural contemporary America and proposes to avoid that tragedy through a "postmodern civic morality" (p. 103).

This book's premise is as dubious as its title sounds. Much of it also deviates into unnecessary surveys of elementary German history or excursions into such lofty subjects as Marx's "secular theodicy" (p. 69) and Freud's seduction theory. Based on limited English sources, it has little to offer anyone familiar with this field. Despite efforts to make the well-known and obvious sound like profound discoveries, its only new aspects are Birken's unconvincing arguments.

JOSEPH W. BENDERSKY  
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DANIEL E. ROGERS. *Politics after Hitler: The Western Allies and the German Party System*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 206. \$40.00.

This brief but useful book describes the role of the victorious Allies in the restoration of party politics in postwar Germany. Its thesis is that "the Allies, fearful of reaction, revolution, nationalism and fragmentation, reacted to German political initiatives by limiting the incipient political party system to fewer and more moderate parties than would have otherwise arisen" (p. ix). According to Daniel E. Rogers, the extent of this intervention is often overlooked. Without it, "1949 would have been 1919 all over again" (p. x).

In early 1945, the primary concern of the victors was to suppress, not encourage, political activity in defeated Germany. This attitude had to be abandoned in the face of two factors: indigenous political activity on the part of the Germans and the approval of the formation of political parties in the Soviet zone in June 1945. The Soviet action forced the hands of the

western Allies, and the decision to permit parties was confirmed at Potsdam.

Control over the process was achieved by a system of licensing. Licensing policies varied widely. The Soviets initially licensed four parties, but then quickly began to push for a merger of the socialists and communists into the communist-dominated Socialist Unity Party (SED). The French also sanctioned four parties, allowing no more to be founded and strictly limiting their geographic range. The British permitted parties to be formed first on the local and then on a zonal basis. The number of parties was not limited, but in practice it became increasingly restricted. The Americans permitted parties first on the local, then the state, and, finally, the zonal level.

Although the techniques employed varied, the end result, Rogers argues, was the same: a conscious narrowing of options and the encouragement of the more moderate parties. Undesirable parties were either banned outright or suffocated through bureaucratic chicanery. Specifically expelled parties were prohibited from the start. The British allowed rightist and regional parties to lead limited lives in order to drain radical elements from the Christian Democratic Party, while the Americans banned monarchist-separatists in Bavaria and throttled right radical attempts in Hesse by refusing to grant a statewide license.

The suppression of potential reaction was coupled with that of potential revolution. Efforts to expand the SED experiment to the western zones or otherwise to enhance the appeal of the Communist Party were steadfastly thwarted by the western Allies. Although their opposition to the expansion of communist influence was concerted, it was largely reactive, and Rogers argues convincingly that their earlier suppression of the Antifas was the result of opposition to political activity of any sort rather than part of a restorative agenda.

The end result, Rogers concludes, was a stable party structure that contributed greatly to the success of the Federal Republic. On the whole, this is correct. Yet in emphasizing the role of the occupiers, he at times goes too far, neglecting positive continuities that contributed to the growth of the major parties as well as overlooking the lessons learned by the Germans themselves. That without Allied intervention, "1949 would have been 1919 all over again" is not an absolute certainty. Events in Germany since 1919 made an impact not only on the planners of the occupation but on their German counterparts as well. In short, although Rogers is correct in noting the role of the former, one must not overlook the indigenous factors that shaped the revival of the German party system after 1945.

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HEIDE FEHRENBACH. *Cinema in Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity after Hitler*.

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 364. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

In the history of cinema, Germany's postwar achievements pale between those of Weimar and Nazi filmmakers or, more recently, the New German Cinema. Nevertheless, in the history of film as culture—as contested space between government, churches, audiences, cognoscenti and national industries—postwar Germany is eminently deserving of the close reading this study offers. Heide Fehrenbach's book is an impressively layered and finely textured analysis of the competing agendas that shaped the reconstruction of Germany and German cinema after the collapse of 1945. Methodologically informed by the multiple perspectives of the best recent cultural history, Fehrenbach elucidates the interrelations among politics, gender, morality, and religion in a film-specific framework of financing, audience preferences, and creative aspirations. Along the way, she selects for more detailed analysis a half-dozen feature films to illustrate key arguments.

The motion-picture genre by which this period is remembered, the *Heimatfilm*, figures here as a symptom of compromises arrived at between the major forces working to put their stamp on the postwar era. The starting point for Fehrenbach is American occupation policy, partly in terms of reeducation, but more essentially for its contribution to the structure of postwar German film (decartelization and self-regulation rather than state censorship). She refuses, however, to treat either Hollywood or America's official intervention as the culprit for the provincialism of domestic production. The *Heimatfilm* was also spawned by domestic reflex responses to the medium, to the immediate past, and to the overriding challenge of recasting German national identity. Most of these reflexes had lengthy traditions. Anxiety about the influence of the moving picture on morality, family, and society, and thus on national strength and cohesion; resistance to the inroads of Hollywood as a particular threat to national identity; concerted efforts by cultural authorities, above all the churches, to contain the ideological and social damage: these threads can be traced back before the Third Reich, and in many cases to before World War I. (Perhaps only the perceived "crisis of masculinity," and thus of gender roles, was novel, although even here Fehrenbach draws parallels with the post-World War I period.)

What was new and gave these concerns renewed prominence was the trauma of national defeat, the social and cultural void thereby left, and the enhanced position of the churches. Catholic interests in particular lobbied vigorously for censorship modifications and for state and federal subsidies only for those films that trod a comfortable and morally appropriate path. In addition, they organized the movie-going public into film leagues that, by submitting questions of taste and morality to the church, gave the latter substantial indirect influence in the production of programs.

Fehrenbach argues persuasively that these pressures coincided with public preferences. In an age of dislocation, *Heimat* stood for security and identity, not to mention a reassuring freedom to overlook the recent past. The provincialism of postwar German cinema therefore corresponded broadly to the public mood. Only with the social changes accompanying the economic miracle did rival conceptions of cinema find articulation and imported motion pictures gain broad popularity.

Fehrenbach portrays Hollywood's role in all of this as less dominant and more ambiguous than is usually assumed. After filling the immediate postwar gap for movie entertainment, American movies did not capture viewer interest until the demise of the *Heimatfilm* in the late 1950s. Then they offered the younger generation escape from the culture of their parents, just as French and Italian models presented cineastes with ammunition against the sterility of domestic production. Simultaneously and ironically, as Fehrenbach notes, the consumer values enshrined in American movies, otherwise challenged as a national threat, became part of the arsenal with which the young West German state opposed communism.

This book is both tightly woven and engagingly written. Providing fresh and provocative ways of approaching the problem of national cinema, Fehrenbach also highlights the hesitant and problematic steps toward the creation of a national identity in West Germany. It is essential reading not only for scholars of German cinema but for anyone concerned to understand the development of postwar German democracy.

THOMAS J. SAUNDERS  
University of Victoria

RANDOLPH C. HEAD. *Early Modern Democracy in the Grisons: Social Order and Political Language in a Swiss Mountain Canton, 1470–1620*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 287. \$59.95.

A mounting pile of evidence has shown that communalism and communal institutions were common features of late medieval and early modern Europe. Based on principles of equality and mutual responsibility for the management of common resources and aid in times of trouble, communes bound individual households together through oath-taking into lasting associations that often were among the most important affecting the lives of peasants and burghers alike. In most cases, communalism existed at the sufferance of secular or ecclesiastical lords, and its influence was limited primarily to local matters. The major exception to this rule was found in the central Alps region where, unlike anywhere else in Europe, the establishment and exercise of public authority became the responsibility of village and regional communes, and lordly authority was limited to the relations between landowners and their tenants. Randolph C. Head provides us with a



detailed and fascinating examination of the origins and flourishing of communalism in the southeastern part of this region.

Various known as Grisons, Graubünden, Grischun, or Grigioni, the territory in question today constitutes one of the Swiss mountain cantons. But such was not always the case. Beginning in the fifteenth century, some fifty communities and jurisdictions, primarily in the upper reaches of the Rhine and Inn (Engadine) valleys but including a few from beyond the ridges to the south, first grouped together into three leagues and finally, in 1524, into a single, separate confederation known as the Rhaetian Freestate. The Freestate continued a more or less distinct existence until it became part of the Swiss Confederation in 1803.

The structure of Head's book is simple and straightforward. After an introduction that describes the distinctiveness of the Rhaetian Freestate in terms of social order, politics, and political language during the early modern period, chapter one develops a model of communalism in early modern Europe, shows how the Freestate fit that model, and compares it to other, contemporary models of political organization. Chronological chapters alternate with analytical ones thereafter. Chapters two, four, and six explore the origins of the Freestate to 1524, the development of its institutions and political practice during the sixteenth century, and the internal political crises and outside pressures between 1580 and 1620 that began to compromise its traditions and autonomy. Chapters three, five, and seven examine how local political practice contributed to the construction of the Freestate, how communal values kept a check on elite political ambitions, and how the crises of the early seventeenth century were reflected in the pamphlets, songs, and reports of the era. The conclusion focuses on the remarkable degree to which the political practice and culture of the Rhaetian Freestate can be described as democratic.

Despite many internal and external pressures to do so, the Freestate never developed the highly centralized authority so characteristic of most early modern states. The individual communes, ranging from tiny oligarchies to surprisingly democratic entities, remained the essential building blocks of the state, each represented in the full assembly or *Bundestag* that, despite numerous smaller assemblies or *Beitagen* of selected communes, was responsible for establishing and implementing public policy in the Freestate. Delegates were expected to report back to the communes that sent them, and the latter reserved the right to accept or reject all decisions taken by the assemblies. Until well into the seventeenth century, horizontal solidarity continued to set the tone of political life in the Freestate.

All in all, this book is a fine piece of work. Head drew his material from a very broad base of sources, while his discussions of this material indicate a thorough grasp of the existing, historical literature. Indeed,

this is such a well-researched and clearly explicated study that it is difficult to find much fault with it. A minor criticism stems from his suggestion, following Heide Wunder, that communes only began to develop in Europe since about the thirteenth century; a number of medievalists, including Susan Reynolds, for example, have demonstrated that they had been around much longer than that. In addition, the index appears to be somewhat inconsistent: Heide Wunder, for example, is not included while other authors referred to are. But these are minor criticisms when compared to what Head actually has accomplished.

WILLIAM H. TeBRAKE  
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ALBERT TANNER. *Arbeitsame Patrioten—wohlanständige Damen: Bürgertum und Bürgerlichkeit in der Schweiz 1830–1914*. Zurich: Orell Füssli. 1995. Pp. ix, 848.

The development of the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century in Central Europe has been a focal point of historical interest during the past decade. Prominent studies include Lothar Gall's *Bürgertum in Deutschland* (1989), a sensitive interpretation of the fortunes of the Bassermann family between the sixteenth century and the end of World War II; Jürgen Kocka's three-volume collection of articles on bourgeois society in nineteenth-century Europe (1988); and the incisive chapters on bourgeois lifestyles and values by Thomas Nipperdey and Hans-Ulrich Wehler in their respective surveys of the society and politics of Imperial Germany (1990, 1995).

Although linguistically and culturally close to these works, Albert Tanner is more drawn toward the empirical studies of French bourgeois life by Adeline Daumard (*La bourgeoisie Parisienne de 1815 à 1848* [1963]) and Jean-Pierre Chaline (*Les bourgeois de Rouen* [1980]), which he discusses at length in his introduction. Tanner's study concentrates on the cantons of Bern and Zürich as the two counterpoints of Swiss bourgeois life: the conservative administrative center of Bern, the Swiss capital, where patricians continued speaking French among themselves; and the industrialized, commercial, and less aristocratic Zürich, which would soon develop into the industrial and financial center of Switzerland. Tanner's weighty tome (over 700 pages of text) is subdivided into three parts, each of which might have been a monograph in its own right.

The first part constitutes a sophisticated sociological analysis of the Swiss bourgeoisie in all its ramifications, centered on Bern and Zürich but touching on other towns as well. In dozens of meticulously detailed tables, a superb sociological analysis unfolds: Tanner scrutinizes the social and professional structure of the bourgeoisie down to the number of servants in their households and provides an elaborate breakdown of the bourgeoisie in regard to income and wealth.

For those historians of the European bourgeoisie not sharing a particular predilection for the Swiss case,

it is the second part of the book that will undoubtedly be of most interest, for here comparisons with the rest of nineteenth-century Europe are most easily made. Tanner analyzes bourgeois identity, the role of women and the family, values governing married life, gender-specific roles in the family circle, and, in perhaps the most incisive sections of the whole book, bourgeois virtues and values. Already children were encouraged to keep accounts of their pocket money, familiarizing them early on with rational spending habits and inculcating the cardinal bourgeois virtue: thrift. In fascinating passages mediated through diaries, memoirs, obituaries, and letters, Tanner lays bare the bourgeois inner world: the striving for success (but not at any price); the emphasis on duty and achievement; the importance of leading a rational life; the constant struggle for moral, intellectual and social self-improvement; the self-imposed asceticism required to prepare one for the often dire exigencies of professional life; appreciation of the arts and of *Wissenschaft*; and, of course, the sublimation of desires, even though one gets the impression that the Swiss *Bürgertum* was not quite as repressed as its German, in particular the Prussian, counterparts. Many of the above-listed traits are typical of the German *Bildungsbürgertum*, and one is struck by Tanner's reluctance to use the term (he prefers "*bourgeoisie des talents*") until it becomes obvious that there really was no *Bildungsbürgertum* in Switzerland. A common heritage, a unifying *Bildungs-idee*, and the larger frame of a powerful state were all conspicuously absent.

The third part of the book focuses on the struggles within the *Bürgertum*, tracing how the middle classes eventually gained ground against the old seigniorial patricians to partake in city government and finally examining their fight against a rising proletariat, a conflict that was less acrimonious among the Swiss than among their more powerful neighbor to the north. In Switzerland the bourgeoisie was united as in no other European country: the *Bürgerblock* of 1905, including democrats, left-liberals, liberals, and members of the Catholic-conservative party, held 158 out of 167 seats in the *Nationalrat*. There was little chance of social revolution. Tanner's meticulous research and incisive narrative bring to life the social and political development of the *Bürgertum* in nineteenth-century Switzerland.

HERMANN BECK  
University of Miami

KAI HÄGGMAN. *Perheen vuosisata: Perheen ihanne ja sivistyneistön elämäntapa 1800-luvun Suomessa* [The Century of Family: The Ideal Family and Bourgeois Lifestyle in Nineteenth-Century Finland]. Summary in English. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 179.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1994. Pp. 255.

By defining the family as the backbone of national unity and identity, the bourgeoisie distinguished itself as the moral and cultural avant-garde in mid-nine-

teenth-century Finland. The family became the centerpiece of a new conception of happiness and the good life, which united a locally adapted Hegelian state ideology and German individualistic definitions of happiness.

Kai Häggman's study on the family and the lifestyle of the bourgeoisie in Finland consists of three parts. In the first and last parts, Häggman explores the ideal of the family in nineteenth-century Finland, its eighteenth-century antecedents, and debates about the family in the press. A reinvented "Finnishness" tied to the ancient oral culture of the *Kalevala* developed, distinct from both the "Finnishness" of the lower classes and the "Swedishness" of the upper classes. This new cultural identity enabled the educated middle class to create for itself a sense of purpose in a society undergoing rapid social change.

Beginning in the 1840s, the emerging family morality incited part of the Swedish-speaking bourgeoisie to learn Finnish, to separate the servants from the family, to abandon corporal punishment in the education of the children, and, increasingly, to emphasize a German individualistic ideal defined against the hierarchies and amorality of the *ancien régime* identified with "Frenchness." Transformed into official state ideology, this family ideal became an instrument for the cultural hegemonic strategy of the rising middle class.

In the second part of his study, Häggman draws a fascinating picture of a bourgeois family, the Vaseniuses, from the end of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. Häggman convincingly demonstrates through this case study how the process of idealization and transformation of the family took place. The sources used range from over 3,000 personal letters, diaries, and private archival materials to materials relative to the social history of Helsinki. Häggman sheds light on the changing conceptions of the family from the point of view of the experiences of the members of the Vasenius family. These experiences indicate that during the course of the nineteenth century the nuclear family was slowly separated physically and morally from the family business (which included international trade, factories, and farming) on the one hand and from the servants on the other hand. The authority of the parents was increasingly questioned. The extended family was transformed into a nuclear family.

Häggman's elegantly written study represents a new wave of Finnish historical research, exemplified by recent studies in the so-called "new family history" such as Beatrice Moring's *Skärgårdsbor: Hushåll, Familj Och Demografi* (1994) and Pirjo Markkola's *Työläiskodin Synty* (1994). The strengths and weaknesses of the approach represented by Häggman have to do with his attempt to combine micro and macro levels of analysis. Although this strategy allows the author to shed new light on old problems, his separation of the chapters dealing with state ideology and public debates from the chapter examining everyday family experiences actually reinforces the division that

he proposed initially to overcome. Häggman's study fits nicely with interdisciplinary research seeking to wed collectivism and individualism in other areas such as the social sciences.

NILLO KAUPPI  
University of Helsinki

PETER BILLING and MIKAEL STIGENDAL. *Hegemonins Decennier: Lärdomar från Malmö om den svenska modellen*. [Decades of Hegemony: Lessons from Malmö on the Swedish Model]. Summary in English. Malmö, Sweden: Möllevångens Samhällsanalys. 1994. Pp. 440.

The "Swedish model" welfare state is up for reexamination. What once seemed leakproof now appears to be sinking. How, it might then be asked, did its previous stability come about, and why did it not persist? These questions are what Peter Billing and Mikael Stigendal try to answer by looking at the welfare state, in microcosm, in the Swedish city of Malmö from the 1950s to the 1980s.

What a person can have faith in nowadays is also asked, but subliminally. Evidently not social democracy. Billing and Stigendal adopt instead the ideas of Antonio Gramsci, who took over leadership of the Italian Communist Party in 1926 just in time to be put in jail, where he wrote essays still read in neo-Marxist circles. Gramsci held that a country's ruling class governs by exercising cultural and economic "hegemony," from which it follows that the working class will triumph when it possesses this same magic. Billing and Stigendal use "hegemony" for both descriptive and explanatory purposes. Malmö's stability serves as evidence that hegemony existed, and it is ascribed to a fortuitous combination of capitalist, labor, and cultural entities that together managed to have it.

The thesis is presented in five sections, one each on capitalism, class and gender roles, cultural institutions, housing policy, and community socialization. None of these sections is devoted to politics as such or to any overall struggle for hegemony, yet generous attention is given to events, decisions, and styles of political and social life in the city during the period under study. Housing policy is especially well explained.

Each section begins with a theoretical discussion that tells the reader how the factual material that follows may properly be understood to validate the theoretical discussion. To appreciate these tautological exercises, it helps to be attuned to Gramscian abstractions beyond the range of ordinary empiricism. For example, just as Gramsci spotted what he called "fordism" operating in situations where mass consumption feeds on mass production, so do Billing and Stigendal see "fordism" as a major influence on Malmö's development.

The authors call themselves "critical realists," explaining that they regard human events as consequences both of "subjective" factors (human actions) and "objective" factors (social structures and institu-

tional forces). This has less to do with a search for objective truth, which for neo-Marxism would be a problem anyway, than it has to do with academic controversy about what mix of concepts drawn from separate disciplines of history and sociology makes the best alloy.

Neo-Marxist sociology gets the best of it, and history, at least as a story of movement from past to present, is diluted. Little reference is made to Sweden's astonishing transformation in this century from a poverty-ridden to a prosperous country where equality was promoted by deliberate statecraft. But much is said about socioeconomic structures and class stratifications to which people were forced to conform by a hegemonic order that, by this *post hoc* analysis, was doomed from the start. Thus a Social Democratic elite played footsie with bourgeois forces to uphold an "accumulative capitalism" practicing exploitation. Workers were not only milked for surplus value by capitalists but also shamed by union leaders and well-off skilled workers ("the worker aristocracy") to leave off being rowdy and become diligent, punctual, sober, and tidy. Likewise women were lured into low-wage jobs reserved for their sex and conned by the culture into domestic drudgery, which also yielded surplus value to the system.

In the expanding body of works attempting to explain the rise and fall of the welfare state, this book occupies the neo-Marxist sector. Other points of view exist, among them journalist Björn Elmbrant's excellent *Så föll den svenska modellen* (1993), which attracted big notice in Sweden but not from Billing or Stigendal.

The book closes with a seven-page English summary entitled "Decades of Hegemony."

BERTIL L. HANSON  
Oklahoma State University

MIGUEL ANGEL ECHEVARRÍA BACIGALUPE. *Alberto Struzzi: Un precursor barroco del capitalismo liberal*. (Avisos de Flandes, number 4.) Leuven: Leuven University Press. 1995. Pp. 250.

This book by Miguel Angel Echevarría Bacigalupe focuses on Alberto Struzzi as one of the most perceptive among the group of writers who diagnosed the economic ills of seventeenth-century Spain and prescribed remedies. Echevarría's study is not a classic biography but rather an analysis of Struzzi's economic and political thoughts. His thesis is that Struzzi's ideas were extraordinarily innovative and, for that reason, he deserves a place among the most eminent thinkers of seventeenth-century Europe.

According to Echevarría, Struzzi has been unfairly treated by both his contemporaries and by modern historians. An Italian-born diplomat who served as a spy for Spain in the Low Countries mainly during the regency of Alessandro Farnese, Struzzi was sent to Madrid in 1614 as representative of the Flemish interests at the Spanish Court. There Struzzi spent the

last twenty-four years of his life, during which he wrote his *arbitrios* (reports) detailing remedies for the economic and political troubles of the Spanish monarchy.

Struzzi's views clashed with the official policies of the powerful Count of Olivares and with the mainstream of Spanish economic thought. His most controversial proposal was the creation of a free market space within the boundaries of the extensive Spanish Empire to facilitate the exchange of goods and services. This suggestion was obviously determined by his position as representative of the Flemish interests in the court of Phillip IV, and, more specifically, he was lobbying for the manufacturers of textile goods. Based on these considerations, Struzzi's recommendations were considered biased. Traditionally he has been portrayed as a secondary writer whose writings lacked structure and whose proposed solutions were unrealistic. Echevarría argues at length against this approach by describing Struzzi as an innovative thinker who anticipated modern liberalism, proposed something close to an economic system for the Spanish imperial territories, and acted like a patriot in the context of the Spanish dominions.

There is no doubt that Struzzi was a singular thinker; however, Echevarría exaggerates his significance in the context of early modern European economic thought, and this is the major problem of the book. Struzzi, who only published one short report in all his life and whose unpublished manuscripts number only a few hundred pages, is treated as a sort of Galileo of economic thought. This excess makes the book somewhat repetitive and hagiographic. Otherwise, Echevarría has made a meaningful contribution to our understanding of seventeenth-century Spanish and European economic thinking.

JESUS CRUZ  
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PEGERTO SAAVEDRA. *La vida cotidiana en la Galicia del antiguo régimen*. (Crítica/Historia del Mundo Moderno.) Barcelona: Crítica. 1994. Pp. 412.

This is Pegerto Saavedra's Castilian translation of his prizewinning 1992 Gallegan book, whose objective was to provide a "total history:" a coherent, complete, and blended—but also personal—vision of Galicia, the province on Spain's northwestern coast, between 1600 and 1850. Though Saavedra cites Spanish translations of books by R. Muchembled and N. Z. Davis, the model he follows is that of E. P. Thompson. Thus he recognizes the need to establish the context in which Gallegan farmers carried out their activities in the pre-modern age.

Saavedra describes that context as a material culture typical of any agrarian economy, beginning with income, crops, work, and edibles. This was the period when Galicia finally overcame the disadvantage of its rainy weather by cultivating potatoes, corn, and nitrogen-fixing legumes. During the eighteenth century, as Saavedra has demonstrated decisively in his earlier

books, Gallegan agriculture finally produced the surplus that would bring the region's productivity up to the level of Castile and then surpass it.

Greater diversity and productivity, however, were accompanied by a trend toward greedy land acquisitions by well-to-do farmers at the expense of poor tenants, who were increasingly unable to pay their fixed obligations of dues and tithes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their failure, in turn, caused difficulty for priests at all levels of society, because the priests' wealth or poverty depended on tithe payments.

Five chapters on family structures and the life course reveal a stable family size and rates and ages of marriage during a particularly difficult era in Gallegan society. Saavedra delves into the private lives of Gallegan men and women, with particular attention to the reasons for high rates of households headed by women (in one village, over 40 percent), infanticide and child abandonment, and intrafamilial relationships. For the rich detail he brings to these themes, Saavedra draws heavily on narratives, biographies, and reports written by local priests. It is in this section that the personal vision dominates the primary sources; Saavedra's own empathy with Gallegan farmers balances the words of clerics and other learned observers, whom he characterizes as "culturally distanced from the popular environment, not wanting or incapable of seeing that behind the rough and even brutal appearance of these laborers were hidden behaviors and social and family relationships of extraordinary complexity" (p. 184).

In the final—and most original section—on "the mental universe" of Gallegan society, Saavedra pursues aspects of cultural and intellectual life that have not figured in his earlier work. Especially intriguing are glimpses into the attitudes of parish priests who wanted to raise the religious and moral level of their congregations by endowing primary schools. One donor loaded up the curriculum with "character building" requirements, such as mandatory attendance at Mass followed by reading "ascetic history books." Another stipulated obligatory schooling for both boys and girls so that girls would not end up with a lower level of culture and education than males, especially since usually, at least in his parish, "girls make greater progress overall than boys."

Saavedra's years of passionate yet impeccable research in the archives of Galicia have culminated in this masterful study of the complex, though somewhat anomalous, society of Gallegan farmers during the pre-modern period.

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JORGE ANTONIO CATALÁ SANZ. *Rentas y patrimonios de la nobleza valenciana en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Siglo veintiuno editores. 1995. Pp. xxi, 374.

The peculiar fortunes of the nobility of early modern Valencia have long attracted the attention of histori-



ans. The expulsion in 1609 of the *moriscos*, or converted Muslims, meant for aristocratic landowners the loss of tens of thousands of tenants, and this profoundly transformed the local seigneurial regime. Jorge Antonio Catalá Sanz's study takes up the story long after these changes, focusing on the titled nobility in the more settled years of the eighteenth century.

The first half of the book provides a minute reconstruction of the distinct sources of aristocratic income. These sources were predominantly of seigneurial origin (payments from jurisdictions, monopolies, emphyteutic leases, and tithes), supplemented by rents from real estate and interest on *censals*, or long-term loans. Later chapters explore the familiar contradictions between, on the one hand, the nobles' resort to entail as a means of passing on their patrimonies intact, and, on the other hand, the obligation to maintain or increase their families' reputation by endowing daughters with large dowries and otherwise attending to their younger children's capital needs. Valencian aristocrats, moreover, showed little taste for direct administration of their estates or for payment in kind instead of cash, although either strategy might have allowed them to benefit more from the demographic and economic expansion of the period. Still, local nobles seem to have weathered this era well, and they managed to keep up with rising prices until the 1790s. As a result, Valencian aristocrats clearly were better off in the 1700s than in the previous century, despite an appreciable increase in royal taxation following the introduction of a new fiscal regime in 1718.

This highly meticulous study has all the virtues, and only a few of the vices, of good local history. Not a single statement in it goes undocumented. This in itself is no small feat, given the difficulties posed by fragmentary and discontinuous sources. Exhaustive research in notarial and judicial documents—especially illuminating among the latter are the civil suits by dependents seeking to improve their patrimonial stipends—compensates in large measure for the relative lack of papers from private archives, and of account books in particular.

The book's major drawback is its limited scope. The author is not unaware of developments elsewhere, as his footnotes show. The relentless focus on Valencian matters, however, affords little opportunity for the sort of broader comparisons that allow historians to see beyond, in Marc Bloch's words, the "maze of little local facts" (*Land and Work in Medieval Europe* [1969], p. 56). More systematic attention to similar phenomena elsewhere, some trimming of detail, especially in the first three chapters, and the addition of a general conclusion would have made for easier reading.

Still, Catalá Sanz has made a solid contribution to our knowledge of a significant branch of the early modern Spanish aristocracy toward the end of the Old Regime. Monographs like this go a long way toward explaining why Valencian local history in particular

enjoys such a good reputation among students of early modern and modern Spain.

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KENNETH MAXWELL. *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 200. \$44.95.

According to its dustjacket description, this book is the first major study in English on Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the marquis of Pombal (1699–1782) in the last fifty years. This is true but also a bit misleading. The book at hand is not a lengthy, copiously detailed biography. Instead, Kenneth Maxwell has provided us with an excellent synthesis of a great mass of primary and secondary sources. He provides an engaging, penetrating, illuminating look at a complex and significant subject. And he has done so with economical and graceful prose.

Maxwell takes pains to place Pombal's ministry (1750–1777) in the context of Portugal's long eighteenth century, which extended from the 1660s to the first decade of the nineteenth century. He also pays due heed to the global economic context: eighteenth-century Portugal acted as a clearinghouse for major European commercial interests and also for its own colonial possessions, particularly an economically preponderant Brazil. He likewise elucidates the relevant intellectual currents of the age, providing background for the actions required of a Portuguese leader attempting to move a bastion of the Counter Reformation toward the forefront of the Enlightenment. Maxwell argues convincingly that Pombal drew considerable inspiration from Austrian ideas and efforts at reform.

Pombal, perhaps more than any other contemporary reformist leader, was caught up by a harsh paradox: in order to move Portugal toward enlightenment, he needed to resort (or so he thought) to some of the most ruthless and despotic practices of the regime he sought to overthrow. For example, he put an end to burnings at the stake, long a cruel staple of the Inquisition, but only after he had instigated the garroting and immolation of a deranged and allegedly regicidal Jesuit, Gabriel Malagrida.

As Maxwell's title suggests, his study is built around the paradox of power deployed ruthlessly for civilized ends. He details Pombal's energetic, often subtle, usually remorseless promotion of wide-ranging social, educational, economic, and military reforms. Whatever one might think of Pombal's actions, he was effective on behalf of certain enlightened ideals. His educational reforms outlived his regime and helped bring Portugal into the European intellectual mainstream. After his fall from power in 1777, the merchant-industrial oligarchy that he nurtured moved on to even greater prosperity and influence. But, as Maxwell also shows, in Pombal's Portugal, the en-

hancement of state power for the furtherance of rationality and progress had little to do with any extension of personal freedoms. Striving to bring progress out of backwardness left Pombal—and other contemporary southern European reformers—little room for constitutionalism. The Enlightenment on the European periphery was thus more often wedded to absolutism than the rule of law. The Pombaline paradox arose as much from the exigencies of local circumstance as from anything intrinsic to the man.

This volume is marred by occasional imprecision and misspellings. Economist David Ricardo, for example, is probably better placed in the nineteenth than the eighteenth century (p. 21). But such things are of little consequence in the broad sweep of this work. Maxwell deserves high praise for an incisive and nicely balanced study that significantly advances our understanding of Pombal and the early modern Portuguese world. And Cambridge University Press does full credit to fine scholarship with a beautifully produced book.

CARL A. HANSON  
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JOHN STOYE. *Marsigli's Europe, 1680–1730: The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 356.

To serve as a vantage point for observing the European world between two centuries, John Stoye could scarcely have chosen a more intriguing biographical subject than Bolognese nobleman, soldier, and virtuoso Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli. A major protagonist in the epoch-making Habsburg recovery of the Danube region from the Ottoman Turks, Marsigli travelled the length and breadth of Europe, met most of the important figures of his day, and made some lasting contributions as a geographer, cartographer, historian, and naturalist. His natural history of the sea was admired by none other than Hermann Boerhaave, who urged its publication and provided an introduction. Present when the Christian armies retook Buda and reclaimed large swathes of Hungary, Marsigli compiled one of the first complete natural histories of the region available in Western Europe, prefiguring the sort of "total geography" later exemplified by Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti. On the basis of his scientific work, he was formally inducted into the London Royal Society, one of the first to receive this honor in the Italian generation after his teacher, Marcello Malpighi. To cap off a lifetime of controversy and achievement, he laid the foundations, in his home city, for the Bolognese Istituto, the longest-running scientific academy in Italy.

What held Marsigli's accomplishments as a soldier and diplomat to some extent in check, Stoye's account suggests, may well have been his hopelessly divided interests. When caught in the midst of the Habsburg flotilla to Toulon, his main worry appears to have been a broken thermometer. On the eve of a disastrous

siege at the Habsburg stronghold of Breisach, he took time off to pore over bookstore catalogues and summoned his secretary from Nuremberg concerning the engravings for his work on the Danube. Blinded by a towering vanity, he seemed genuinely perplexed when all of Europe did not spring to his defense following his court martial after the loss of the town. Fortunately, when Habsburg support dried up, Marsigli could simply switch his allegiance to the highest bidder, in this case Louis XIV. Back home in Bologna, he took refuge in the Istituto, which he appears to have regarded as a sort of personal salon.

Stoye seems more at home in areas where he can rely heavily on Marsigli's own autobiography, describing how the Habsburg besiegers dug in their approaches to the Turkish stronghold at Ersekúvár, explaining the outworks at Buda and analyzing Lewis of Baden's Serbian campaign. He leaves somewhat in the background the six magnificent and idiosyncratic in-folio volumes of Marsigli's Danube work, the early accomplishments of the Istituto, the changing shape of patronage across two dynasties, and even Marsigli's version of German cameralism, rediscovered several years ago by Raffaella Gherardi. The result is a fine exercise in narrative history with the same "passionate concern for topographical knowledge" that Stoye attributes to his subject (p. 68), but one that rarely penetrates the troubled surface of events to the cultural and political currents in which its truculent hero navigated to the shoals of the Enlightenment.

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STANISLAV J. KIRSCHBAUM. *A History of Slovakia: The Struggle for Survival*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xvi, 350. \$49.95.

Stanislav J. Kirschbaum has written something that has been long overdue in the East European Studies field. In nearly 300 pages, he draws from classic and contemporary sources to trace the history of Slovakia and its Slovak-speaking people from prehistoric times to the present, placing the greatest emphasis on the twentieth century. The book's strongest aspect is its discussion of the Communist period. To Kirschbaum's credit, he depicts both the positive as well as negative aspects of Slovak life under both Hungarian and Czechoslovak rule. He makes a convincing case for the cultural and economic accomplishments of the wartime Slovak Republic and gives attention to the often-neglected religious dimension of historical and political questions.

On the other hand, the book suffers from serious shortcomings. Above all, there is a tendency to romanticize Slovak history, as, according to the subtitle, a "struggle for survival." Can one not explain the existence of a Slovak nation today apart from a purported millennium-long determination to survive? Contrary to much scholarship on the topic and with little evidence, Kirschbaum reads national consciousness far

into the past. Throughout, he takes an uncritical stance toward nationalist historians and politicians who share such conceptions. That the nation-creating process was complete among Slovaks by the ninth century, that the Slovaks in the sixteenth century were "the only nation in Central Europe which had higher social classes than just the peasantry" (p. 65), or that, by 1820, the Slovak language had "produced a [body of] work that would have also honored the great literatures [of the world]" (p. 93) are dubious assertions that warrant critical examination. The book at times reads like an effort to build Slovak self-esteem.

While one can perhaps forgive Kirschbaum, a specialist on twentieth-century Slovak politics, for errors such as the statements that Matyas Corvinus never challenged the Hungarian barons or that the War of Austrian Succession did not have serious consequences for the Habsburg Empire, more problematic are some omissions and questionable interpretations connected with recent Slovak history. Frantisek Jehlicka, a Hungarian agent whose ties with Slovaks helped make Czechs suspicious of Slovak nationalism, is never mentioned; Vojtech Tuka's public assertion that Czechoslovakia's laws would cease to be valid in Slovakia in 1928 is deemed a "minor issue," and Tuka is incorrectly portrayed as becoming "bitterly anti-Czech" only after his arrest in 1929. The Nitra demonstrations of 1933 are depicted as spontaneous, when in fact they were orchestrated by Slovak nationalists. Important developments during the period of the Slovak Republic are left unexplained. The reader never learns why Slovakia came up with its own anti-Jewish policies apart from Nazi dictates, why prominent Slovak leader Karol Sidor resigned from the government in the spring of 1939, or why Berlin foiled a coup attempt against Slovakia's President Tiso in early 1941. Kirschbaum's attempt to finesse the touchy issue of Jewish deportations under the Tiso regime is unsatisfying, given the author's failure to explore alternative reasons for the halting of the deportations and exemptions given to Jews aside from Tiso's alleged "political courage." The chapter on the Slovak National Uprising of 1944 is one-sided and polemical. Regarding the Hungarian question, that minority's grievances against Slovak rule are mentioned only in the book's penultimate paragraph, and no mention is made of the anti-Hungarian character of Slovak demonstrations after 1989.

As the only sweeping survey of Slovakia's history available in English, this book is worth reading. But the reader will discover that this is history seen through a nationalist lens. The book's contribution to a scholarly understanding of Slovakia is thereby limited.

JAMES RAMON FELAK  
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ROBERT E. BLOBAUM. *Rewolucja: Russian Poland, 1904-1907*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 300. \$35.00.

Popular historiography about the Revolution of 1905 consigns Polish developments to the periphery of Russian imperial history. Yet the political turmoil in the Polish lands contributed fundamentally to the destabilization of imperial authority in these provinces in the period preceding 1914. Robert E. Blobaum's objective is "to examine upheavals in the Kingdom of Poland in their own light, 'emancipated' as it were from dubious Russian revolutionary 'parentage,' and to study far more carefully the Polish revolution's social actors" (p. xi).

This outstanding study, the first in English, presents 1905 as a defining moment in the emergence of modern Polish political culture. The political and social conditions of modern statehood came into place, making the continuation of the imperial occupation ever more untenable. Previously, the Marxist historians Stanislaw Kalabinski and Feliks Tych had asked whether developments in the Polish lands between 1905 and 1907 were "The Fourth Insurrection or the First Revolution" (*Czwarte powstanie czy pierwsza rewolucja*). The question linked the gentry-led Polish struggle for national liberation with the Marxist preference for proletarian social and economic justice. Their work, despite its ideological predisposition, reflected a Polish preoccupation with political history. Nevertheless, the debut of workers and peasants as independent political actors was revolutionary, and Blobaum's account successfully integrates social and political developments.

The opening chapter, an excellent introduction to the relationship between the Russian state and the Polish nation from the insurrection of 1863 to the eve of 1905, finds that political "parties" were more conspiratorial sects than mass organizations but that opposition to Russification united all social groups. In 1904, economic dislocation and opposition to mobilization for the Russo-Japanese war emboldened social and political discontent among workers, peasants, and students. It was the Polish workers, however, whose tenacity and numerical participation in the strike movement through 1907 dwarfed that of their Russian counterparts and made the "Polish revolution" worthy of its name. Following upon worker activities, the socialist parties in 1905 began penetrating and politicizing the labor movement in competition with the National Democrats.

Blobaum details the political subtleties and organizational growth of the major political movement but de-emphasizes the role of political parties, ideologies, and personalities, emphasizing the "totality of social experience of the revolutionary years" (p. 189). The growth of organizations representing mass constituencies and the resulting democratization of Polish political culture reflects the revolutionary uniqueness of 1905 and distinguishes 1905 from earlier gentry-led conspiracies and insurrections. Whereas previously the question was whether peasants and workers could participate in public life, after 1905 the issue was to

what extent and how. Polish politics were no longer the preserve of a social elite.

Revolution also came to the countryside. Agrarian workers struck in 1905; the popular *gmina* movement agitated to polonize and democratize local government; disputes over servitudes increased; and rural vigilantism was rampant. Russian authority was not permanently displaced, but the peasantry of Russian Poland for the first time actively engaged in political life. There were also school strikes and a partially successful struggle to polonize private education, in which the National Democrats and *Polska Macierz Szkolna* (Polish Motherland Schools) were prominent. The one national institution that only partially accommodated itself to burgeoning national aspirations was the Catholic Church. Ultimately, it backed away from the opportunity to embrace Western-style Catholic social action and to expand its mission.

By November, 1905, the Russian imperial government could make concessions like those granted to the Finns and restore political autonomy to the Kingdom or restore order by martial law. Opting for the latter, a peaceful Russian solution to the Polish question was impossible, and Russian rule in the Kingdom "thereafter rested irrevocably on military occupation" (p. 261).

Blobaum draws extensively on national and provincial archives and on the fresh, insightful works of a new generation of Polish social historians. If 1905 is the dawn of modern Polish mass movements, however, more discussion of the failure of liberalism to attract popular support might provide insights about the character of Polish nationalism. Also, 1905 roiled the political leadership of the Polish immigrant community in America. This aside, the study is a major contribution and marks Blobaum as an important scholar.

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CHRISTOPHER BENNETT, *Yugoslavia's Bloody Collapse: Causes, Course and Consequences*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 272. \$24.95.

Christopher Bennett's book falls roughly into three parts: first, historical background up to the beginning of the end of Yugoslavia's Communist regime in the mid-1980s; second, a political analysis of the events that marked the breakup of the country and the descent into warfare; and third, a critique of the recent policies of all concerned, especially of outside powers.

The historical part tells the general reader who the Yugoslavs are, how they happened to come together in one state after World War I and again after the dissolution and partition of the state in World War II, and what held them together during the following half-century of Communist rule. The account, though brief, is more than adequate, for Bennett displays a remarkable ability to explain complex subject matter in clear and simple terms. On some points the explana-

tions may appear to others acquainted with the record to be too brief or too simple—for example, on the role of the Partisans in World War II or on the circumstances of the Tito-Stalin break in 1948—but not substantially so. One reason that the Communists' power lasted as long as it did under Tito, Bennett rightly notes, was his government's insistence that no nationality would be under the domination of another.

As a war correspondent covering recent events, Bennett had a distinct advantage over his journalistic rivals. He was in the country as a student in the 1980s and knew its major languages and something of its politics before reporting on the war, and his account shows it. He makes a bit too much, however, of the naïveté of Western journalists and officials in attributing the outbreak of hostilities and the cruelty with which they have been conducted to ancient hatreds and traditional Balkan bestiality instead of to the ambitions, strengths, and weaknesses of current political leaders. Bennett points the finger at one man in particular, Serbia's Slobodan Milošević, who found a chance for greater power and glory in the cause of building Greater Serbia on the ruins of Yugoslavia. Others also took the measure of Milošević, or thought they did, for at no time did he show all his cards.

Once the fighting started, with the Serbs as the primary aggressors, old stereotypes and extreme visions reappeared on all sides, and atrocities bred atrocities. Croats saw Serbs as trying to deny them their right to independence and to annex large slices of their territory. Serbs feared a revival of Croat *Ustaši* extremism and the mass murders of World War II. Both were drawn to intervene in Bosnia, while Muslims there were driven to assert a new and stronger nationalism of their own.

With incisive criticism, Bennett shows how the Western powers were played for fools by Milošević and the Bosnian Serbs. The only favorable thing he has to say about British and French policies is that, while morally indefensible, they were understandable. Why should those powers intervene in a bloody civil war in the Balkans when their own vital interests were not seen to be at stake? Better to stick to humanitarian aid and the diplomatic effort for peaceful settlement (although it was going nowhere).

When Bennett was writing about "prospects," he expected—not without reason—that general situation to continue. But the more it remained the same, the more it began to change. France, under Jacques Chirac, opted for a stronger policy. Croatia recaptured most of the territory lost to the Serbs in 1991, helping to create a map based on more ethnic cleansing than ever but nevertheless with a more favorable balance for a political settlement. And the United States emerged from its dithering to push all the parties into the agreement reached at Dayton, Ohio, in late 1995. Whatever else these developments meant, they seemed to mark the end of the dream of Greater Serbia. Milošević calmly took over negotiating authority from the Serbs of Bosnia and sold them and their confrères



in Croatia down the river. If he was the man who started it all, he also proved capable of the flexibility needed to stop it. But the drama, of course, is not over. This book, informative and eminently readable as it is, illustrates some of the risks of writing, and of reviewing, in the field of "contemporary history."

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MIRANDA VICKERS. *The Albanians: A Modern History*. New York: I. B. Tauris; distributed by St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. x, 262. \$49.50.

The fall of command socialism in Albania ended nearly a half-century of self-imposed Stalinist isolation. Emphasizing the near-total lack of contact with most of the outside world during this period, President Sali Berisha announced to a cheering crowd in Tirana in 1992, "Hello Europe, I hope we find you well." Although contact has been restored, Albania remains something of an enigma for most of us. In order for the outside world to understand the Albanians and deal with them intelligently, some notion of their history, customs, and character is imperative. With Albanian archives closed to foreigners until recently, and given the limited usefulness of the less-than-objective Albanian socialist scholarship, there is little material upon which to build such an understanding. Miranda Vickers, in this small, well-written, general work, has taken an important step toward filling the information void.

Vickers's goal is to give at least partial answers to four basic questions: 1) why were the Albanians the last to develop a national consciousness, 2) how did the Albanian state come into existence, 3) why do half of the Albanians remain outside of that state, and 4) why was Albania isolated for so long? She emphasizes the negative impact of conscious Ottoman policy to shed light on the first question. The second and third questions are addressed in an examination of the role Albania played during and immediately following World War I. Here, Vickers demonstrates considerable sympathy for her topic, indicting the Great Powers for sacrificing the Albanians in pursuit of their own narrow interests. She strives to present a balanced view of the interwar period dominated by King Zog and comments on the sensitive issue of Kosovo throughout.

The question of why Albania has remained isolated for so long is addressed in the context of Enver Hoxha's state-of-siege mentality and the garrison state he created in reaction to both actual and perceived threats from abroad. Vickers concludes on a somewhat pessimistic note with a brief but useful description of the immense challenges facing the new democratic government in the summer of 1993. She emphasizes worsening relations with neighboring states, internal political and religious divisions exacerbated by returning emigrés and foreign missionaries, and a devastated economy. Although these challenges continue to confront Albania, significant improvement has occurred since Vickers published her book.

Although it makes a solid contribution to our knowledge of modern Albania, the book is not without its flaws. It is often rather short on analysis, provides little in the way of comparison between the various periods of development, and is weak on cultural developments. Although extensive sources were used, some critical omissions occur, even of readily available, English-language secondary sources. Albanian socialist material, particularly that relating to Albania during World War II, is often used uncritically, as are some of the opinions of King Zog's wife, Queen Geraldine. (The queen is a very pleasant person, but this is a woman who told me that Zog should be considered the twentieth-century Napoleon. Zog's true nature might more reasonably fall somewhere between Geraldine's view and that of Victor Emmanuel III, who referred to him as "the better bandit.")

But this is a very good book. Vickers presents a credible, useful, and readable short overview that offers a good introduction to Albania; it does little in the way of pushing back the frontiers of scholarship, but I do not believe that was the intent. It will popularize Albanian topics and thereby encourage interest in such scholarship, for which there is still a great need.

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DANIEL RANCOUR-LAFERRIERE. *The Slave Soul of Russia: Moral Masochism and the Cult of Suffering*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 330. \$35.00.

This forceful book examines the psychological underpinnings of slavish behavior and its cultural significance in Russia. Daniel Rancour-Laferriere argues that Russians have colluded in their oppression and attributes their collusion to "moral masochism": "any behavioral act, verbalization, or fantasy that—by unconscious design—is physically or psychologically injurious to oneself, self-defeating, humiliating, or unduly self-sacrificing" (p. 7). He provides historical, cultural, and clinical background on moral masochism and treats selected aspects of it in detail. He does not argue that only Russians have such a mentality or that all Russians have it.

Rancour-Laferriere begins his study with Christian masochism as preached and practiced in pre-Petrine Russia. As examples, he gives the young princes Boris and Gleb, who invited martyrdom by allowing their power-hungry elder brother to murder them; medieval Russian saints who actively pursued suffering; and Old Believers' mass suicides by fire. He cites descriptions of "slavish" Russia by natives and foreigners, and he examines Russian intellectuals' resistance to and internalization of masochism. Particularly valuable is his treatment of the masochistic aspect of the Slavophile ideal of *sobornost'*, the expectation that people submit to the will of the commune (pp. 38–42). There is a

fairly extensive discussion of Fyodor Dostoyevsky, which is continued in the chapter titled "Masochism in Russian Literature," and of the early twentieth-century religious philosophers Dmitry Merezhkovsky, Vasily Rozanov, and Nikolai Berdiaev, but surprisingly little on Lev Tolstoy's professed asceticism. Surely, Tolstoy's prohibition of not just sensual pleasure but meat, alcohol, and tobacco (before tobacco was linked to disease) involves self-denying moral masochism. Also treated in the chapter on literature is Tatiana, the heroine of Aleksandr Pushkin's verse-novel *Eugene Onegin* (1833) and Vasily Grossman's "1,000-year-old slave" in *Forever Flowing* (1970), a novel that aroused the ire of Russian nationalists. The chapter on "Masochism and the Collective" treats the moral injunction to sacrifice one's own interests and desires for the sake of the collective and makes clear that it preceded communism.

Rancour-Laferriere maintains that moral masochism is preoedipal and is transmitted through the mother, who has herself internalized it. In the chapter "Is the Slave Soul of Russia a Gendered Object?," he describes at length the trope of the suffering mother, symbolized by Mary, and Russian women's pride in their suffering, which is not necessarily for their children: "The important thing is to suffer" (p. 145). Also discussed at length is the belief, which women accepted, that wife-beating is an act of love. In the chapter on the Russian fool and his mother, Rancour-Laferriere points out that the fool, a stock figure of Russian folklore, is always a male; that he usually ends up being beaten; and that his mother, from whom the fool cannot separate, is always "long-suffering." The chapter "Born in a Bania" (bathhouse) describes ritual flagellation and includes hair-raising descriptions of giving birth in the bania and the "steaming" of the newborn infant.

Rancour-Laferriere demonstrates the pervasiveness and importance of moral masochism, but I wish he had given more weight to the situational aspects. There is no question that masochism was culturally conditioned, but which came first, the chicken or the egg? The masochism or the situation that created and enforced it by law and by social pressure? For centuries a beaten wife had no place else to go. Men and women alike often had to choose between one form of suffering and another. For most of Russian history, the option of leaving a bad situation was foreclosed by the government. Rancour-Laferriere's concluding statement—"For me, masochism is part of the very attractiveness and beauty of Russian culture" (p. 147)—is strangely discordant with everything that precedes it. Nevertheless, his book is required reading not just for students of Russia but for anyone interested in the slave mentality. It is well written and refreshingly jargon-free.

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ERICH HABERER. *Jews and Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 346. \$59.95.

In this study, Erich Haberer documents the critical role played by individual Jews in nineteenth-century Russian revolutionary movements. Using a variety of tables (pp. 273–76) highlighting the disproportionate number of Jews active in those movements from the middle of the 1860s through the end of the 1880s, Haberer is able to demonstrate that the percentage of revolutionaries of Jewish origin far exceeded the actual percentage of Jews within the general population of the Empire. Curiously, he does not relate these ratios either to the percentage of Jews within the Pale of Settlement—where more than ninety percent of Russia's Jews lived before 1917—or to the percentage of Jews living in urban settings, the principal breeding ground for revolutionaries. However, Haberer is not really interested in statistics. Rather, his narrative accentuates the substantial organizational and theoretical contributions made by Jews to Russian populist revolutionary movements in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Haberer's intent is not only to analyze these efforts but also to identify the specific factors that stimulated these young Jewish men and women to become radicals and revolutionaries. Toward this end, he pinpoints the eighteenth-century Jewish enlightenment, the Haskalah, which he characterizes as a western-oriented, critical, and reform-minded political movement. He contends that the Haskalah played the decisive role in shaping at least two generations of Jewish radicals in nineteenth-century Russia.

While interesting and certainly provocative, Haberer's thesis is flawed. First, if the Haskalah stimulated Jews into becoming revolutionaries, why then did it not similarly motivate young Jews in those locations outside of Russia where it also played an important role in Jewish intellectual life? The problem is that Haberer does not really explicate the Haskalah but deals only with one of its by-products: that is, the call for Jewish communal reform. This post-Haskalah phenomenon was associated almost exclusively with Russian Jewry, especially after 1860, and it continued as a motif within Russian-Jewish life right through the summer of 1917.

Second, in presenting the life stories of a number of his principal protagonists, Haberer relies on inference, supposition, and secondary accounts in order to assert that the Haskalah had an impact on a particular individual. Because he operates at this more general level of analysis, Haberer overlooks the divisiveness of the Haskalah in many aspects of Jewish life, including the ostracism suffered by many of its adherents. The general blurring of categories and the absence of precision in the discussion of the Haskalah leads Haberer to throw such a wide net that even apostates, like the Decembrist G. Peretz, are included within his analysis.

Finally, when called on to state what it was about

these activists that made them Jewish revolutionaries as opposed to revolutionaries of Jewish origin, Haberer has very little to offer. While he has demonstrated that many of these rebels struggled quite seriously with the fact of their Jewish origins, his assertion that their approaches were intrinsically Jewish is not sufficiently documented and remains unconvincing.

Haberer has been successful in highlighting the contributions made to the populist movements of the late 1860s and 1870s by Jewish activists. He has demonstrated that these revolutionaries did more than print articles and smuggle them across international boundaries. Furthermore, his delineation of the different social and political ideologies advocated by Russian revolutionary groups is lucid and enlightening. These are important contributions, and Haberer is to be commended for making them. Unfortunately, his effort to explain why so many Russian-Jewish young people became visible in the revolutionary effort is less satisfying. An approach fully informed by Jewish social and cultural history could have yielded a more nuanced and meaningful analysis.

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V. N. PONOMAREV. *Krymskaia voina i russko-amerianskie otnosheniia* [The Crimean War and Russo-American Relations]. Moscow: No publisher. 1993. Pp. 231.

Shared rivalry with Britain created a community of interest between Russia and the United States for much of the nineteenth century. If the Union gained from this diplomatic amity during the Civil War, Russia profited especially during the Crimean War when, among the major powers, only Prussia and the United States held to a strict neutrality. V. N. Ponomarev has produced the first book to focus on the broad range of Russo-American relations during the Crimean War, including private American offers of arms, technology transfer, and naval aid. It is a fine complement from the Russian side to Frank A. Golder's pioneering article (Golder, "Russian-American Relations during the Crimean War," *American Historical Review* [April, 1926], pp. 462–76) on the subject and Alan Dowty's *The Limits of Isolation: The United States and the Crimean War* (1971). Among Ponomarev's major conclusions is that the bilateral Convention of 10/22 June 1854 affirming the principle that "free ships make free goods" was no mere diplomatic episode but a major step toward the Maritime Declaration on neutral trading rights that concluded the Congress of Paris in 1856 (pp. 110–11).

Ponomarev has performed a useful service by subjecting the main aspects of U.S.-Russian relations to a careful review and shedding new light on them with material from the Russian press and excellent diplomatic, military, and naval archives. His sources show that St. Petersburg, eager to limit British power, looked favorably on American expansion in the Carib-

bean and the Pacific but definitely not in Alaska. Despite the machinations of Russia's representatives in Washington and in San Francisco, there is no record of official Russian authorization to engage in feelers for a temporary or permanent transfer of Russian America to the United States or to an American dummy firm. On the other hand, the Russian foreign and naval ministries seriously pondered the offers of would-be privateers (one of whom hoped to seize British gold shipments from Australia) but eventually decided against them, chiefly to protect American neutrality from British leverage. Valuing an unencumbered United States as a de facto strategic partner, Russia immediately understood and sympathized with Secretary of State William L. Marcy's attempt to amend the Declaration of 1856 with a clause protecting all noncontraband trade in wartime, Washington's condition for outlawing privateers.

Ponomarev also has some interesting things to say about the Russian embassy in Washington, whose chiefs during the Crimean War, A. A. Bodisco and E. A. Stoeckl, had American wives and good connections. The embassy was cautious in its advice to St. Petersburg concerning privateering, competent in dismissing President Franklin Pierce's early mediation offer as a political and diplomatic maneuver, and balanced in dispatching samples of public opinion that tended to favor Russia. Ponomarev found no evidence that the embassy subvented favorable articles, although such activity would not surprise him. (One slip here: due apparently to an archivist's mistake, an undated piece is anachronistically attributed to the *Wall Street Journal*.)

Post-perestroika economic constraints forced the Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences to print a mere 300 copies of this book, using standard typescript. This book deserves better than that—here, in Russia, and elsewhere.

DAVID M. GOLDFRANK  
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REGINALD E. ZELNIK. *Law and Disorder on the Narova River: The Kreenholm Strike of 1872*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 308. \$38.00.

This is a master work by a master historian, two books in one. Part one is a case history of the 1872 strike at the Kreenholm textile mill, and part two is an analysis and complete translation of a Russian worker's autobiography. That worker, Vasilii Gerasimov, participated in the 1872 strike, and his account constitutes one of Reginald E. Zelnik's sources for unraveling the strike and its meanings. 1872 was the last year in which labor protest was untouched by the left intelligentsia, Zelnik writes, and the Kreenholm strike serves as an example of worker self-organization and demands unmediated by outside ideologies or ideas. Gerasimov's memoir, written in 1881–1882, is the oldest

extant autobiography of a Russian worker: he had no prototype to guide his self-reflection.

The story of the Kreenholm conflict is brilliantly narrated, and it reads like a detective story, beginning with the physical geography, the evolution of the mill as an authoritarian "state within a state," and the interplay of German, Swedish, Estonian, and Russian ethnic elements and moving to a richly nuanced account of the unrest itself, sparked by "an outside agitator whose name was Cholera" (p. 48). In the confusion and fear following the cholera outbreak, Kreenholm workers made demands, management resisted, the provincial governor entered the conflict as arbiter, workers grew bolder, some were arrested, St. Petersburg sent troops to replace the factory's own despotic police, work resumed, and the nervous central government convened a commission to understand how such disorder could have happened in a backwater of the empire.

Zelnik provocatively explores more themes critical to our understanding of imperial Russian society (and of nineteenth-century capitalist societies) than can possibly be dealt with here. Located on the physical and cultural border between Estland and Russia, Kreenholm's management—largely German—was ethnically as well as economically separate from its Estonian and Russian workforce, whose divisions also played a role in the strike's dynamics. Spatiality affects the story at numerous points: isolated from the capitals of both Estland and Russia, Kreenholm was built on an island in the Narova River and attached to the rest of the world by only a bridge. Distinctions between and within classes were also demarcated spatially: Estonians and Russians, spinners and weavers lived in different places; managerial spaces were sacrosanct, so that the workers' invasion of the manager's house during the strike became an act of great symbolic importance. The triangularity between the factory regime, with its presumption of absolute power within its borders, the representatives of state authority, in the persons of the police chief and governor, and the workers, themselves divided by ethnicity, gender, and skill reinforces Zelnik's emphasis on the multi-layeredness of Russian society and the multiplicity of possible outcomes. (The possibilities of gender analysis here and in connection with the Gerasimov autobiography seem rich, but Zelnik does not explore them.) The range of workers' demands and of workers' interactions with both types of authority offer evidence for one of Zelnik's major points. In couching their demands in terms of a moral economy, a restoration of older, lawful procedures, and norms, in demanding that the arbitrary factory manager abide by a set of rules (a factory "constitution"), and in appealing to state authority to uphold the law, workers at Kreenholm acquired and demonstrated a legal consciousness and understanding of the value of due process that sheds doubt on earlier attributions of Russian revolutionary unrest to workers' impatience with legalistic solutions. Here, on the isolated Narova, where work-

ers' demands and behaviors were generated within the closed worlds of the factory and local authority, Zelnik finds a different set of possibilities.

Zelnik's analysis of Gerasimov's memoir is equally rich and will be required reading for anyone using worker autobiographies as a source. The story here is about individual identity rather than collective solidarities and interactions. Gerasimov's identity, argues Zelnik, derived strongly from his status as a "foster child of the St. Petersburg Foundling Home" (the title of his autobiography). Four hundred of these boys and girls worked at Kreenholm: they, and not the spinners or weavers with whom he worked, constituted his primary object of loyalty. In entering the circles of revolutionary students and workers in St. Petersburg a few years after the strike, Gerasimov still relied on his Foundling Home cohort. Likewise, Gerasimov's social ideals were intimately related to the antinomies of love and punishment that he experienced as a foster child and as a ward of the factory.

In telling the complex stories of the Kreenholm strike and the Gerasimov memoir, Zelnik teaches us to question long-accepted categories such as "peasant," "townsperson," or even "worker." We should not forget that the processes that sloppily become labeled as "movements" and "revolutions" are really constellations of these kinds of particular events and particular identities.

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HILDE HARDEMAN. *Coming to Terms with the Soviet Regime: The "Changing Signposts" Movement among Russian Emigrés in the Early 1920s*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 319. \$35.00.

As intellectuals scramble to accommodate their ideologies to the Russian Revolution of the 1990s or vice versa, it is instructive to read Hilde Hardeman's account of an earlier adjustment to apparent reality. *Smenovekhovstvo*—"Changing Signposts" (often translated as "change of landmarks")—was the most controversial doctrine produced by the Russian emigration after 1917; the movement's leaders advocated the acceptance of the Bolshevik regime by its former political opponents and the return of émigré intellectuals to Russia. I write Russia intentionally, for specifically Soviet ideas were not attractive to the *smenovekhovtsy*. Their goal was to revive Russia's status as a world power.

Hardeman's detailed study fills in many gray spots in the murky history of *smenovekhovstvo* in the 1920s. Initiated by Nikolai Vasil'evich Ustrialov in Harbin and Iurii Veniaminovich Kliuchnikov in Paris, the enterprise was based on the premise that since the Bolsheviks had won the Civil War, they were the leaders most able to put the Russian empire back together and to promote Russian greatness. Thus, patriotic intellectuals who had opposed Bolshevism



should put aside their differences and serve the new government. Hardeman describes the movement's successive phases, which centered on various publications: Ustrialov's shocking about-face in his book, *In the Struggle for Russia* (1920); the collective manifesto, *Smena vekh* (1921); the Paris weekly *Smena vekh* (1921–1922); and, finally, the Berlin daily newspaper *On the Eve* [*Nakanune*] (1922–1924).

It is no accident that this print record is defined precisely by two dates: the end of the Civil War in Russia and the recognition of the Soviet Union by the major governments of Western Europe. Hardeman has dug out the evidence for what was always suspected by émigré groups—that *smenovekhovstvo* was financed by the Soviets—and is able, through her examination of Russian and other archives, to describe the views of individual Bolshevik leaders about the movement. The two periodicals received generous monetary and editorial assistance, primarily through the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, where *smenovekhovstvo* was regarded as useful to the Bolsheviks' efforts to gain economic assistance and international legitimation. A few months after the recognition of the Soviet Union by most of the European powers and one month after the left won the French elections, *Nakanune* was closed down.

Of greater interest than these pragmatic issues are the ideological struggles described by Hardeman over the meaning and value of *smenovekhovstvo*. V. I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, A. V. Lunacharsky, and Grigory Zinoviev responded with enthusiasm to the first manifesto, which they felt could attract Russian professionals to serve the Soviet state and its New Economic Policy. But later, in the mid-1920s, *smenovekhovstvo* was redefined as too pro-capitalist and used by both the "left" opposition and then the so-called "center" as a measure of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Nikolai Bukharin first attacked *smenovekhovstvo* and then was tarred with its brush, while Josef Stalin just as typically played both themes with deadly finesse.

The *smenovekhovtsy* themselves provided grounds for multiple interpretations of their cause. Ustrialov, for example, celebrated the New Economic Policy, while other *smenovekhovtsy* were convinced that Russian socialism would provide the principles for a new world order. Some *smenovekhovtsy* maintained a critical perspective on Soviet politics; others painted rosy pictures of the early show trials. It is a virtue of Hardeman's book that she does not create too unified or elevated a philosophical whole out of the diverse individuals who produced a myriad of un-Bolshevik reasons for supporting the successor state to the Russian empire. The *smenovekhovtsy* were hated by most of the Russian émigrés and eliminated almost to a person by the Soviets in the purges, but in Hardeman they have finally acquired an intrepid, skillful, and fair historian.

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LARS T. LIH, OLEG V. NAUMOV, and OLEG V. KHELVNIUK. *Stalin's Letters to Molotov 1925–1936*. Translated by CATHERINE A. FITZPATRICK. Foreword by ROBERT C. TUCKER. Assisted by L. KOSHELEVA *et al.* (Annals of Communism.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 276. \$25.00.

This collection of eighty-six letters and coded telegrams offers a tantalizing but disappointingly incomplete picture of the relations between Josef Stalin and Vyacheslav Molotov. One reason is that Molotov himself made the selection before he presented the letters in 1969 to the Central Party Archive. Another is that they were written mainly when Stalin was on vacation, that is in August and September. As a result, seventy-one of the documents deal with events during two months of the year during the relatively benign period of 1925–1930, with nothing from the crucial turning point of 1928. Twenty of the letters, including all from 1925, have already been published in Russian periodicals. There are no startling revelations here. But by this time it should be clear that the work of reconstructing Soviet history is going to be a painstaking task requiring patience and care in piecing together divergent sources, of which this collection is certainly representative. There are a short foreword by Robert C. Tucker and a longer introduction by Lars T. Lih that put forward a dubious thesis on Stalin's "anti-bureaucratic scenario." The Russian editors, Oleg V. Naumov, Oleg V. Khlevniuk, and associates have done a fine job of annotating the letters by using a mass of unpublished archival material that often yields insights fully as valuable as the letters themselves. The editors have also contributed useful introductory sections to each year.

The real contribution of the letters is to shed light on Stalin's style of governing, in particular how it evolved in the course of his rise from leader of a faction within the party to unchallenged dictator. The letters provide plenty of evidence that Stalin was an extremely skillful politician with a superb sense of power relations and tactical timing. They help further to dispel the mistaken image of Stalin as a "grey blur." He had, for example, an uncanny ability to attack his enemies on a minor point where they were vulnerable to criticism and turn it into a major issue. Conversely, he also resorted to large-scale reorganizations of the central institutions of power in order to marginalize an opponent. Stalin's answer to creeping bureaucratism was to create a new commission; anti-bureaucratism was a political slogan, not a policy. True to his slogan that "cadres decide everything," Stalin had an extraordinary grasp of personnel and intervened repeatedly in selecting the right man for the right job. Early on he displayed a voracious appetite for details and a broad range of knowledge in such varied fields as oil production, monetary policy, and metallurgical production. He was unsparing of criticism, even of his closest supporters. But criticism did not necessarily mean demotion or expulsion. Mikhail I. Kalinin, Emelian M.

Yaroslavskii, and D. Z. Manuilskii come in for very harsh attacks in these letters, yet they were spared in the worst years of the purges. To be sure, Stalin's coarseness, brutality, and cruelty are amply documented here. Increasingly, he resorted to orders to shoot not only individuals but batches of people as an example for shirkers. Stalin was also erratic, on occasion wildly unpredictable. For example, his suggestion in 1929 "to think about organizing an uprising by a revolutionary movement in Manchuria" (p. 182) was never taken seriously. In foreign policy the letters show that his disputes with Maksim M. Litvinov went back into the twenties. But contrary to the view supported in the introduction, Stalin's interest in foreign policy, as the letters help demonstrate, was mainly a function of his aim to deprive his enemies of the Comintern as a political base. He was, on the other hand, extremely sensitive to anything that touched upon the international status and prestige of the Soviet state. As the documentation on Stalin slowly accumulates, it becomes ever clearer that we must be grateful for every snippet of information on this complex and terrifying figure whose devious and secretive nature will continue to challenge biographers and historians for decades to come.

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EDWIN BACON. *The Gulag at War: Stalin's Forced Labour System in the Light of the Archives*. New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 190. \$32.50.

This book consists of two distinct but related parts. One is a careful review of the controversy over the size and role of the Soviet forced labor system in light of newly available documents from the Soviet archives. It is a conscientious examination of the evidence, old and new, with welcome attention to the often confusing variety of different categories of labor camp inmates, victims of forced settlement, and residents of special colonies and NKVD prisons. Useful and previously unavailable is Edwin Bacon's attention to the inflow and outflow of persons confined or exiled. While he tends to accept the lower numbers of camp inmates that emerge from recent Russian studies and archival data, he finds that the total number of persons "repressed" in labor camps and colonies between 1934 and 1947 must have been in the vicinity of twelve and a quarter million, though of course not all at one time.

The book's other topic is the forced labor system during World War II. Here Bacon provides details on administration and organization as well as statistics not hitherto available: he was fortunate, soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, to gain access to some archival sources while on a fellowship at the University of Birmingham. He also makes fine use of other studies undertaken by Russian specialists such as Viktor Nemtsov.

Bacon finds that the war halved the population of

the Gulag by 1943 but, with the influx of new victims, saw it grow again in the following years. His totals for all categories of forced labor come to somewhere upward of four million in 1942, about three in 1944, and about four in 1945.

In addition to the statistical conundrums, which are well handled in this book, a remaining controversy concerns Soviet motivation: essentially, the economic versus the political/ideological argument. Bacon asserts somewhat unconvincingly that "an economic engine drove the formation of the Gulag" (p. 49), but he recognizes the key role of other factors: the system was a highly irrational way of using scarce labor. His case for the economic uses of the Gulag is particularly compelling for the war years but remains more questionable for the prewar period of collectivization, purges, and mass terror.

Presumably because the archival materials didn't deal with them, the book lacks a thorough discussion of the postwar fate of Soviet prisoners of war and alleged collaborators with the Germans. What is also missing is more than a passing discussion of "punished peoples" resettled during the war, such as the Crimean Tatars, Kalmyks, and Chechens.

While the book is unduly slim and at times tedious, his careful and dispassionate approach stands Bacon in good stead and has helped him produce a most useful contribution to the literature on Soviet forced labor.

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STEPHEN KOTKIN. *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxv, 639. \$55.00.

It is not a simple task to be original in every respect when writing about problems that have been explored by several generations of scholars. And it is even more difficult to give a work its due when its author deploys a formidable amount of energy to appear as nonconformist as possible without noticing that at times he or she is only paraphrasing the most respectable orthodoxies. I am all the more perplexed about how to assess Stephen Kotkin's book because I face the unpleasant chore of sorting out what is truly outstanding in this extremely rich study from everything that accounts for the feeling of *déjà vu* when I close it.

Kotkin is a masterful chronicler of the story of one of the greatest construction undertakings of all times, the city of Magnitogorsk and its steelworks. The city sprang out of a desolate steppe landscape in the decade before World War II, and for Kotkin its destiny exemplifies in microcosm the entire Soviet experiment. His description of the city's construction is breathtaking, and no less enthralling is the vivid picture he conveys of living conditions in the shadow of the "Magnetic Mountain." He abundantly documents the vicissitudes of a purportedly planned operation that turned into nearly complete improvisation and the intricacies of a supposedly thoroughly designed uni-

verse in which everybody had to extemporize to make ends meet. Kotkin employs a wide range of untapped sources, including archival materials, local and factory newspapers, and even the newsletter of a penal colony.

Kotkin's ambition is to map out and explain the realities of the gigantic endeavor to build and run Magnitogorsk and its steel plant in terms of the uniqueness of that form of civilization called the USSR. He is largely successful in outlining the pattern of daily existence in prewar Magnitogorsk, but his account of life in the new city is not in full harmony with the conclusions he reaches. The central feature of the civilization Kotkin describes is a permanent tension between the great designs of a regime whose elite was determined to foresee, plan, and master everything it deemed of strategic importance and the outcome of these schemes, barely more than makeshift solutions that scarcely resembled the original projects.

Kotkin pictures Magnitogorsk, its factory, and its everyday routine as the perfect embodiment of this tension. The result was a constant effort by every inhabitant of the city to bargain for an enlarged space of maneuver between the regime's manifestly unrealistic ideal of order and the harsh realities of life. Kotkin brilliantly demonstrates the continuous renegotiation of the provisions of an informal deal between the regime and society. He illustrates the broadening gap between, on the one hand, the intention of the authorities to control the population through housing policy and a presumably meritocratic distribution of goods and, on the other hand, the unchecked growth of districts of handmade mud huts whose dwellers did their best to live as they pleased and the omnipresence of a shadow economy.

Unfortunately, Kotkin has a pronounced tendency to stray from the parameters of the civilization he depicts when he tries to make sense of it. The strength of his best pages lies in his rare ability to resist the appeal to employ ready-made categories that do not fit the multifaceted world he explores, but he often succumbs to the charm of one-dimensional prefabricated concepts in his attempt to decipher the universe of Magnitogorsk. Although Kotkin furnishes a multitude of proofs that the regime's plans ended up being substantially altered in the course of their implementation, he nevertheless posits an immutable grand design—the dogged perseverance of the Bolsheviks to build socialism—as the driving force of the system. In the same way, Kotkin comes to the conclusion that ideology dominated the landscape around the Magnetic Mountain, but he cautiously avoids examining whether ideology remained the same or fulfilled the same functions through the course of the convoluted story he relates.

Instead of pursuing the logic of his own narrative and delving into the ultimately insoluble conflict that collective representations had little affinity with the order the regime stands for or the patterns of discourse the authorities sought to impose, Kotkin falls into the trap of a false question, convincing himself

that Soviet citizens believed in the claims of official propaganda. Because, however, as Kotkin explains, everyone who expressed doubt, even indirectly, risked severe punishment, one may suspect that his sources—which all come from the regime itself—cannot be trusted on this score. Kotkin's emphasis on ideology leads him to assume that the Soviet system was theocratic, although, contrary to his claims, the party (which he equates with a church and sees as distinct from the government) only occasionally busied itself with problems of doctrine. The several dozen questions (and at times two hundred or more issues) on the agendas of the politburo scarcely had anything to do with the true faith: they related almost exclusively to the daily management of the economy and the work of the administration.

Part of Kotkin's misreading of the civilization he pictures stems from the fact that, unlike Michel Foucault (whose oeuvre inspires him), he does not clearly distinguish among the self-understanding of his protagonists, the image they attempted (or were advised) to project of themselves, and everything one can deduce by critically assessing collective representations and discursive practices. A good deal of the discrepancy between his superb narration and the lessons he draws from it also derives from the struggle Kotkin wages against all who had the bad luck of touching on the subject and whom he is determined to prove wrong. Thus, to take only one such figure, Kotkin postulates immutable guiding principles and speculates about belief or disbelief because he wants to sidestep Moshe Lewin's assumptions. Accepting Lewin's claims about the multilayered character of Soviet ideological constructs and on the role of popular religion and "dual faith" (*dvoeverie*) would have led Kotkin to draw far-reaching conclusions from the survival of rural mentalities in urban settings.

Arguments about the evil consequences of building Soviet-type socialism, the pernicious influence of ideology, or the Communist Party as theocracy are by no means more original as ultimate lessons. They have a long history, as does the linchpin of Kotkin's interpretive framework, the failure of the Enlightenment project to bring about the planned transformation of man and society. It is a pity that Kotkin does not seem familiar with Theodor W. Adorno's and Max Horkheimer's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944), which shows that this failure transcends the Soviet experiment.

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NATHANIEL DAVIS. *A Long Walk to Church: A Contemporary History of Russian Orthodoxy*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 381. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.50.

Nathaniel Davis has written a richly detailed, highly informative, and immensely readable book on the contemporary history of the Russian Orthodox

Church. With clarity, insight, and sweeping erudition, he brilliantly describes and analyzes the condition of the church and the interplay between politics and religion in Soviet and post-Soviet society since 1917, particularly since the millennium of the conversion of the East Slavs to Christianity in 1988. Simply stated, this is the best book available on the subject and will likely remain the definitive study for years to come.

Using newly opened Soviet archives, interviews, and a broad selection of published sources, Davis weaves a story of beleaguered hope. He informs us that the church has survived the long night of Communist persecution but still faces formidable challenges. Some of these are a legacy of the Communist past, including a shortage of priests, hierarchies tainted with Communist collaboration, sparse funds for maintenance and operations, religious apathy among many people, a weak intellectual life, a dearth of social and charitable service, a paucity of bibles and religious books, and a post-Soviet bureaucracy that has not yet entirely changed its contemptuous attitude toward religion even though Communism is no longer the guiding ideology of the state.

Other challenges result from the state's adoption of freedom-of-conscience laws in 1990. The Russian Orthodox Church has always been favored, even during times of persecution, by the Russian government in relation to other religions. As of 1990, for the first time, the church lost its comparative edge, and it now faces stiff competition from Western evangelical and missionary groups with resources and funds. In spite of language and cultural difficulties, these groups are growing in Russia, especially in Siberia.

Still other problems are a consequence of the breakup of the Soviet Union. Ironically, Russian Orthodoxy now finds its strength not in the Russian Republic, where the Communist campaign against it in the 1920s and 1930s was fairly successful, but in western Ukraine, western Belarus, Moldavia, and the Baltic States, added to the Soviet Union during or after World War II when the Soviet government adopted a more tolerant attitude toward religion for reasons of political expediency. In these areas, where seventy percent of its parishes are located, the Russian Orthodox Church is challenged by the now legalized Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad. Its physical resources are not assured, its authority has been rejected, and its unity is being splintered along nationalist lines.

Russian Orthodoxy's situation is more tenuous than other Christian denominations around the world, but its survival against a determined persecution for most of the twentieth century is a singular achievement. Its fate, however, will be determined, in my opinion, by its moral and spiritual leadership, its ability to unify people in the face of a modern, high-tech world that is both increasingly interdependent and divided by nationalism, ethnic conflicts, and racism. Now that Russian Orthodoxy is free of the state, there might be a

real opportunity to unify at least two main branches of the Christian Church, Orthodoxy and Catholicism. They share a monastic tradition that could be the basis of religious unification and spiritual regeneration in Russia and the West. Christopher Dawson thought that such a development was possible and, if achieved, could allow Christianity to play a pivotal role in the development of world peace and international order. To paraphrase Davis, it would be a long walk to such a unified church, but it is a walk worth taking.

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#### NEAR EAST

CEMAL KAFADAR. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 221. \$40.00.

"(T)o problematize the origins of the Ottoman state by engaging the historiography" is how Cemal Kafadar describes this laudable effort at revisionism (p. 28). His erudite use of secondary sources in several languages intensifies the effort by promoting a thorough coverage of the historiography. The approach taken, however, is one of narrative history based on the extant primary texts. Kafadar does not adopt a conscious theory that guides his reconstruction of the time, place, and social context that produced these cultural expressions. The objectivity implied by this approach allows him to appear as the facilitator of a dialogue between texts. Most of the primary Ottoman Turkish sources he examines appear as translations and/or transliterations, however, and the question of whether translation/transliteration may have turned them into secondary sources is sidestepped.

Furthermore, Kafadar concedes too readily to some of the authorities whose scholarship should have been subjected to critical re-evaluation. He apprises us of one scholar's "brilliant suggestion" (p. 132), another's "masterpiece of Ottoman political history" (p. 190 n. 58), a third's "masterful demonstration" (p. 143), and a fourth's "brilliant article" (pp. 170-71, n.31). One of the unstated assumptions that informs Kafadar's work associates the origins of the Ottoman state with Europe, paradoxically through Rum, i.e. Byzantium. "Europeanness" is further emphasized by the *devshirme* (of Christian boys) that became the basis for janissary recruitment. Differentiation of the early "Ottoman Turkish" experience from that of other Turks and Muslims is the goal of this emphasis.

Perhaps the most serious consequence of Kafadar's decision to analyze the extant cultural products and shun a conscious theory is that it precludes a comparative approach to his subject. He cites, in passing, Eleanor Searle's *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power 840-1066* (1988), which could have served as a remarkable parallel to the early Ottoman experience. While Searle tests her evidence through a



theory, Kafadar prefers to give an essential Islam a much wider role in the narrative. He also cites Americo Castro's work on social bridging between disparate communities occupying the same social space. A detailed stress on the "predator" nature of early Ottoman history and the parallel in social bridging experienced by Andalusian and Ottoman societies could have generated an enlightening, if not a tantalizing, argument.

The approach adopted by Kafadar is that of Neo-Orientalism, a new school provoked by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and distinguished from others whose scholarship is informed by self-conscious theory. Neo-Orientalists display competence in one or two of the languages of the field in contrast to the limited linguistic prowess of the others. The social utility of Neo-Orientalism parallels the favorable reception shown by first-world academic circles to post-colonial and subaltern studies, as proposed by Arif Dirlik in *Critical Inquiry* (1994) and Ramkrishna Mukherjee in *Sociological Bulletin* (1988).

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M. SÜKRÜ HANIOĞLU. *The Young Turks in Opposition*. (Studies in Middle Eastern History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 390. \$29.95.

This book was published in Turkish in 1986 under the title *The Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress and Young Turkism (1889-1902)*. Its English-language reincarnation has been abridged into a leaner, more readable version but one with a less precise title from which the dates have been omitted. It is, therefore, only a partial account of the Young Turks in opposition; the story of the years 1902 to 1908 has yet to be told, and M. Sükrü Hanioglu is the historian to tell it. Reviewers rarely describe historical scholarship as definitive, but this monograph is the definitive study, unlikely to be surpassed. Hanioglu has used a dazzling array of sources from state archives in Albania, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United Kingdom as well as the private papers of some of the Young Turks. He has examined manuscripts; published documents; official publications, memoirs and writings of the Young Turks themselves; journals of the movements; and newspapers and journals, the list of which runs to over four pages. There are relatively few secondary sources cited in the 140 pages of endnotes that document the 213 pages of text.

Hanioglu tells the intriguing tale of the opposition to the autocracy of the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) from the founding of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) by students of the Royal Medical Academy in Istanbul on the centenary of the French Revolution in 1889 to the first congress in 1902. The CUP's activities were conducted mainly in Europe and Egypt, where the sultan's repressive arm was not as effective but where the Great Powers, especially

Britain and France, were able to manipulate the movement. The thirteen years covered in the book are divided into three periods: 1889 to 1898 are described as the formative years, when CUP branches were established in Western Europe and Egypt as well as in Anatolia and the Balkans; 1898 to 1900 were years of "petty intrigue and conspiracy" (p. 110) following the takeover of the movement by the Sultan's brother-in-law and his sons; and, finally, the years 1901 and 1902 were marked by the "organizational transformation of the CUP" (p. 167) leading to the congress of 1902.

This book is an important contribution to our understanding of modern Turkey because, as Hanioglu argues, the official ideology of the republican state was shaped in the years after 1889. Virtually all its elements—secularism, positivism and faith in science, elitism, materialism, racialism, and nationalism—are to be found in the discourse of the Young Turks. Hanioglu makes a convincing case for all these features except nationalism, about which his arguments stretch the evidence. For one thing, the vocabulary of nationalism scarcely existed in the Turkish or the Arabic or the Kurdish language of that period. Discussions could be conducted in French, but there were problems when Western ideas had to be translated. For example, the term *millet*, which meant a religious community, is constantly rendered as "nation." Thus an appeal to Muslims that asked them to "save your nation" would have been understood by Muslims to mean their religious community (p. 160). Even *um-mah*, the universal Islamic community, is rendered as "nation" (p. 45).

It would have made no sense, moreover, to adopt nationalism if the opposition's purpose had been to unite all religious and ethnic groups against the sultan. Hanioglu demonstrates this time and again by showing how the CUP used Islamic and Ottoman discourse on virtually all occasions. Perhaps reliance on private papers misled him. Individuals often express sentiments in private that they would not voice in public. Thus, Ibrahim Temo, an Albanian founder of the CUP, wrote in a personal letter, "I hate Turks" (p. 169). Yet we are told that "the Balkan network . . . under the leadership of Ibrahim Temo, represented Turkish nationalist ideology" (p. 171). Temo may have hated Turks, but he was willing to work with them politically. The network he led more likely represented Ottoman rather than Turkish nationalist ideology.

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ROBERT VITALIS. *When Capitalists Collide: Business Conflict and the End of Empire in Egypt*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 282. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.

Robert Vitalis states in his preface to this fascinating account of Egyptian economic development that "a more thoroughly revisionist or 'post-colonial' account

of the political economy of investment conflict is long overdue" (p. xii). How right he is. The study of business development in colonial or semi-colonial states has been hijacked by a succession of imperialist academic fashions. For the first half of the century, studies of the local economies, public and private, focused on the metropole. What was done in London and Paris counted, not decisions made in Cairo or Tangier. Subject peoples were, at best, footnotes. The transition from imperialism to a post-colonial order, interestingly, did not alter the locus of academic emphasis. Only the interpretation changed. Now anti-capitalist and third world discourses viewed the actions of the colonial powers as consistently negative and generally conspiratorial. Once again, local actors remained virtually non-existent, emerging, at best, as bit players.

Vitalis's book takes the reader beyond both points of view. He is a fortunate beneficiary of British officials' willingness to record so many of their actions as well as their reactions to various events. With the help of multiarchival research, he has produced an account of Egyptian capitalist development that encompasses that economy's complex nature. As Vitalis points out, the Egyptian national industrial bourgeoisie was composed mainly of "settlers, noncitizens, representatives of foreign firms, landowners, bankers and cotton exporters" (p. 222). Equally important was Egypt's anomalous position within the British empire.

During the interwar years, Egyptian businessmen used British neo-colonial economic aspirations to further their own interests, collaborating, for example, with textile firms, banking concerns, or insurance companies. The coming of World War II and the decision to locate the Anglo-American Middle Eastern Command in Cairo profoundly changed the nature of local elite cooperation with London. The high-handed actions of the British government, which occurred simultaneously with a demonstrable weakening of British imperial power, energized nationalistic elements in Egyptian society.

Egypt's unexpected defeat by Israel in the 1948 War of Independence proved the end of the road for King Farouk. In one of the last gentle Middle Eastern coups, the Revolutionary Command Council deposed him in July 1952. The new government, dominated by Gamel Abdul Nasser, followed a socialist, nationalist economic policy. Vitalis shows in detail how Egyptian capitalists failed to adapt to the new regime in the pivotal half decade before the Suez crisis dramatically altered the Middle East. Between 1954 and 1956, the Nasser government ended seven decades of investor control over the Egyptian economy. The 1956 conflict put the finishing touches on Egypt's reorientation. Nasser embraced the Soviet Union's economic largesse at the same time that he ordered the mass expulsion of Egypt's Jewish community, which deprived the nation of one of its most important and vibrant economic sectors. Vitalis does not prove that the Egyptian business community could have altered

these events. But he explains how businessmen reacted at a time of significant political and economic pressure. In so doing he has provided an absorbing account of the past and an important road map for the future.

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AMI AYALON. *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History*. (Studies in Middle Eastern History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 300. \$49.95.

Given the importance of the press in Arab politics and in the spread and development of Arab nationalism and other ideologies, to say nothing of how largely it has loomed in the daily life of so many Arabs for over a century, it is surprising that it has not received more sustained attention from historians. Although many scholars have traced the origins of the press in the Arab world, neither its significance as a tool for political mobilization nor its import as one of the major new avenues for social advancement and commentary on the ills of society has been fully explored.

Ami Ayalon's book succeeds in filling this gap. In the first part of the book, Ayalon carefully chronicles various stages in the growth of the press in Egypt, the countries of the *Mashriq*, and the Arabian peninsula from the early nineteenth century until 1945. In the second part, he analyzes the political, cultural, economic, and professional impact of the Arab press. In so doing, Ayalon provides us with a much-needed general survey of the press in the Arab world and also with much detail on individual newspapers and journalists.

The first part of the book is useful for understanding the importance of Cairo and Beirut as the earliest centers of Arab press activity and the crucial role of the press in Arab politics during in the late Ottoman and post-World War I eras. Ayalon is one of the first historians to elucidate the degree to which the leading lights of Arab intellectual and political life during this period were involved with the press. He shows that figures known mainly as religious reformers, pioneers of the intellectual renaissance of the nineteenth century, or political leaders were also active as journalists, editors, and publishers.

While Ayalon shows an admirable mastery of his subject, the book is not free of flaws. These include minor errors like describing 'Isa and Yusuf al-'Isa as brothers (p. 230), although elsewhere they are correctly described as cousins (pp. 66, 96); the incorrect transcription of Ibrahim al-Shanti's name (p. 99); and describing Muhammad Hassan al-Budayri as Hasan al-Budayri (p. 96). There are a few questionable descriptions, such as calling Sharif Husayn of Mecca "a tribal shaykh": a rather peculiar way of describing a scion of one of the most distinguished urban families in the Arab world. More seriously, Ayalon lays great stress on the differences between Christian and Mus-

lim journalists. He is right to point to the tensions that developed in Egypt around the turn of the twentieth century between Egyptians and the mostly Christian Syrians who played a large role in the local press. Although there was a sectarian overtone to these tensions, they affected all Syrian journalists in Egypt, both Muslims and Christians. Similarly, he points to differences between Muslim and Christian journalists in Palestine during the Mandate period, which did sometimes exist but not to the extent indicated by Ayalon.

These are minor matters, however, given the scope of Ayalon's achievement: he has produced a well-organized, informative, and comprehensive survey of one of the most important institutions in modern Arab society. This is a work that will be much referred to by students and scholars in years to come.

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NIKKI R. KEDDIE. *Iran and the Muslim World: Resistance and Revolution*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 303. \$45.00.

This book, consisting of a number of essays (the majority of which have been published previously), attempts, among other things, to identify the causes of the Iranian revolution of 1978–1979 and to explore why Iran has been especially prone to revolution and why revolts and rebellions in Iran during the past 100 years have had a “multi-urban” character. In addressing these topics, Nikki R. Keddie pays attention to specific components of Iranian culture and to factors such as the semi-colonial position of Iran. Much of her explanatory emphasis, however, is on the evolution of Shi’ism and on the alliance of the bazaar and the ulama, which, she believes, largely accounts for the autonomous strength of many cities.

Attentive to other specificities of Iran, she notes, among other things, that in Iran oil revenues endowed the regime with considerable autonomy, and the opposition—besides the ulama, the bazaar, and the working classes—included student activists at home and abroad as well as urban guerrillas. In addition, the “two-culture” split in Iran was more extensive than in any other Muslim country. Moreover, maintains the author, Iran differed from other Islamic countries because of the “overwhelmingly” Shi’i character of the bazaar, the dearth of “Western-tied” and non-Muslim merchants, and the much smaller volume of its international trade.

In these essays Keddie reiterates, and in some respects develops, themes that have long preoccupied her. The format of the book does not, however, readily lend itself to providing a coherent narrative, detailed analysis, or substantive new findings based on solid research. It instead results in considerable overlap and repetition. Preoccupation with resistance and rebellion

has prevented Keddie from exploring the structural and institutional fragility of the state in Iran. The impact of rural migrants on the configuration of cities is not analyzed, and many topics are discussed only in a cursory fashion. In her analytically relaxed discussion of the ulama, the bazaar, and their alliance, Keddie admits that the bazaar supported the secular Musaddiq but does not adequately explain this. A comparison of the Shah and the kings of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Morocco does not discuss such pertinent elements as the fact that the other three kings could invoke some degree of Islamic legitimacy as custodian of the Holy Places (Saudi Arabia), “descendant” of the Prophet (Jordan), or constitutionally sanctioned “Commander of the Faithful” (Morocco). The Shah, on the other hand, occupied an essentially secular position and perceived himself to be heir to the traditions of pre-Islamic Persian kingship, with a mystique and authority far greater than that of monarchs elsewhere in the area.

The book contains assertions that, even if plausible, are not supported by evidence. Keddie states, for example, that “a scheme for worker purchase of company shares was widely disliked by both workers and capitalists” (p. 28), and that “Traditional popular literature [in Iran] contains some anti-clerical elements but predominantly extols both ulama and bazaaris” (p. 91). Ulama and bazaaris “often stemmed from the same families and were closely tied by marriage”; “religious students . . . came largely from bazaari backgrounds” (p. 92). In all likelihood, the majority came from rural backgrounds. Many statements also require varying degrees of qualification and refinement: “The theology of Twelver Shi’ism, unlike Sunnism, was that of the ‘rationalist’ Mu’tazilite school” (p. 89); “The school of thought that came to dominate Iranian Shi’ism said that all believers must choose a single religious leader, or mujtahid, whose rulings they would follow” (p. 91); “Some ulama spent most of their time in urban trades; many were also shopkeepers and merchants or craftsmen . . . so that the line between ulama and respected bourgeois can be narrow, and in some cases essentially nonexistent” (p. 92).

Keddie commendably favors a problem-oriented comparative approach. She has a gift for distilling and synthesizing. The broad sweep of her perspective is bold, and her intuitions and observations can be perceptive. In her generalizations, however, she appears too untroubled by the lack or inadequacy of reliable evidence or the unsatisfactory state of research on most aspects of modern Iranian history. The style, content, and structure of several papers included in this book give the impression that it was not intended for the specialist audience.

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## AFRICA

JAMES L. NEWMAN. *The Peopling of Africa: A Geographic Interpretation*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 235. \$30.00.

Geographer James L. Newman uses the gerund "peopling" in his title because a "verbal-noun" emphasizes "the dynamic nature of population," which thereby ensures, he adds "the necessity of considering the past" (p. 1). The prime example is the Bantu diaspora, which over three millennia or so expanded from a population in the easternmost part of West Africa along two main routes: one southward via river networks close to the Atlantic coast through the tropical rain forest, then sparsely occupied by pygmies; the other eastward along the northern rim of the forest to the lake region of East Africa, encountering other peoples and acquiring herds along the way and subsequently expanding southward to South Africa. The book *History and Geography of Human Genes* by L. L. Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* (1994) appeared too recently to have informed Newman that, in addition to cultural influence, the eastern group of Bantu acquired some genes from certain Nilosaharan speakers (p. 180 ff.)

Bantu expansion has received substantial attention from scholars, primarily linguists and archaeologists, but putting together the disparate bits from so many regions has been disputatious. Newman's synthesis is easy to follow; he is definite when he can be, points out uncertainties, but does not pause to ponder scholarly disputes.

Bantu expansion is relatively late, and Newman goes as far back as possible. Because the human species evolved in Africa, his scope in part 1 is a few million years. He summarizes the current knowledge of the fossil record and the archaeological interpretation of stone tools and the genesis of cultures. By chapter 3, "Agricultural Transformations," Newman has already brought us up to about ten thousand years ago, when there were four regional genetic populations in Africa, which do not coordinate precisely with four linguistic phyla, who shared ten Late Stone Age cultures among them.

In part 2, "Regional Transformations," six chapters bring the development of populations in each region up to the eve of European colonialization. Three of these chapters are dominated by the Bantu story. Then, in the early nineteenth century, the Zulu wars "redrew the population map of the Bantu in southern Africa almost completely" (p. 199). Some refugees were scattered back to East Africa. Similar "traumas," as Newman terms them, occurred millennia earlier. The break-up of the Nilosaharan peoples, for example, is more obscure; we find it here in a basic outline but in contrast to the Bantu diaspora, the data permit only a sketch.

Newman has a talent for organizing quantities of data from half a dozen disciplines and demonstrating processes of change, growth, or decline in a number of systems—social, economic, political, ecological—in lu-

cid explanations of sometimes arcane matters. An annotated bibliography evaluates his sources; his greatest accolade goes to the works of Jan Vansina. In a continental synthesis of geographic, genetic, demographic, paleoanthropological, linguistic, archaeological, and ethnological studies covering virtually the whole human existence, there is bound to be a detail of interpretation that a specialist or two stands ready to attack. But, in the face of this herculean effort, I can only exclaim a warm bravo.

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ADRIAN HASTINGS. *The Church in Africa, 1450–1950*. (The Oxford History of the Christian Church.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 706. \$110.00.

The spread of Christianity and Islam in Africa has been extensive and is accelerating. At the end of the twentieth century, the continent is seen as a bulwark of these faiths, at least as far as numbers are concerned. Adrian Hastings adds an important work to the literature, taking a long perspective on the history of Christianity in Africa. The volume is part of a series, the Oxford History of the Christian Church, but Hastings's choice of title, stressing the church, bespeaks his commitment to universalism as well as to the necessary particularisms of region and culture. This is a thoroughly catholic and ecumenical history.

Ranging from 1450 to 1780, in the opening part, "A Medieval Environment," Hastings places the Ethiopian Coptic Church as a cornerstone before continuing to the key encounters between African peoples and the Portuguese, bearers of Christianity to equatorial and southern Africa. The section closes, as it opens, with a discussion of Christian Ethiopia, where the Coptic Church from 1500 to 1800 was beleaguered by Islam and courted by the Jesuits, who momentarily converted a ruler to Roman Catholicism.

In part 2, "From Anti-Slavery to Total Subjugation," Hastings presents the rising activity of Protestant agencies (especially by African clergy), prophetic anticipations of Christianization, and the persistence of Catholicism despite the absence of priests. The trajectory of this period is toward hardening cultural attitudes and missionary complicity in imperial conquest. Hastings gives an account, above all, of authority in the church. Here Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther of the Church Missionary Society Niger Mission occupies a foreground.

The final part extends from 1890 to 1960 (not, as in the title, 1950). Hastings had already written *A History of Christianity in Africa, 1950–1975* (1979), but 1960 is a far more appropriate terminal point because late colonial developments in many states entailed the increasing participation of churches, especially in the sphere of education and politics. For Hastings, the main narrative for this period concerns the Africanization of church leadership. The concluding chapter



builds around Joseph Kiwanuka, the first African Catholic bishop to be elevated in the twentieth century. Any subsequent history of the church in the 1950s should relish this focal study, for it draws on Hastings's own experience as an ordinary parish priest, unconnected to any missionary order, among an overwhelmingly Africanized clergy in Masaka Diocese, Uganda.

This large book can be read in several ways. Taken regionally, for example, one might put together all the sections on Ethiopia and end with an illuminating survey of the Coptic Church and its interactions with western Christianity. The changing situation in other monarchies, such as Kongo and Buganda, can be similarly followed. The segments can also be read with an eye to the diversity they display. Indeed, this lucidly and engagingly written survey provides a guide not only to African but also to world historians. The subchapters include bibliographic essays that capture the most recent literature especially well.

This book is, alas, too expensive for most individuals to afford. Libraries must undertake the expense. Meanwhile, other single-volume histories merit parallel consideration: Richard Gray's *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (1990) and Elizabeth Isichei's *History of Christianity in Africa* (1995). Gray is much more preoccupied than Hastings with African Christian popular beliefs, devoting a chapter, for example, to "the problem of evil" in contrast to Hastings's more church-based treatments of marriage, hymnody, and politics. Isichei provides a fuller account of the early Christian churches in northern Africa and concludes with a treatment of church, state, and society in Black Africa since 1960 that adds an important perspective not effectively anticipated by Hastings, especially by acknowledging the new evangelical-fundamentalist movements.

Any historian of Christianity in Africa must consider carefully where to draw conceptual boundaries. How far into Christian-inflected "traditional" religion or Islam should one go? Hastings's church is not a movement but an institution, given life by African tenacity and leadership. Nineteenth-century Protestant theorists, led by Henry Venn, called for euthanasia of the mission, the conscious yielding of power to an indigenous clergy. Hastings focuses on Venn briefly as a prophet before his time. Missionaries are roundly criticized, as they need to be, for their self-defeating cultural blinkers. This history, however, is really devoted to the record of an African takeover rather than missionary retreat or defeat.

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ANTONIO MCDANIEL. *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot: The Mortality Cost of Colonizing Liberia in the Nineteenth Century*. (Population and Development.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 191.

The health and mortality costs of intercontinental migrations, particularly between temperate and tropi-

cal zones, have interested scholars for several decades. Antonio McDaniel's book presents a modest but useful analysis of the demographic consequences of an especially interesting migration, the early nineteenth-century flow of blacks from the United States to Liberia. It has long been recognized that the colonization of Liberia, like the movements of whites into West Africa, exacted a heavy toll. This monograph quantifies the costs, compares Liberian settler mortality to other cases, and has some helpful data on specific causes of death.

The first two chapters provide general background on African history and the earlier British-sponsored African colonization of Sierra Leone. Neither is necessary, and at times McDaniel seems uncertain about the African context. Chapter three gives a short description of the Liberian colonization movement.

Using censuses and a detailed roll of 4,472 migrants from 1820 to 1843, McDaniel shows that deaths were extremely high. The migrants had 650 children by 1843, but 528 settlers had left Liberia and 2,193 had died. Life tables suggest one of the highest death rates on record and demonstrate that Liberian immigrants had substantially lower life expectancies than black populations in the southern United States or the British Caribbean. Excess mortality was, however, largely concentrated in the first year. As with contemporary white visitors to the African coast or migrants to cities on the southern coasts of the United States, the "seasoning" period was very dangerous for newcomers. Fevers, presumably mostly malaria, were the major causes of death. McDaniel does not discuss Duffy antigen and African resistance to *vivax* malaria, but we can assume that local strains of *falciparum* malaria, endemic in Liberia but not in the southern United States, were the leading killers. He does not believe that yellow fever was a problem, but it simply may have been undiagnosed.

After a colonist had survived the first year, tuberculosis and other "diseases of the lungs" and "circulatory and degenerative disease" were the major threats. Accidents and violence accounted for about seven percent of all deaths, with homicide and drowning leading in this category. Persons who had been slaves or were from northern states were more likely to die in the first year than immigrants who had been free or were from the south. McDaniel correctly stresses the importance of individual health and previous disease experience for survival chances, but in the cases of malaria and yellow fever he underestimates genetic defenses common to persons of African descent.

Catastrophic mortality among the settlers of Liberia was well known at the time and must have discouraged many potential immigrants. A medical report to the American Colonization Society in 1832 recognized the extent of the problem, the higher mortality in the first year, and the greater vulnerability of persons coming from nonmalarial areas of the United States. McDaniel's study reinforces these conclusions and presents them in a formal demographic manner, calculat-

ing life tables and death rates by age, cause, gender, and place. This book will be valuable for comparative studies.

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PATRICIA M. E. LORCIN. *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria*. (Society and Culture in the Modern Middle East.) New York: I. B. Tauris; distributed by St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. x, 323. \$59.50.

The French creation of separate identities for the population groups in colonial Algeria is, as Patricia M. E. Lorcin tells us, very revealing of French concerns and interests. Lorcin decided to limit her study to the evolution of French notions about the Kabyle populations of Algeria; the mountain-dwelling Kabyle were endowed with certain positive attributes in juxtaposition to the Arabs of the plains. So, while the study is more limited in scope than one might have wished, it does provide a means to view a wider panorama.

A few years ago the French colonial historian Charles-Robert Agéron suggested in a number of articles that the development of a "Kabyle myth" was a conscious attempt to impose a policy of divide and rule. Lorcin sees it as less instrumental and more the result of the intersection of the French experience of colonial conquest in Algeria and the development of racial ideas back in France. In conquering Algeria, the French soldiers were at first confronted with the "Arabs" of the plains. The ease of conquest convinced French soldiers that the Arabs were inferior, while the successful resistance of mountain-dwelling Kabyles won their grudging admiration. Once conquest had been achieved, the contrast between the two groups continued to strike French observers and officials. The plains people were more likely to be nomadic, hence harder to administer and to bring under French influence. Of course, the land in the plains was more desirable for French settlers, and it might be worth considering how this factor helped diabolize the Arabs.

French prejudices and predilections were projected on the Algerian scene. Because of the more structured nature of Islam in the plains, Arabs were seen as more fanatical, while the Kabyle were thought to be closer to some variant of natural religion and maybe open to Christianization. In fact, some Frenchmen posited that the Kabyles were descendants of the original inhabitants who had been Christian at the time of Saint Augustine: thus French colonization would return the Kabyles to their original faith. Various social institutions seemed to suggest a greater affinity between Kabyles and Europeans than between the latter and Arabs. And since by the 1880s various racial theories dominated much European thinking, similarities in belief systems and institutions were seen as confirming racial affinities; some suggested that the Kabyles were Indo-European and even Aryans.

French ideas did not necessarily influence policies; the Kabyles do not seem to have been particularly favored by the French administration. But the French notions of the distinctiveness of the Kabyles contributed, according to Lorcin, to divisions among Algerian nationalists fighting colonial rule in the 1950s. And still today the Kabyles appear to have a separate identity; if Islamic fundamentalism has attracted many Arabs, fewer Kabyles have embraced it.

Two-thirds into the book is a valuable chapter on the construction of a white settler identity. Lorcin reveals the development of the notion that, settled in Algeria, a "new white race" would emerge. Energized, it would reveal the continuity of the Latin race: the French, just like the Romans, were destined to be colonizers and the agents of a superior civilization. In this vision, the destiny of Algeria was to become Latin. The Arabs disappeared into the background, becoming at most the objects of French action. This chapter suggests the potentially rich material that exists in regards to the settlers. While the issue of the Kabyle identity is part of the story, one wishes the book had considered some of the other identities developed in Algeria. But perhaps Lorcin will undertake that task in another book.

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JUHANI KOPONEN. *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914*. (Studia Historica, number 49; Studien zur Afrikanischen Geschichte, number 10.) Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society or Lit. Hamburg. 1994. Pp. 740.

Contrary to the present-oriented approach that characterizes much of development studies, Juhani Koponen has demonstrated a restless determination to get at the historical roots of economic development in Tanzania. His first book, *People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania* (1988), explored the nineteenth-century origins of development, and here he takes the story forward through the period of German rule in Tanzania from 1884 to 1914.

In keeping with his historical approach, Koponen stresses the ways in which colonial economic exploitation unintentionally led to economic development as German colonial interests conflicted with African realities, forcing colonial policy makers to create an interventionist colonial state that transformed social dynamics within African societies. Seeing colonialism as a historical phenomenon distinct from capitalism, Koponen argues that colonial authorities had first to develop Tanzania in order to exploit it but then actively sought to limit full capitalist development, thus ultimately leading to underdevelopment. "Development" arose out of the dictates of exploitation; and "underdevelopment" sprang from those of development" (p. 676).

The argument is empirically developed through a series of chronologically ordered chapters that analyze

the gradual development of German economic policy from the initial conquest and early collapse of the privately chartered Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft to the formal assumption of German colonial rule and the state's attempt to exploit its new colony. Viewing the colonial state as both "an agent of colonial policies and the framework within which those policies were made" (p. 143), Koponen proceeds to examine shifts in colonial economic policy as policy makers experimented with various options for exploiting their colony. Two opposing approaches emerged: "emigrationist" or settler colonialism advocated by conservative nationalists and "economic" colonialism supported by liberal traders and industrialists. The state's inherent weakness and dependence on African middlemen effectively limited its support of settlers to small areas in the northeast, however, while elsewhere it favored the development of plantations, migrant labor, or African commercial production. The result, Koponen concludes, was something less than a fully developed capitalist economy. While African social values were transformed, both the state and African farmers resisted the dispossession of Africans from their land, thus restricting the operation of capitalist market forces.

Koponen's approach is encyclopedic, amassing endless detail that rapidly overflows the boundaries of disciplined argument. It runs to 740 pages overall, with individual chapters of 80–120 pages. We are inundated with details regarding everything from German shipping to the causes of smallpox and the management of wildlife. Much of the overall argument is lost as Koponen pursues scholarly skirmishes on minor academic points. While introducing the reader to many of the issues regarding colonial development, as well as to the German literature on them, the result reads more as an unrelated series of short syntheses of diverse aspects of German colonialism than as a coherent or original account.

Based almost exclusively on German colonial archives, sources, and secondary accounts, Koponen writes from the perspective of German policy and policy makers. This unidimensional view creates problems when he tries to argue that Africans and African historical realities played important roles in the development of colonial policy but is unable to adduce evidence available in mission and local sources on such critical topics as African responses to land alienation, migrant labor, Christian missions, or commercial crop production. And he overgeneralizes the impact of development on African societies and their transformation from collectivist to individualistic norms. While appearing to be exhaustive, then, the analysis is limited in comparison with the more nuanced and authoritative account by John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (1979).

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PHILIP MURPHY. *Party Politics and Decolonization: The Conservative Party and British Colonial Policy in Tropical Africa, 1951–1964*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 259. \$55.00.

Philip Murphy's excellent monograph adds a great deal of new information and some reinterpretation to our understanding of the role of the British Conservative Party in the decolonization of Africa during the period of continuous Tory government from 1951 to 1964, by the end of which time the British empire in tropical Africa was at an end. Murphy's use of new material is impressive, including not only the obvious Colonial Office and other government archives now open, but also collections of private papers of settlers, former officials, politicians, lobby groups, and businessmen. He also secured privileged access to the papers of the Kenya settler Michael Blundell, Roy Welensky of the Central African Federation, and even the Conservative Party's "1922 Committee."

Murphy, keeping the distinction between the Conservative Party and the cabinet clearly in mind, sets out to examine the party's role in the struggle among various interest groups active in the African colonies. He is particularly interested in the activities of settler and business lobbies and their efforts to influence and modify policies in the African colonies. These local interests did appear to create formidable links with the Conservative Party in Britain, a fact not unnoticed at the time by left-wing critics who alleged that the white-settler tail was wagging the Tory imperialist dog.

The story of these relationships, as outlined by Murphy in considerable detail, is a complex one, and his conclusions turn upside down some of the old assumptions. Far from the settler and business lobbies infiltrating decisionmaking in Westminster, the government, using Conservative Party structures and links, was able to use the lobbies to smooth the implementation of Colonial Office policy against potential opposition from settlers overseas and the party's own die-hard MPs in the House of Commons. Blundell, the settler leader in Kenya who advocated "multi-racialism," was used as a moderate ally who could sidetrack more extreme white opposition and provide a transitional stage for the reforms that would have to come before independence. For a time, Welensky's Central African Federation was seen as a similar moderate collaborative force, but Welensky, with a much larger white electorate, was increasingly alienated from the British after 1953, when the government, with the support of the mining industry, pushed for political and industrial improvements for Africans. Welensky then tried to mount his own public-relations onslaught on British parliamentary opinion, which irritated officials but failed to influence policy makers.

Throughout his study, Murphy stresses the growing divergence between British business interests in Africa, increasingly willing to come to terms with African nationalism and to "Africanize" their personnel, and

the interests of white farmers and white mineworkers in the Rhodesias, whose privileged incomes depended on cheap African labor remaining unskilled and unrepresented. Although Murphy documents some clashes between business lobbies, including those in West Africa, and the imperial government, it is evident that the interests of large capitalist undertakings were much more in tune with colonial reforms leading to decolonization than were those of white settlers.

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## ASIA

CHARLES HOLCOMBE. *In the Shadow of the Han: Literati Thought and Society at the Beginning of the Southern Dynasties*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 238. \$35.00.

The period of early medieval China (A.D. 318–589), which witnessed endless foreign invasions and civil wars, received much less attention in traditional historical studies than the periods of Ch'in-Han and Sui-T'ang when great empires prevailed. In western languages, there are a very small number of monographic researches on the history of early medieval China. This book is therefore a valuable addition. Charles Holcombe limits his investigation to the appearance of an elite culture in the Eastern Chin period (A.D. 318–420). The main themes of this book, which are given in the subtitle, reveal that Holcombe has used good judgment in his selection of foci.

Following discussions on current scholarship in Chinese, Japanese, and western languages, Holcombe presents a chronological summary of major events in this period. The main body of his investigation consists of three chapters. The third chapter paves the way for readers to discern the rise of local community-based cultural elites during the last phase of the Han dynasty and their control of land, wealth, and military powers.

Chapter four examines the Ch'in system of recruiting officials and the patterns of promotion that institutionalized the monopoly of high social status and considerable political influence by a number of elite families. Then Holcombe describes the behavior and mentalities of this virtual aristocracy in chapter five. His main interest is in the development of the metaphysical discourse known as *hsuan-hsueh*, which he labels Neo-Taoism. Holcombe traces the origins of *hsuan-hsueh* to Confucian scholarship in the preceding Han period. The influence of and interaction with Buddhism are other aspects of this chapter. Almost one half of its pages are devoted to discussions of the Buddhist monk Chih-Tun, who, according to Holcombe, embodied the ideal combination of Buddhist and Neo-Taoist transcendentalism.

There is no doubt that Chih-Tun is Holcombe's hero, because the entire sixth chapter is again devoted to discussions surrounding Chih-Tun's idea of the "true man." In the tensions between individual and

society, reality and the ideal, and participation and detachment that modern scholars have identified, Holcombe sees a dilemma that medieval Chinese intellectuals needed to face. His epilogue describes the changes following the Sui-T'ang state's recovery of full strength and subordination of the elite.

Holcombe's book demonstrates that individuals, especially the cultural elite, were aware of their intellectual independence and consciously tried to preserve it. It could be a much fuller presentation if he had placed this phenomenon within a broader framework indicating that the seemingly chaotic period of disunion witnessed a spectacular cultural transformation. The Sui-T'ang restoration of state power that Holcombe describes in the epilogue was by no means a return to the order of the Ch'in-Han period.

The fullness of Holcombe's bibliography testifies that he has consulted virtually all pertinent current scholarship. A few translation errors need to be corrected. For instance, "pei-fu-ping" should be Army of Northern Command rather than Northern Palace, because "pei fu" here refers to the headquarters of a military governor stationed in Yang-Chou, on the north side of the Yangtze River. Such errors, however, are minor ones. Holcombe should be thanked for his lucid scholarly contributions.

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WILLIAM P. ALFORD. *To Steal a Book Is an Elegant Offense: Intellectual Property Law in Chinese Civilization*. (Studies in East Asian Law, Harvard University.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 222. \$35.00.

William P. Alford's book makes a major contribution to our understanding of the evolution of Chinese legal institutions. His subject is the development of intellectual property law, and his presentation is at once narrower and broader than his title suggests. Narrower because Alford focuses on developments after 1900. His material on the traditional situation is well-chosen and well-argued but brief. The book is also broader in scope because, although Alford examines only intellectual property law, his analysis raises issues about general attributes of Chinese reforms and Chinese attitudes toward the rule of law. He cannot be faulted for his brief description of the traditional situation, which was not the intended focus of his work; he is to be congratulated because his arguments reach beyond intellectual property concerns to the larger question of legality.

After an introduction dealing with general problems involved in the study, Alford proceeds, in chapter two, to argue cogently that the state in traditional China used law not to guarantee ownership of intellectual property but to exercise control over information dissemination. The following chapter provides an excellent discussion of the reception of Western intellectual property notions from the turn of the twentieth



century through the mid-1940s. Alford concerns himself not simply with the what, the details of attempts to deal with intellectual property issues, but more importantly with the why, the reasons that lay behind the checkered career of such law during this era.

Chapter four discusses in detail the history of intellectual property law in the People's Republic from the late 1940s, when the regime was influenced by Soviet models. Alford traces the complicated story of attempts to introduce rules concerning copyright, trademarks, certificates for inventions, and patents. The fundamentally political nature of decisions about these issues is abundantly evident from the materials he cites. In the 1960s, the limited concern with property rights and material incentives for producers gave way to a much harder statist line, a trend that became even more prominent during the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1977. Alford describes the impact on intellectual property law of the ascendancy, since 1977, of reformers led by Deng Xiaoping. His descriptions of legal reforms are coupled with analyses of the weaknesses of current laws and reflections on the great gaps between law and legal practice. This should be required reading for anyone who does not recognize that the People's Republic of China has continually attempted to have it both ways: to proclaim rights without being constrained by a commitment to enforce them.

Chapter five, on the evolution of intellectual property law in Taiwan, describes clearly the implications of democratization for legal reform. The chapter provides a particularly effective illustration of the close ties between social and political changes and actual, meaningful legal change.

The closing chapter of the book thoughtfully analyzes the role that protecting intellectual property played in shaping recent United States foreign policy. Alford argues that outside pressures to force long-term changes in the Chinese legal system are misguided. The underlying issue is Chinese political culture. Can a government that does not protect the rights of its own people be expected to protect effectively the rights of foreigners? Alford's answer, with which I am entirely in agreement, is no. Recognizing this may not provide us with easier answers to our problems; it may lessen our expectations and reorient our thinking. Alford raises a sobering conundrum. Insofar as Chinese political culture is transformed and the rule of law promoted, with the support of, if not as a result of, foreign states' policies, the People's Republic will thereby become an increasingly dangerous competitor in the world marketplace. We cannot just let the sleeping tiger lie; we should be aware of the problems it will create when it awakes.

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MICHAEL A. BARNHART. *Japan and the World since 1868*. (International Relations and the Great Powers.) New York: Edward Arnold; distributed by St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. x, 198. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$15.95.

At first glance, Michael A. Barnhart appears to have written a textbook on Japanese foreign policy, but readers would be quite wrong to consign this work to that sometimes superficial category. In this sophisticated and complex analysis Barnhart argues that struggles among Japan's foreign policy elites for power and for their preferred policies often directly shaped the diplomatic course that Japan chose. Would the rising Japanese empire seek security and independence in cooperation with other powers, or would it seek autarchy and hegemony in the Pacific? Barnhart asserts that Japan has never achieved a sustained national consensus on its basic foreign policy down to the present day.

In 1853–1873, the very dangerous challenge posed by the western powers resulted in bitter debates, civil war, and foreign adventurism. Once the Meiji regime had settled in, the muted but real struggles among oligarchs, bureaucrats, and legislators resulted in conflict over the construction of a defensive empire. After 1911, the Chinese and Russian revolutions led to angry clashes between the military and civilians, with the Japanese officer corps becoming increasingly assertive at home and abroad. The most controversial section of the book will be Barnhart's treatment of 1937–1953, for he argues that the nationalistic conservative elites fought the military and civilian advocates of fascism to a standstill between 1937 and 1945. Barnhart asserts that, after 1945, conservatives who preferred disarmament and pacifism outmaneuvered the nationalistic conservatives and chose to cooperate with the West. The result was a Japan that was subordinate to U.S. security policy, but which contributed little beside military bases to sustaining that policy. Barnhart concludes with a chapter that examines the challenges to the pacifistic, conservative order from the left and the right between 1960 and 1990, challenges that he predicts will intensify with the end of the Cold War.

Barnhart weaves many useful interpretive strands through his narrative. One of the great strengths of the book is its treatment of the Japanese military role in post-1912 diplomacy. Barnhart argues convincingly for a much larger and more consistent military role over a much longer period than others do. Even more impressive is his careful treatment of the complicated involvement of Japan's political parties in legitimizing expansionist policies. Barnhart's book provides the most penetrating and systematic exposition of this factor that I have seen. Best of all is his careful interpretation of the politics of post-World War II Japanese foreign policy.

There may be a tendency on Barnhart's part to exaggerate the lack of consensus during certain periods. I do not see nearly as much residual power in the hands of the traditional economic and political elites as he does in the 1937–1945 period. Especially after December 7, 1941, the military pretty much had its way, and opposition was scarce and ineffective. I also think that Barnhart might consider the connection that Chalmers Johnson makes between the planners who built the economy of greater East Asia and the pro-

gram of economic warfare that the Finance Ministry and the Ministry of International Trade and Development have conducted against the West in the postwar era.

But these questions merely indicate the strength of the interpretive challenges that Barnhart poses to his colleagues. Any historian who is interested in the history of Japan's foreign relations should consider very carefully what Barnhart has to say. In sum, do not judge this book by its cover: Barnhart's work is a splendid achievement in synthesis.

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STEWART LONE. *Japan's First Modern War: Army and Society in the Conflict with China, 1894–95*. (Studies in Military and Strategic History.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with King's College, London. 1994. Pp. xi, 222. \$55.00.

Stewart Lone has written a fine book about Japan's first modern war, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. In eight pithy chapters, Lone discusses the background and outbreak of the war, Japanese strategy and diplomacy, the soldier's experience, the mobilization of the nation for war, the financing of the war, Japan's experience as a "novice imperialist" in Korea and Manchuria, the problems of maintaining discipline within the army, and the difficulties of closing the war in 1895. Using a remarkable array of sources, Lone challenges a variety of earlier efforts to oversimplify the meaning of the war by interpreting it as one stage in the blossoming of the "emperor system," an alliance of military officers and bureaucrats who, with the support of predatory capitalists and parasitical landlords, exploited poor workers and tenant farmers at home and fought wars of aggression against weaker neighbors abroad. Lone attempts to restore "chaos, or at least diversity" (p. 2) to our interpretations of the war.

Along the way, Lone makes a number of fascinating points, of which I can mention only a few here. Japan went to war without a clear overall strategy or even a clear idea of why it was fighting the war. Many Japanese believed that their country went to war to liberate Korea from Chinese brutality, a view that led them to see later Korean resistance as reflecting a lack of gratitude. This kind of ethnocentric mentality was to dog later Japanese efforts at pan-Asianism. The Japanese fought the war within the framework of Western imperialism; in prosecuting the second Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945, they felt less constrained by the West, which helps to explain Japanese excesses in the latter war. It was during the 1894–1895 war that the Japanese government was able to establish firmly the idea of imperial rule by divine right. It was also at this time that Shintō became the religion of nationalism and militarism rather than serving only as the religion of an agrarian society. The Japanese military had

severe problems with its supply and medical systems, and the wartime deaths from cholera outnumbered those from combat wounds.

Even this very good book is not without shortcomings. In chapter seven, Lone attempts to analyze—in only seven pages—why Japanese soldiers committed widespread atrocities at Port Arthur in November of 1894. But he drops the discussion after introducing the usual suspects: the nature of the previous fighting, Japanese racial arrogance toward the Chinese, the brutal nature of Japanese military training, and the intense discipline of Japanese society. For those of us interested in why Japanese soldiers acted brutally in World War II, or why armies in general often fail to maintain discipline, a deeper discussion of the causes of the event would have been enlightening. A book on a major war would also benefit from having more than one, very general, map of the war zone. Finally, the scholar who reads Japanese and hopes to use Lone's bibliography as a guide to sources would benefit from macrons over long vowels.

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LEONARD A. HUMPHREYS. *The Way of the Heavenly Sword: The Japanese Army in the 1920's*. Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 252. \$35.00.

Imperial Japan's army and navy stunned the world with its victory over the Russians in 1904–1905, and historians have ever since interpreted the Japanese success in that clash as a triumphant test case of the rapid modernization drive of Meiji-era reformers. However, as this book brilliantly documents, the Imperial Army that drove into China in the 1930s and met the Allies in the Pacific in the 1940s was not a direct descendent of the military machine forged by the generals of the Meiji emperor. In complex ways, the decade of the 1920s marked an important transition process in the evolution of military ethos and outlook, and Leonard A. Humphreys has given us a pathbreaking study—the first in-depth English-language account—of this process.

Despite its turn-of-the-century victories, Japan remained, by comparison to the advanced nations of the West, a poor and technologically impaired straggler. In a revealing anecdote, Humphreys cites the confusion of Japanese news agencies upon hearing word of tank battles on the Somme front in World War I. "Gas tanks?" Japanese newsmen wondered (p. 83). Army Ministry authorities in Tokyo could not explain; they, too, had not heard of tanks. While European armies increasingly employed coordinated fire from machine guns, mortars, and artillery in World War I, the Imperial Army managed to deploy only a few heavy machine guns at the division level. The "infantry still advanced as a line of skirmishers," Humphreys writes (p. 84), and all the way up to World War II the Japanese army continued to depend on close combat and the bayonet as its mainstay.

When World War I ended, Japan's army proved to be less interested in the victory of the Allies than in the defeat of Imperial Germany. How could the best army in Europe and the admired model for Japan's own army have been defeated? The answer for many was that a poorly disciplined German people and government opted for surrender and thereby betrayed its still intact armies.

In Japan, a radically new type of officer emerged from the junior ranks to respond to that insight and to make the best of Japan's material poverty. If Japan was poor, it mattered little to the "young officers movement." They were inclined toward spiritual and moral answers in their calculation of Japan's defense needs: high morale weighed more than weapons and equipment, especially when matched by civilian discipline. The advantage fell to these proponents of "human spirit" and "direct action" (p. 177) in their decade-long struggle with a conservative military establishment more accustomed to working with Japan's civilian leaders and more conciliatory to China and the West. The consequence of that shift of influence was the Manchurian Incident of 1931, with all that it meant for Japan, China, and the world. To explain the shift, Humphreys takes us deeply into the intricate maneuverings of rival feudal cliques (*hanbatsu*), the remnants of which shaped so much of the history of Japan long after the Meiji Restoration officially ended feudalism.

This book has been a long time in gestation, and the result is a model of lucidity and insight. It is based upon research and dissertation efforts going back to the 1960s. In addition, the book is informed by the author's contacts with the Self Defense Forces and his Occupation and U.S. Army attaché duties going back to all the way back to the forties. The writing is graceful and concise, rich in anecdote. It is assiduously grounded in Japanese sources and rigorously argued. A masterpiece of military history, Humphreys's work gives us the clearest picture yet of the nature of the ultranationalism and militarism that came to dominate Japan in the crisis decade following the Manchurian Incident.

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PIERRE BROCHEUX. *The Mekong Delta: Ecology, Economy, and Revolution, 1860–1960*. (Monograph Series, number 12.) Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, Center for Southeast Asian Studies. 1995. Pp. xix, 269. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Pierre Brocheux begins his book by noting the standard hypothesis that the village was the central institution in pre-colonial Vietnam. Yet, he asserts, in Nam Bo (southern-most Vietnam, including the Mekong Delta) and particularly in Mien Tay, the western-most region of the Delta on which he focuses, village-level institutions were less ancient and firm in their foundations than was the case in the northern heartland of

traditional Vietnam. Indeed, owing to ecological factors, Mien Tay had not been opened to large-scale habitation before colonial times. The French captured southern Vietnam first (ca. 1859) and found there a less entrenched Vietnamese population, among whom the northern-central patterns of village-based society had not fully developed; colonialism's ecological and economic changes—and the indigenous political response to them—affected Southern Vietnam earlier and more intensely than northern and central Vietnam. This, Brocheux asserts, raises interesting questions regarding the transformation of southern Vietnam under colonialism and its impact on the revolutionary struggles that shook the area in the 1900s, questions that he attempts to answer in his book.

Brocheux devotes the early chapters to explaining the ecological and economic transformation of Mien Tay under the colonial regime and the later chapters to following the political response of the inhabitants up to the founding of the National Liberation Front in 1960. The French administration, Brocheux demonstrates, began from an early date to build canals throughout the Mekong Delta and Mien Tay. The opening of the region to economic expansion during the Free Trade era increased economic opportunities for those with the connections, capital, or initiative to take advantage of them. This gave rise to a new bourgeoisie grounded in landownership, trade, and the lower echelons of the bureaucracy and to a proletarianized class of *ta dien* or tenants whose opportunities to escape destitution were circumscribed both by natural forces such as flooding, disease, and pests, and by institutional ones such as credit, taxation, and colonial repression.

The early chapters devoted to analyzing the ecological and socioeconomic changes in Mien Tay are Brocheux's most valuable contributions. The reader is grateful for the plethora of tables and maps that reveal the ecological and social contexts in which the French-inspired economic transformation occurred. Several questions, however, remain: if the economic changes were largely responsible for creating the particular society of Mien Tay, what does the study of this society tell us about the transformation of other areas of Vietnam that experienced heavy Vietnamese settlement before the French conquest? In other words, how typical is Mien Tay of the Mekong Delta? Of Vietnam? Comparisons with the findings of Ngo Vinh Long (*Before the Revolution: Vietnamese Peasants under the French* [1973]) or Hy Van Luong (*Revolution in the Village: Tradition and Transformation in North Vietnam, 1925–1988* [1992]) might have broadened the geographical and historiographical discussion.

In the chapters focusing on the implications of these ecological and economic transformations for revolutionary struggles, Brocheux explains that, after the defeat of the first wave of anti-colonial resistance (ca. 1885), Vietnamese political action in Mien Tay involved attempts by disaffected members of the new

southern elite to mobilize mass support for reformist or revolutionary ends from among the dispossessed of the region. Such attempts initially centered on scholar-gentry figures such as Phan Boi Chau. Elite members also attempted to utilize religious traditions in new forms as a means of pressuring the French (the Cao Dai and the Hoa Hao). After the Depression, such efforts were increasingly led by dissident members of the elite associated with the Indochinese Communist Party, which guided the struggle in Mien Tay against French colonialism and later against the Diem regime. This is the weakest part of an otherwise admirable work. Brocheux never creates a meaningful causal linkage between the ecological and economic factors he analyzes in such detail in the early chapters and the political events he merely traces in the later ones. For example, the discussion of the playing out of wider struggles such as the August Revolution in Mien Tay is cursory at best. Given the wealth of new material available on this topic, this is disappointing.

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ANTHONY MILNER. *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya: Contesting Nationalism and the Expansion of the Public Sphere*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. vi, 328. \$59.95.

Studies of historical developments in the non-Western world usually attract attention only among area specialists. The original conception and wide-ranging content of Anthony Milner's new book will certainly generate much discussion among authorities on Malaysia. It will also provide stimulating reading for any scholar interested in the origins of political discourse and cross-cultural comparisons of the interaction between individual and society.

Perhaps because Malaysia was one of the few Southeast Asian countries to achieve independence without anticolonial violence, historical research has been preoccupied by the growth of Malay nationalism and ethnic awareness. This book does not reject such themes, but it is more concerned with the emergence of differences among Malays, particularly those that underlie contemporary debates concerning religion, the monarchy, and Malayness itself.

By seeing politics as a given, Milner argues, scholars have neglected critical periods of transition "when people began to see themselves as *homo politicus*" (p. 1). In colonial Malaya, "politics" was slowly "invented" as Malays began to think about the interaction between individuals, government, religion, ethnicity, and society at large. To track the development of often conflicting opinions, Milner examines the ideas of several authors in a variety of written forms: autobiographies, newspapers, a textbook, a coronation souvenir, a left-wing treatise. Placed in a framework that builds connections to other political cultures, even well-known sources are invested with a new significance.

Milner identifies three different Malay viewpoints that, though competitors for the allegiance of an emerging middle class, were all "modern" in their challenge to traditional styles of government. The first, loyal to a raja-centered polity (*kerajaan*), conceived of a new type of action-oriented ruler; the second, condemning the neglect of religion, advocated political reform in terms of the *umat*, or wider Muslim community; the third called for greater unity among the Malay race (*bangsa*) in the face of increasing penetration by Europeans, Chinese, and Indians.

Colonial rule, Milner believes, helped to fuel rather than stifle this dialogue. As literacy expanded, books and newspapers provided a forum for the expression of individual viewpoints in a public arena, an expression fed by the international crosscurrents of intellectual influences. The lack of resolution between the three orientations and the persistence of divisions into post-colonial times may also be traced to British attitudes, which militated against the triumph of any one group. Milner's book nonetheless concludes with a tentatively optimistic proposition. Political debate, while at times alienating, also has the potential to include many voices. In a society like Malaysia, dominated by ethnic pluralism, the enlargement of the public sphere may foster a continuing dialogue that will contribute to the process of nation building.

A book of this nature, reconsidering sources already discussed by other researchers and foregrounding material hitherto ignored, will undoubtedly have its critics. Some may challenge the impression of a cumulative development that depends on drawing connections between texts that arose in rather different circumstances. They may well argue that this technique accords undue weight to sources and individuals whose influence on mainstream Malay society was inconsequential. At times, Milner's persuasive and elegant prose disguises tenuous linkages between texts, with inference and suggestion employed in place of hard evidence. There will also be disagreement about the extent to which the growth of Malay political consciousness was indebted to intellectual currents in Europe. Contact with the West, for example, certainly infused Islamic reformism with a greater urgency (pp. 181, 187), but Milner himself indicates that sophisticated debates regarding the purification of the faith have a long and autonomous history.

Precisely because of the questions it provokes, however, this mature and reflective book has opened up conceptual horizons in Malaysian studies. At a time when area studies are under attack from several quarters, it is a fine example of the contribution that culturally based research can make to questions that are universally relevant.

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ROBERT CRIBB and COLIN BROWN. *Modern Indonesia: A History since 1945*. (The Postwar World.) New York: Longman. 1995. Pp. xvi, 192.



Indonesia began independent life as an exciting place to live in and to study: a successful revolution against Dutch colonialism (1945–1949); efforts to create a new nation-state out of a geographical, ethnic, religious, political, and historical heterogeneity; a bubblingly free political life; and, eventually, the growing possibility of a communist electoral victory in the world's most populous Muslim country. Then Sukarno's theatrical but jerry-built Guided Democracy (1959–1965) collapsed amid the army-orchestrated slaughter of hundreds of thousands of unarmed "leftists" and the incarceration of hundreds of thousands more. On this foundation, Suharto constructed his still-extant New Order, one of the most enduring patrimonial authoritarian systems of the century. Free inquiry ended, social scientists largely moved on to more promising sites, and for a generation no new introductory texts on Indonesia have been published.

Australians have necessarily kept a wary eye on the population behemoth to their immediate north and northwest. Robert Cribb's and Colin Brown's book, developed in Australian classrooms, is part of a series targeted at undergraduates and at the general reader with an interest in contemporary history. In the United States, at least, this means audiences with zero or close-to-zero knowledge of Indonesia and no known reason to know more. Unfortunately, this new study fails them in three broad ways.

The first problem is the book's scope. The authors' approach is that of an earlier generation: an informed and chronological recounting of the main political events involving the Jakarta-based national political elite, with commonsensical conjectures as to what led one situation into the next. In short, here is an introduction to one part of recent Indonesian history. This is not a history of Indonesian society, of the Indonesian people (of social classes, ethnicity, cultural and value change, nongovernmental organizations, religion), or of how that history interacts with the political history of the national elite. Nor is this an analysis of the structure and operation of the different political systems that Indonesia has experienced since independence. How, for example, can we explain Suharto's decades-long control over this diversity of some two hundred million human beings?

A second major deficiency is the lack of a comparative perspective. As do too many Indonesianists, Cribb and Brown treat Indonesia as if it were *sui generis*. But comparative history (and politics) could be of immense utility in clarifying what has happened, is happening, and may happen to Indonesia. There is now, for example, a rich comparative literature on such relevant topics as the demise and rebirth of democracies, the political role of the military, and authoritarian (and corporatist) regimes. Within the subcategory of long-lived personalist but military-based regimes, Suharto's might be fruitfully compared, for example, with those of Ne Win (Burma), Nasser-Sadat-Mubarak (Egypt), and Alfredo Stroessner (Paraguay). (Incidentally, after thirty-five years as presi-

dent, General Stroessner was overthrown by fellow officers in 1989.)

Finally, there is much in recent Indonesian history that could morally and emotionally engage the introductory reader: mass murder, the rape of East Timor, the immense enrichment of the Suharto family, and, in courageous opposition to numbing oppression, the emergence of nongovernmental organizations and fighters for worker and peasant rights and cultural freedom. However, Cribb's and Brown's account is written with a polite dispassion that does not encourage us to care about this particular place and this particular people.

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W. G. HUFF. *The Economic Growth of Singapore: Trade and Development in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 472. \$69.95.

W. G. Huff has written a solid, authoritative economic history of Singapore in the twentieth century. After an opening section that provides an overview of Singapore's economic development and describes the economic patterns that prevailed from 1870 to 1990, he devotes the largest part of the book to events of the 1900–1939 period. The analysis of this era is broad and deep. Major topics covered include trade, finance, development, ocean-going shipping, the port, regional transportation, immigration, population, and employment. Special attention is paid to the roles rubber, petroleum, and the distributive trade in imported manufactures played in shaping Singapore's development during this period. A much shorter concluding section deals with economic development in the post-war period, emphasizing the revival of trade in the 1950s and ending with discussion of the much-mooted issue of the respective roles of markets and government in fostering the remarkable economic transformation that has occurred in Singapore and the other Asian "tiger economies" since 1960.

The core of Huff's study is a careful examination of business history in the period before World War II, including both British and Chinese merchants and the international shipping conferences. Huff provides fascinating descriptions of the motivations of each of the major business groups, the resources they were able to mobilize, and the constraints that they faced at various times. One of Huff's major themes is the importance of Singapore's trading and financial relationships with the Dutch East Indies relative to its more obvious role as an economic center for Malaya and other British possessions in the region.

Singapore's economy depended—especially before World War II, but even to a considerable degree into the 1960s—on transshipping and entrepôt services rendered mainly for the areas that became the Malay-dominated states of Indonesia and Malaysia. This raises the puzzle of how Singapore was able to emerge

as a new kind of economic power after the establishment of the republic in 1965. At the time of its expulsion from Malaysia, many observers doubted Singapore's ability to survive economically, given the nationalism and hostility of neighboring countries. Huff addresses the question of how these problems were overcome, noting as many others have the brilliance of the national leadership. In my view, he stresses insufficiently the strategy of de-emphasizing links to the regional economy while finding better ways to link into the world economy that made Singapore's success possible.

Although Huff is clearly familiar with development economics and makes reference to the implications of Singapore's experience for that literature, this is in essence a work of old-fashioned economic history, and a good one at that. One contemporary controversy in development economics does come up toward the end of the book when he addresses Alwyn Young's and Paul Krugman's thesis that Singapore's growth (like that of the other "tigers") has been based on unsustainable increases in the quantities of both capital and labor used by the economy and that, although saving rates have been high, Singapore has made inefficient use of capital (see Alwyn Young, "A Tale of Two Cities: Factor Accumulation and Technical Change in Hong Kong and Singapore," in Olivier J. Blanchard and Stanley Fischer, eds., *NBER Macroeconomics Annual 1992* [1992], pp. 13–54; and Paul Krugman, "The Myth of Asia's Miracle," *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 6 [November/December 1994]: 62–78). These are currently matters of great debate among development specialists and concern on the part of Singapore's officials and intellectuals. Given the remarkable economic history ably elaborated by Huff in this volume, any prediction of coming economic stagnation seems rashly ahistorical.

DONALD R. SNODGRASS

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LUKE TRAINOR. *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism: Manipulation, Conflict and Compromise in the Late Nineteenth Century*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 213. \$49.95.

During the past ten years, the Cambridge University Press series of Studies in Australian History has already made a valuable, if uneven, contribution to the historical revision of key elements and periods of the Australian past. The first books in the series, *Convict Workers* (edited by Steven Nicholas, 1988), and David Neal's *The Rule of Law in a Penal Colony* (1991), for example, broke new ground and gave rise to long and fruitful debates, the echoes of which are still to be heard. No topics could be more potentially rewarding, or controversial, than those chosen by Luke Trainor, and his long apprenticeship as a leading and perceptive analyst of Britain's "Empire in the Antipodes" has

prepared him admirably for writing this interesting volume. Yet restrictions of publishing space and a certain aura of hindsight, if not déjà vu, about some of the writing may perhaps combine with the current climate of political correctness widespread among academics to weaken the impact of the book. This would be a pity at a time when a host of new nationalists, including scholars and political practitioners who should know better, seem inclined to ignore the patterns and even the elementary story of Australian federation in its imperial context at the end of the last century.

Trainor's book begins with an overview of his theme. Anyone who has found useful such modern classic treatments of imperialism as Lance David's and Robert Huttenback's *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire* (1986) and P. J. Cain's and Anthony G. Hopkins's *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688–1914* (1993) would profit from Trainor's work on the Australian case study. His first chapters develop the analysis of the British imperial story in the Antipodes during the years 1880–1886, with attention to economic, military, and sociopolitical factors. The Australian federal movement is firmly placed in its wider Pacific and global background. Part two concerns the years 1887–1894, emphasizing such themes as race, defense, colonial trade, and the economic cycle so central to the period. Part three tackles the critical years 1895–1900, which proved such a transition toward "Federating in a White World" (pp. 155–63). The final section deals with perspectives: a study of the historical commentaries of the time and its aftermath and a drawing together of imperial motifs.

Trainor's writing is succinct and knowledgeable at all times, and, if the editing has been severe, the prose is never helter-skelter or breathless. Less than two hundred pages of text, no matter how densely packed, prove somewhat spare when it comes to appropriately thorough treatments of the major subjects. Each of the major topics in this study deserves a book of its own: the refounding of the Australian state, the expansion of the empire and its consolidation, and issues of race and nation. Yet Trainor manages to control his narrative, maintaining a strong time frame for chronology while dealing with what is obviously his dearest object, to revisit the dominant themes of the period with at least a modicum of their immediacy.

It is one of the great merits of the book that the reader can take up the story and become involved with Australian federal aspirations continuously and without artifice. If each section tends to whet the appetite for a more thorough centenary survey and a much more detailed analysis, that is a tribute to Trainor. Toward the end of the work, he perhaps senses the burden of the material, still only badly grasped and half-understood by most commentators, and the impossibility of teasing it all out in one book. The last chapters therefore withdraw a little into reflective mode, without compromising awareness of all the complexity of nation-making under the Southern

Cross. It is entirely to Trainor's credit that his volume scans so many dark areas so clearly and so judiciously.

J. J. EDDY

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W. DAVID MCINTYRE. *Background to the Anzus Pact: Policy-Making, Strategy and Diplomacy, 1945–55*. New York: St. Martin's of Macmillan, or Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, New Zealand. 1995. Pp. viii, 464. \$65.00.

The signing of the ANZUS Pact in 1951 was a significant milestone for Australia and New Zealand and determined the general direction of their national security policies for the next four and a half decades. That two nations with a combined population of some ten million people and of negligible strategic significance to the United States secured an alliance with the world's greatest power was no mean feat. In this meticulously researched study, W. David McIntyre explains the specific historical circumstances that made such an achievement possible.

The story McIntyre tells is familiar in broad outline to most scholars of Australian and New Zealand foreign relations, but it has never been narrated in such comprehensive detail. For these two countries, ANZUS represented the culmination of a quest for long-term security set against the more immediate backdrop of World War II, the Cold War, the Korean War, and the signing of a "soft" peace with Japan. To explain how those events drew Australia, New Zealand, and the United States into a formal alliance, McIntyre closely analyses the evolution of postwar strategic planning in all three nations and in Great Britain and traces their mutual diplomatic interaction.

In broad terms, McIntyre endorses the view that American agreement to the ANZUS Pact was a *quid pro quo* for the support of Australia and New Zealand for a "peace of reconciliation" with Japan, which was lent urgency by the outbreak of the Korean War. For Australia and New Zealand, it was also a matter of ensuring that they were defended in the Pacific and could contribute to a larger Anglo-American military strategy (in which they would send forces to the Middle East in an anticipated global war with the Soviet bloc). Although Britain was not included in the pact, McIntyre notes that Australia and New Zealand intended the alliance with the United States to complement—not supplant—their close security relations with London, thus forestalling the choice between Britain and the United States suggested in the phrase, "the Anzac dilemma." Such conclusions tend to confirm the scholarly consensus about the origins of the ANZUS Treaty.

The strength of this book lies less in the originality of McIntyre's thesis than in his determinedly multinational focus and in the deft integration of diplomatic and strategic dimensions of the ANZUS story. He exploits to good effect his extensive multi-archival research in Wellington, Canberra, Washington, and

London. He has viewed and absorbed every official document that had anything to do with ANZUS. Moreover, he augments the usual diplomatic approach to this subject by affording revealing glimpses into the arcane world of military planning. McIntyre thereby surpasses earlier scholars by reconstructing the full complexity of the patterns of international interaction between diplomatic officials, military strategists, and politicians that led to the making of the ANZUS Pact.

If there is a failing in this book, it is that McIntyre's eye seldom strays far from the perspective offered by official sources. There is little attention to public opinion or the broader domestic political contexts of foreign policy during the early Cold War era in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. Given the vaunted importance of ANZUS for national security and the opposition this alliance later elicited in left-wing circles in New Zealand and Australia, it is disappointing that McIntyre chose not to examine its apparent lack of public resonance in the years when it was forged. It will remain for other historians to debate what larger implications this arguably definitive moment in the histories of New Zealand and Australia carried for their nationhood.

Nevertheless, McIntyre has told the official story with consummate skill. This book will remain the standard and most authoritative reference on the topic for some time to come.

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ROBERT F. ROGERS. *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 380. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$24.95.

In 1964, Pedro Sanchez and Paul Carano published their somewhat ambitiously titled *A Complete History of Guam*, which has served the academic requirements of secondary and tertiary students on Guam ever since. This history of Guam by Robert F. Rogers will go far in providing many historical details lacking in that popular, earlier history book. This newer history offers fine illustrations, maps, rich footnotes, and a bibliography. His book would not have been possible without the abundant manuscript, microfilm and printed sources, both primary and secondary, housed in the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam; indeed, this work is as much a testament to MARC as it is to the industry with which Rogers composed this splendid history.

The history of Guam can be roughly divided into three large eras: a precolonial, aboriginal era (chapters 1–2); a Spanish colonial era from the 1660s until 1898 (chapters 3–6); and an American era that has lasted ever since, except for an interlude of Japanese occupation in the 1940s (chapters 7–15). Little reliable information has come down concerning aboriginal society and culture; this part of Guam's history lies on the other side of a fixed Kantian boundary standing



against our knowledge of the most remote past. Nevertheless, undoubted legacies from this misty time include the Chamorro language and several basic cultural elements, such as social stratification and important social roles for women.

Right at the start of two centuries of Spanish colonial rule, aboriginal Chamorro society was drastically changed by the reduction of the population through disease, warfare with the Spanish and their Chamorro allies, and the centralization of villages on Guam. In one sense, Guam history since the 1690s might be considered one lengthy experiment in the reconstruction of Guamanian society, which has come to embrace other Micronesians, a variety of Asian peoples, Americans, assorted Europeans, and great numbers of Filipinos. Although this project of remaking a society should be the major theme, little can be said about it for most of the Spanish period because information tends to be sketchy for most decades. Two exceptions are the reports written by Governor Felipe de la Corte in 1865, *Memoria descriptiva é histórica de las Islas Marianas* (p. 100) and Governor Olive y García in 1887, *Islas Marianas: Lijeros Apuntes* (p. 104). Most of Rogers's text deals with administrative and economic matters in the context of Spain's worldwide colonial holdings. Guam came in handy as a port of call for Spanish galleons crossing the Pacific between Mexico and the Philippines, and it naturally attracted European pirates seeking these treasure ships. Most Guamanians remained poor during the Spanish era, but the vast majority converted to Catholicism at the same time.

When the Americans arrived on the scene in June 1898, they ushered in a period during which democratic institutions were introduced and the standard of living for most people gradually improved. As Rogers notes in the glossary under the terms *manak'kilo* (upper class) and *manak'papa* (lowest class), American democratic institutions have tended to blur these Chamorro class distinctions somewhat in this century, and yet these two terms are later surrogates for the traditional class terms *matua* and *manachang*, respectively (p. 346). Given the longevity of social distinctions on Guam, we might now be in a period during which talk about such matters is kept to a minimum, whereas the reality remains little changed from that of the nineteenth century, at least within the Chamorro-speaking community, which constitutes just over 40 percent of the total Guam population in the 1990s (p. 273). This history furnishes much food for thought about how Guam's society developed or might have developed.

The bulk of Rogers's book, roughly two-thirds of the text, discusses this latest era in Guam's history. His discussion of the last fifty years becomes especially compressed in the later chapters; events appear at a galloping gait, making for tiring reading. It might have been preferable for Rogers to have concentrated on that part of the American period ushering in the election of local governors from 1970, embracing U.S.

naval rule (1898–1950) and the administration of Guam by the U.S. Department of the Interior (1950–70).

MARK L. BERG  
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PATRICK VINTON KIRCH. *The Wet and the Dry: Irrigation and Agricultural Intensification in Polynesia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 385.

Combining ethnographic, historiographic, and archaeological methods, Patrick Vinton Kirch reconstructs the development of cultivation in Futuna and then generalizes from it to provide some ideas on the interrelation of ecology, economy, and society in Polynesia as a whole. The value of these ideas is tested in three case studies of islands that Kirch knows first hand: Hawaii, Mangaia, and Tikopia. Particular phenomena thus furnish the warp on which the weft of general trends and theoretical issues is woven.

Kirch's basic problem is how to account for the intensification of agricultural production that characterizes the history of all these islands. He stresses that no monocausal theory can provide a credible account, since the various causes that can be invoked all interact with and modify one another. Nevertheless, some variables are relatively more determinant, because they are relatively less dependent on others. Thus, while rejecting Ester Boserup's explanation of agricultural intensification as a function of population development alone, Kirch still treats this development as causally more significant than others, since it is only partially controlled by social and cultural structures.

More important is the fact that different environments create different possibilities and constraints for intensification. In well-watered areas, where erosion has created significant alluvia, intensification tends to take a form that Kirch calls "landesque." That is to say, most of the increase in labor occurs at the initial stage, with the creation of terraces, pondfields, irrigation works and so on, which bring the cultivation of the idrophile *Colocasia* taro to very high levels of productivity. Once these permanent modifications of the landscape are in place, however, labor for maintenance is comparatively light. In dry areas, in contrast, intensification can only occur by shortening the fallow period necessary for the continuous cultivation of *Dioscorea* yams, by artificially increasing the fertility of the soil, and especially by annexing an increasing amount of land for cultivation. This implies that labor intensification is necessary at a high level throughout time.

The contrast between wet and dry modes of agricultural intensification and their corresponding economic and political implications are worked out in especially illuminating detail for Futuna. Kirch is able to explain what seems counterintuitive at first. It was not Sigave, the wet side of the island, where a highly productive form of irrigated taro cultivation has developed, which achieved political supremacy, but the dry side, Alo,



which is based on the cultivation of yams. The reason is to be found in the expansionistic character of dry field cultivation: the need for more land to be cleared can only be satisfied, in a small and densely populated island, with the development of the spirit of conquest. The ensuing warlike habits create the possibility of exploiting land through the people who cultivate it rather than through one's own labor. War teaches exploitation, in sum; and exploitation may then be turned by the strongest against their own people. This may account for the ability of chiefs to coerce their subjects into the constantly high level of work required by the intensification of dry field cultivation: a point perhaps not worked out by Kirch as fully as it should have been. Indeed, discussion of the striking connection between the idiom of war and that of dry field cultivation in Polynesian ritual and mythology and, more generally, of authority figures that combine the ideas of destruction and procreation, of war and prosperity, seems called for as a complement to Kirch's fine ecological analysis.

The latter is less concerned with its possible extension into the realm of ideology than with its obvious applicability beyond Futuna. Indeed, Kirch is able to stand Karl Wittfogel on his head. Throughout Polynesia, and even in such cases as the Hawaiian archipelago, the most powerful and expansive chiefdoms are not hydraulic but dry. Irrigation does not, or not inevitably, correlate with coercion. Rather, it usually developed spontaneously as the most effective (even cost-effective) form of cultivation where earlier reliance on slash-and-burn horticulture brought high levels of erosion and therefore sterile savannahs in the highlands and fertile alluvia in the lowlands. Kirch has a point, then, when he calls for a renewed—because more informed by history and archaeology—ecological interpretation of Polynesian societies. His splendid book is a decisive step in this direction.

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THOMAS R. METCALF. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 3, *The Indian Empire and the Beginnings of Modern Society*; number 4, *Ideologies of the Raj*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 244. \$44.95.

With the publication of this survey in four parts—each with several singly authored, thematic, volumes—that covers South Asia's historical development, we have a sample "ideology" of the Raj writ bold. The editors of this allegedly comprehensive series have arbitrarily truncated the rich and complex history of the subcontinent that preceded the European "discovery" of India in 1498 (the Mughals came later, in 1526.) This interpretation of what constitutes Indian history is certainly new (and troubling to Indians), and it would not be surprising if it was arrived at in a fit of absence of mind.

Thomas R. Metcalf's contribution to this new his-

tory employs the unoriginal notion of "difference" as the organizing theme. The British, he asserts, constructed few, if any, explicit or coherent ideologies of empire (and, I would add, honored even those in the breach). As avowed empiricists, they had little time for grand political theories. True, except that this was an outcome not of British intellectual tastes but a matter of political expediency. They entered the race for India after the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French had already set up their centers of control. British appetites were sustained by their unalloyed will to power matched by a hard-nosed pragmatism. Driven by unswerving self-interest, they systematically scuttled European and Indian rivals and paved the way for British paramountcy in the subcontinent by 1757. Toward this end, they appropriated any useful ideology, praxis, or stratagem employed by Europeans or Indians, seeking in the history books for the ingredients of success of the Roman, Ottoman, and Mughal Empires. They invented the ingenious doctrines of "lapse" (whereby any kingdom without legitimate heir or judged by the British to be misgoverned would automatically lapse to them), "subsidiary alliances" (whereby native rulers were forced to bear the costs of wars the British waged on their behalf), and "loans in perpetuity" from Indian rulers that underwrote their wars of annexation. They constructed and deployed elaborate explanations to conceal the greed and justify the violence to East India Company directors and Parliament.

Metcalf skips the ideologies of mercantilism, Victorian materialism, or any economic policies of colonial underdevelopment, concentrating instead on those that fit the thesis of "difference"—differences of history, race, gender, and culture—that shaped the colonial project. He suggests that the British began by exploring "similarities" and were infused by the spirit of liberalism until the Sepoy Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857 changed their course. This attempt to breathe fresh life into a view—familiar to those who know his *Aftermath of Revolt* (1964)—that has been superseded by much rigorous research (which he even cites) makes Metcalf's unshaken faith in English liberalism in India a trifle perplexing. Even more so is his mechanical reiteration of the colonial conceit of having instituted the beneficial "rule of property" and the "rule of law" for the greater good of the greatest number. Metcalf makes scant reference to the disastrous results of these institutions for the Indian peasantry and ignores the critiques of these claims, particularly the trenchant work of the influential "Subaltern history" school.

Sections on the creating and ordering of "difference" weave together selected recent research and apposite and juicy quotations from the compendium of opinions, prejudices, pervasive racism, policies, strategies, tactics, and scientific and medical misconceptions found in his own and other works. Here Metcalf brings together the work of many scholars who have demolished the altruistic pretensions of the colonial project, and the non-specialist can see at a glance that the much-touted "civilizing mission" was political win-

dow dressing. In the last section, however, the succession of "similarities" and "differences" collapses and Metcalf deals with the contradictions that surface. Terror of losing the Empire unleashed many imperial anxieties, neuroses, and self-doubts in the colonial masters. Metcalf mobilizes interpretations beyond the theory of "difference" and delves into work that has addressed the psychological and moral vulnerabilities of the Raj. His tracing of the Roman-style "divide et impera" that served to alienate Hindus and Muslims into two hostile communities is consummate, as are the sections on gender and racism. The bibliography could have been far more extensive and better annotated; many salient works are barely acknowledged, some are misrepresented, and many are totally omitted.

For depth and detail and to fill in the important gaps of economic policy and military policies, one must look elsewhere. Two historians of India, Ranajit Guha and Bernard Cohn, have comprehensively tackled the ideology and praxis of the Raj with exhilarating insight and rigor, inspiring and shaping two generations of scholars who, in their turn, have written dozens of trenchant new works (particularly Ronald Inden's *Imagining India*, [1990]) that have deepened and nuanced our understanding of imperial policies in India. Add to this the important analytic frameworks given to us by feminist historians and theorists of European colonialism and racism like Franz Fanon, Octave Mannoni, Edward Said, Michel Foucault, and Ashis Nandy, which have transformed our ways of thinking about Europeans and power relationships in the colonies, and we have a formidable grasp of colonial history. Metcalf's book underscores the unmistakable circularity of colonial logic: the British first constructed and represented Indians as "different"—inferior, barbaric, superstitious, irrational, effeminate, cruel, despotic—and then justified their domination, exploitation, and brutalization on those grounds. It reads easily, and students of British colonialism should find it useful.

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CHRISTOPHER R. KING. *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 232. \$24.95.

Christopher R. King's study fills a void in our understanding of the relationship between communal conflict and the emergence of competing religious nationalisms that took place in north central British India during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His work complements G. R. Thursby's *Hindu-Muslim Relations in British India* (1979). Thursby focused on competition between religious organizations; King turns to questions of rivalry between language and script. King notes that: "The Hindu movement of the nineteenth century, copiously documented, but little

studied outside India, furnishes an excellent opportunity to examine an important aspect of the development of Hindu nationalism in North India" (p. 1). With this goal in mind, he applies to his study the conceptual structure of Karl Deutsch's *Nationalism and Social Communication* (1966), as modified and expanded by Paul Brass in *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (1974).

King follows two different but converging lines of historical development on the Gangetic plain from Punjab to Bengal. One theme is the evolution of the Hindi language from a group of diverse dialects to a single, regional language. Khari Boli, written in the Devanagari script, eventually achieved acceptance as the one "true Hindi." A second theme is the linguistic competition between Hindi and Urdu as Urdu speakers struggled to maintain their linguistic domination in the spheres of education and administration. Conversely, most of those who were literate in Hindi, and who were also usually Hindus, sought to replace Urdu with Hindi. This struggle nourished a growing communal identity based on language, script, and religion that provided the foundation for both Hindu and Muslim nationalism.

In the four chapters that follow the introduction, King delineates the development of Urdu and the various forms of Hindi, the effects of government policies, and publication records indicating the popularity and use of the diverse forms of Hindi. He examines government policies that granted patronage to one version of Hindi and consequently incited conflict among supporters of other languages and scripts. He shows how government actions helped transform languages into symbols of communal identity. Thus the question of language and script brought together symbolic and economic issues, heightening competition between different communities. King notes: "The Hindi-Nagari movement in the sense of organized groups seeking change through political action began in the late 1860s and continued with varying intensity well into the twentieth century. The supporters of Hindi and the Nagari script did not achieve final success until shortly after independence in 1947" (p. 126). He describes the careers of various organizations that attempted to defend and propagate the use of Hindi. Of these, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras was the most influential and effective. Among their opponents were numerous Defense of Urdu Associations that were nevertheless unable to stop the move toward Hindi in the Nagari script.

A lengthy conclusion includes a summation of the material presented, a return to the goals outlined in the introduction, anecdotal comments drawn from King's own experiences, and an assessment of the impact of the Hindi-Urdu controversy on the development of Hindu and Muslim nationalism. This volume, with its exploration of a hitherto unexplored dimension of the communal conflict in northern India during

the British rule, will be valuable for individual scholars and students as well as for course readings.

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DAVID WEST RUDNER. *Caste and Capitalism in Colonial India: The Nattukottai Chettiars*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 341.

This study of the interrelation of caste and capitalism lives up to its ambitious title. David West Rudner uses his field work among a single south Indian business caste, the Nattukottai Chettiars or Nakarattars, to propose new ways of looking at both caste and capitalism and to offer a new definition of caste. He discusses in detail the functions and operations of "pre-modern," non-capitalist economic formations in the modern world. Much of the book is devoted to anthropological theory, which Rudner uses to argue that concepts of caste must be enlarged to include the peculiarities of mercantile castes. He finds that it is precisely the qualities of Nakarattar caste organization that disprove the contention that caste and kinship were obstacles to the emergence of a modern capitalist economy in colonial India. Rudner describes caste membership as a social investment yielding "symbolic capital," and he asserts that castes in the future will, like the Nakarattars, be "complex, multilayered, multifunctional corporate kin groups" operating over large areas (p. 25).

Rudner traces the history of the caste from its migration into Chettinad and shows how, from their origins as salt traders of the seventeenth century, Nakarattars adapted to the colonial economy and became the leading merchant-banker caste of south India during the period of British rule. Under the imperial umbrella, they established banking houses in Ceylon, Malaya, and Burma that financed agriculture, plantation crops, and mining. The Nakarattars differed from other mercantile castes of south India in that caste members coordinated actions to promote common commercial goals. Nakarattar bankers met together to fix rates and made preferential loans to fellow caste members. The leading Nakarattar bankers could borrow from the great British imperial banks and channel funds down to their smaller brethren. They were influential in the politics of the Madras Presidency and were among the first indigenous industrialists in south India.

All this was made possible by an intricate system of capital formation within their homeland, Chettinad, located in the southeast corner of India. Capital for merchant banking operations was raised through wedding gifts and dowry, kinship and caste obligations, and from investment in and control of temple trusts: even the gods became business partners. All life rituals functioned to promote the movement of capital, and, Rudner argues, the caste was a financial institution. Its period of greatest prosperity lasted from 1870 to 1930.

Then stricter laws on the use of temple endowments, anti-Indian sentiment in Burma and Ceylon, and the great depression all led to a decline in its business fortunes. A few of the wealthiest Nakarattars moved into industry; others moved into clerical and bureaucratic jobs. They are no longer the wealthy caste they once were.

The book has a few weaknesses. One is an overly contentious style and the occasional whipping of a dead horse, such as Max Weber's theories on religion and capitalism. With the exception of one atypical elite family, moreover, Rudner's Nakarattars are faceless, and he has reduced their undoubtedly rich cultural life to abstract models. His arguments would have been strengthened and his book taken on more life if he had introduced the reader to some of his Nakarattar informants and their ancestors and guided us through the life cycle of a "typical" Nakarattar banker. Aside from these minor problems, however, Rudner has written a controversial and wide-ranging book that proposes a revised definition of caste and offers a new perspective on Indian economic life in the colonial period. The book could well become a classic in the anthropological literature on India and is strongly recommended for students of Indian social history.

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SAAD R. KHAIRI. *Jinnah Reinterpreted: The Journey from Indian Nationalism to Muslim Statehood*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 495. \$49.95.

The title of this book is misleading, for it is hardly a reinterpretation of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Saad R. Khairi, a retired Pakistani diplomat-journalist, sheds no new light on Jinnah's life or the turbulent era of South Asian history that it spanned. Jinnah, of course, is Khairi's hero, but this is a totally uncritical, simplistic attempt to explain the complexity of Jinnah's character and actions merely by insisting that his "life was an open book" (p. xv).

The first few chapters are a rehash of Anglo-Indian history, and the early years of the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress. Chapter five focuses on "Mr. Gandhi," all of whose movements are judged by Khairi to have "failed." Jinnah finally emerges as his central focus in a chapter on the Khilafat Movement and its aftermath.

Khairi had access to all of Jinnah's letters and speeches preserved in the Shamsul Hasan Foundation Library of Khalid Shamsul Hasan in Karachi; hence he is able to quote at some length from those important primary sources and does present some material that has not heretofore been quoted as extensively. But nothing new emerges. Khairi is quite correct to note that Jinnah was "a nationalist of the highest order" and had "always been a realist" (p. 250). But no one ever doubted either conclusion. The entire eleventh chapter, entitled "Old Nationalist and Neo-Nationalism," is

a summary of familiar sources, most of which are never acknowledged. This singularly slipshod work has no bibliography.

Khairi's tract can hardly be called history, and is filled with journalistic clichés, such as "things were moving fast" and "The British hated his (Jinnah's) guts," but "His people needed him" (p. 285). In conclusion, Khairi insists that Jinnah never wanted a "religious or theocratic state. His idea of Pakistan was of a modern, liberal, secular and democratic state" (p. 159). There is really no proof of that. By the time Pakistan was born, moreover, Jinnah's lungs were fatally afflicted. He had no energy left, even if he were committed to such noble goals, to help the sadly torn and sorely divided "Land of the Pure" he sired stand either on secular or democratic principles alone.

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PAULA R. NEWBERG. *Judging the State: Courts and Constitutional Policies in Pakistan*. (Cambridge South Asia Studies, number 59.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 284. \$54.95.

Paula R. Newberg's study of the role of the courts in shaping the state of Pakistan is clearly one of the half-dozen books that anyone with a serious interest in that country will need to consult. Beyond that unfortunately limited constituency, readers interested in one of the curious political phenomena of our time—the creation of new states—will find it rewarding and provocative. Newberg is a known partisan for democracy, human rights, and social justice, all of which she claims were in exceedingly short supply in Pakistan throughout most of its history, but her case is argued with impressive skill and careful scholarship based on legal archives, published sources, and interviews.

Newberg's thesis is that, through a series of crucial decisions, the Supreme Court influenced the development of Pakistan's many constitutions and helped to legitimate not just the military dictatorships but much of the structure of bureaucratic power. She examines a number of judicial cases, some of them well known and some more obscure, noting especially the tensions within the courts caused by the personalities of the justices and their understanding of constitutional law. The first and most famous of these cases started in 1954, when the Governor-General dismissed the Constituent Assembly and its president, Tamizuddin Khan, challenged this action in the courts. When the case finally reached the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Munir and the majority, against the sole opposition of Justice Cornelius, found the Governor-General's action within the spirit of the constitution. "An irremovable legislature," the court ruled, "is not only a negation of democracy but it is the worst calamity that can befall a nation because it tends to perpetuate an oligarchic rule" (p. 47). This, Newberg argues, set the stage for the legitimization of successive coups that

overthrew elected legislatures and suspended constitutions. On the grounds of the need to preserve public order, the courts approved the banning of a major opposition party, the National Awami Party.

The generals who seized power—Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Muhammad Ali Zia—all claimed that martial law was necessary because of the corruption of Pakistan's politicians and their inability to maintain law and order in the country. This was the argument that one heard, with many proofs given, not just from the ruling classes in Pakistan but from American politicians and a State Department interested in justifying the enormous amounts of aid given to military regimes. Newberg's comment is that martial law was designed to prevent the social and economic changes that would have eroded the special privileges of the civil-military bureaucracy. She may very well be right, but this is a point that deserves more examination than she gives it here.

While much of the book is inevitably concerned with the sorry compromises the judges had to make with the military dictators in order for the semblance of an independent judiciary to be maintained and the defeats suffered by the democratic processes, Newberg is cautiously optimistic about some of the movements toward democracy. The transition from military to civilian rule will not be easy, however, since it requires a judiciary that understands the nature of a civil society and a legislature and constitution that recognize the autonomy of the judiciary. The current regime or its democratically elected successor may, she concludes, at last locate the principles and practices of democracy in Pakistan.

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#### UNITED STATES

JAY RUBY. *Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 1995. Pp. x, 220. \$39.95.

In a culture that searches for youth and celebrates life, it may surprise some that death would also be a subject Americans would want to record. Images of death have been the topic of several studies, notably Michael Lesy's *Wisconsin Death Trip* (1973), James Van Der Zee's *Harlem Book of the Dead* (1978), Stanley Burns's *Sleeping Beauty* (1990), and Barbara Norfleet's *Looking at Death* (1993). Actual photographs of death have documented crimes against humanity (Margaret Bourke-White's coverage of Nazi concentration camps), captured decisive moments (Jack Ruby confronting Lee Harvey Oswald), helped change the course of history (General Loan shooting a Viet Cong subject in the head), immortalized places and events (a protesting Kent State student gunned down by the Ohio National Guard), and mobilized public opinion (a culture watching a malnourished Sudanese child who had collapsed on her way to a feeding station). In



fact, several of these death photographs have won Pulitzer prizes. From the wide assortment of death iconography (assassination, murder, suicide, lynching, war, famine, and epidemic, to mention a few kinds and types), Jay Ruby focuses on the mundane practice of postmortem photography: the long-standing exercise of taking photographs of deceased family members and friends to mourn and memorialize. Working at the intersection of cultural anthropology and visual analysis, Ruby regards these photographs "not as vernacular art" but "as artifacts that reveal some of the ways people in the United States have devised to heal the social wound of death" (p. 111). While Ruby turns over familiar ground in discussing the evolution of postmortem photography, his chief contributions reside in reconstructing the social context of death, analyzing the *raison d'être* for photographing the deceased, and attempting to calculate present day practice.

Ruby traces the origins of postmortem photographs to public commemorative and private mourning memorial paintings. The rich, famous, and powerful used portraiture to acknowledge and mourn passing. With the introduction of the daguerreotype in 1839, the masses, including lower classes and minorities, could have a last remembrance made, which in the case of babies and children many times became the only picture. The title of Ruby's book is drawn from the nineteenth-century advertising slogan that reflected on the difficulty in preserving corpses: "Secure the Shadow, Ere the Substance Fade, /Let Nature imitate what Nature Made" (p. 1). These pictures were displayed alongside other photographs in the household as part of "the image inventory of families" (p. 110), and "people used photographs to converse about death" (p. 160). While painters created the illusion of life in death, photographers provided in postmortem pictures a "substitute and reminder of the loss" (p. 7). Subjects were commonly pictured as merely sleeping rather than dead or as realizing eternity instead of painful existence. In the twentieth century, death-related photographs became a very private matter as funeral procedures provided for more privacy and people questioned whether the photographs were morbid, strange, depressing, or only prolonged grieving.

Ruby contests Michael Lesy's view that postmortem and funeral photography was a bizarre Victorian custom that became virtually nonexistent and confined to a few ethnic enclaves. Although he acknowledges that the practice is difficult to quantify, he has examined the log books of a commercial photographer, visited a commercial photograph processing laboratory, perused a photographic archive, and examined questionnaires distributed to photographers and funeral directors. From data confined largely to the Northeast, (principally Pennsylvania), Ruby concludes that such photographs are commissioned more by women than men, more frequently among people with strong ethnic identity (particularly African Americans, Asian Americans, and Polish Americans), and more commonly than people acknowledge. As further evidence Ruby

cites the use of death-related photographs of humans, and animals, on tombstones, jewelry, cards, and obituaries. Just as photography displaced painting in this area, the video camera is now making incursions, and one can only imagine the results.

ROBERT E. SNYDER

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G. KURT PIEHLER. *Remembering War the American Way*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1995. Pp. xiii, 233. \$34.95.

Since the 1980s, a few scholars have studied how Americans have commemorated the nation's past wars. Their book topics have ranged from the phenomenology of commemoration to documenting monuments and memorial events for particular wars. G. Kurt Piehler's efforts to understand American war memory differ from these previous works. He concentrates more on the organizational means, both successful and not, that surrounded the eventual construction of monuments and the designation of national holidays. Both monuments and holidays have a timeless character. Once established, they remain. But Piehler allows us to see not only the uneven unfolding of war memory over time but also the changing means of celebration.

Piehler's historical analysis juxtaposes the practical politics of the age with people's attempts to legitimate the nation's war memory. For example, he illustrates how Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans contested the commemoration of the American Revolution. When the Federalists lost political power, objections to the portrayal of war memory declined. At the same time, the author shows how veterans' organizations and governmental agencies were instrumental in shaping the debate of war memory and the resulting monuments. Piehler stresses the political debates over monument designs more than documenting their architectural qualities. Moving from one historic war era to the next, the reader sees the evolving tactics of including new methods and discarding old ones to legitimate war memory in a practical arena of politics.

Piehler identifies cultural undercurrents to American war memory, and he places particular emphasis on prejudice. He documents how communities and the Federal government ignored the war contributions of African Americans, from the Civil War to recent wars. He adeptly notes that Frederick Douglass began the debate on racist war memory when he argued that Civil War monuments marginalized the contributions of black soldiers. African-American Gold Star Mothers participated in a federal-sponsored pilgrimage to overseas cemeteries to visit their sons' graves after World War I. Whereas government officials arranged for white mothers to sail on luxury liners, to stay in first-class hotels, and honored them with receptions, the black mothers traveled on commercial steamers and received less attention, except at the cemeteries. Piehler also addresses gender bias as he notes how

women have received little recognition for their war efforts.

Piehler's research efforts do show some shortcomings. He readily admits to excluding an analysis of the American Indian wars. In part, this deletion is due to the author's focus on war memory from the federal government. Most attempts to commemorate these wars are local. Piehler also devotes little attention to the role of state legislatures in developing war memorials. These topics need attention in future works. Even with these caveats, Piehler excellently illuminates how our nation's political culture makes manifest our material culture of war memory.

JAMES M. MAYO  
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JESÚS F. DE LA TEJA. *San Antonio de Béxar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 224. \$37.50.

Jesús de la Teja's first monograph signals the arrival of a young scholar of colonial Texas who has focused on the formation of community at San Antonio de Béxar in the eighteenth century. The meaning of "community" can vary from discipline to discipline, but de la Teja provides a clear definition in his preface. First, he defines community as encompassing "characteristics other than space" (p. xiv). Its particularities include shared attitudes and experiences as well as conscious and subconscious like-mindedness, all of which influence norms of acceptable behavior and general adherence to common goals or objectives.

Permanently settled in 1718, San Antonio began as a military and missionary outpost on the northern frontier of New Spain (Colonial Mexico). Less well known, however, is the early civilian populace (Bexareños) congregated at primitive Villa de Béxar. By the late 1720s, birth, marriage, and death records preserved in the Béxar Archives confirm the presence of the older Bexareño families, as well as later arrivals known as *agregados* (additional settlers).

The privilege of founding a formal villa, named San Fernando de Béxar, and the right to monopolize positions in the governing body of the new municipality accompanied fifty-five transplanted Canary Islanders (Isleños) who arrived at San Antonio in 1731. At that exact time, San Antonio also became the site for three missions relocated from East Texas, that were added to the two already in existence. The mix of Bexareños, *agregados*, presidial soldiers, Isleños, Franciscan missionaries, and hundreds of Native American neophytes congregated at the five missions defined the challenge of community formation.

De la Teja convincingly counters the traditional view that San Antonio throughout the colonial period remained locked in an uncompromising schism between older settlers and haughty Isleños (p. 160). His thesis, with San Antonio as a case study, supports the general conclusions reached by Oakah L. Jones Jr., in an

earlier and much broader work, *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (1979).

Patricia Seed, in her excellent article "Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753" (1982), has provided insight into the divisiveness that marked race, class, and color in the heartland of New Spain at midpoint in the eighteenth century—the very time the bonds of community were being forged at San Antonio. Those sharp divisions did not exist at San Antonio, although color remained of some importance. As de la Teja notes, concern for "passing" as white was a continuing phenomenon.

But time and the special circumstances that faced all settlers at San Antonio vitiated most instances of racial disharmony. The threat and reality of attacks on the settlement by Apaches and Comanches called for cooperation and mutual dependency; the overall poverty of all persons at San Antonio, where there was no market economy whatsoever until the 1770s, made everyone roughly equal in wealth; the limited options for marital partners, cross-color unions and marriages, as well as ties of *compadrazgo* (godfather relationships); and the eventual inclusion of non-Isleños into the city government of San Antonio all served to promote cohesion in Béxar society.

De la Teja's work is meticulously researched in primary materials and nicely written. In commenting on a work with so many merits, perhaps pointing out one mistake is not too captious. The author misunderstands *fanega* (p. 76)—a unit of dry measure (1.6 bushels), not quantity of land.

DONALD E. CHIPMAN  
University of North Texas

LISBETH HAAS. *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 279.

In an era when ethnocultural and religious conflict and warfare are erupting around the world, historians and other scholars are increasingly focusing their attention on the dynamics of group identity formation and interethnic relations. In this ambitious, provocative, and well-written study, Lisbeth Haas takes on the daunting task of attempting to map the formation and evolution of "collective identities" in southern California during the turbulent period between the 1760s (when Spain established colonies in the area) and the 1930s (when American and European immigrants consolidated their control over the region). Focusing in particular on the communities of San Juan Capistrano and Santa Ana in what is now Orange County, Haas draws on an impressive array of traditional sources (newspaper accounts, diaries, and memoirs) and makes innovative use of other sources such as baptismal and marriage records, the manuscript census, city directories, and Spanish-language testimonials and oral histories to sketch out a richly detailed portrait of the ways each population "forge[d] a group identity . . .

[and] how each group . . . defined itself in relation to others" (p. 131).

Haas begins by using Spanish-language and Indian sources to argue that although the local Acâgchemem people eventually suffered the same kinds of social dislocations and microbial assaults that decimated California's other native peoples, they engaged in "quiet opposition to [the imposition of] Catholicism and and Spanish culture" (p. 27) and were successful in maintaining at least some level of cultural autonomy.

The second part of the book explores the ways in which subsequent conquest of the region by the United States transformed the social landscape and compelled Indians and Mexicans to devise new strategies to contest their objectification as racialized "others." Here the author is at her best. Through careful analysis of changing patterns of land tenure, the gradual transformation of the economic base from ranching to commercial agriculture, and concomitant changes in the local occupational structure, Haas adds rich new detail to our understanding of the manner in which the American regime ordered society along racial and class lines. Unlike some previous interpreters of nineteenth-century California, Haas is not content merely to invoke "cultural differences" in her explanation of the growing spatial segregation and social ostracization of ethnic Mexicans. She painstakingly explores specific instances in which differences in cultural values and traditions, in gendered structuring of households, and in attitudes toward work, property, and inheritance helped shape the evolution of distinct "Indian," "Mexican," and "Anglo" neighborhoods. In a particularly compelling example, Haas follows the evolution of Spanish-language religious, variety, and professional theater in California (and other parts of the cultural borderland she calls "greater Mexico") to speculate on the mechanisms influencing the development of a "collective historical consciousness" among Mexican Americans and more recent immigrants from Mexico (p. 151). Haas suggests that, by drawing on "a shared body of historical and contemporary references," ethnic Mexican performers and audiences mutually constructed and reinforced a transnational sense of cultural identity "that aided persons across generations to construe their world, invest it with meaning, and infuse it with emotion" (p. 151). This process, argues Haas, provided ethnic Mexicans with the means both to contest their marginalization and, ultimately, to press their claims to full citizenship in the United States.

Although many of the conclusions drawn are necessarily tentative and speculative, this innovative and thoughtful book will undoubtedly help set the research agendas and modes of analysis of other historians of California and the U.S.-Mexico border region for some time to come.

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JOHANNA MILLER LEWIS. *Artisans in the North Carolina Backcountry*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. xii, 200. \$34.95.

In this valuable study, Johanna Miller Lewis attempts to place the artisans of the frontier North Carolina county of Rowan during its developmental years prior to the American Revolution. Lewis is interested in who these men and women were and what constituted their sense of capitalism, their involvement in the market, and their political activity.

Rowan County is of particular interest in that it contained a dual population. On the east side of the Yadkin River dwelt Moravian settlers, tight-knit followers of the pietist Count Nikolaus Zinzendorf, while on the west were random groups of settlers migrating from Virginia and Pennsylvania. As the two groups mingled sparsely and then only in commerce, Lewis treats them separately, noting the development of the Moravian settlements of Betharaba and Salem, religious communities of artisans working privately under the strict tutelage of the church. A number were reluctant to give up the protection of the "oeconomy," a cooperative economic arrangement, even when ordered to privatize by the church. No such concerns affected the other immigrants, who came in search of better land and a higher standard of living. For both communities, Lewis stresses that an embryonic stage of total self-sufficiency was never present. Rather, artisans labored in both the initial and later stages of the county's development to meet the specific needs of settlers. In the earlier stages, they tended to practice the more basic trades such as millwright, blacksmith, and textile crafts, while in the latter the number of craftsmen grew and the professions branched into luxury trades. Craftsmen were often paid through barter, but the market and entrepreneurial ambition predominated in all stages.

One of the most interesting chapters of the book is Lewis's discovery and analysis of the large number of women artisans in Rowan. Her resourceful research has uncovered the names and occupations of many female craft workers, both married and single and both master and apprentice (but not journeyman). It appears that not all women spun, and that many who did, did it for a living; that many females were apprenticed, mostly in textile trades; and that women artisans spanned the economic scale, from slaveholders to indentured servants and slaves. Court records also reveal that the unmarried women artisans not uncommonly ended in court over charges of sexual misdeeds or slander.

The final chapter deals with the political allegiances of artisans. Unlike urban craftsmen, artisans in the backcountry composed only a small percentage of the population. They were not politically conscious, did not have a strong sense of artisanal identity, and took no unified stands for artisan interests. In the famous Regulator controversy, they could be found in equal number on both sides, though many were politically



inert. Artisans did, on the other hand, hold a number of local offices, including sheriff and, most commonly, constable.

This book is a valuable contribution to artisan studies. Although the organization is somewhat disjointed so that the chapters often seem unconnected, and although the nature of the source material makes it difficult to get a sense of these individuals, scholars should be grateful to Lewis for deepening our understanding of the important presence and contributions that craftsmen made at every stage on the edges of western settlement.

HOWARD B. ROCK  
Florida International University

DAVID W. CONROY. *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1995. Pp. xiii, 351. Cloth \$35.95, paper \$15.95.

Situations in which social communication takes place have great significance for the historian of culture, for they are a focus of the daily flow of human experience. Life takes place in little, everyday situations that shape conceptual networks of meaning that not only reflect but constitute social order. David W. Conroy has written a study of one such locus of communication in eighteenth-century Massachusetts: the tavern. This subject has long begged for attention; as the most frequented of colonial institutions, public houses created a framework for social interaction and mediated between local interests and the larger culture of print and politics.

Conroy shows how Puritan attempts to enforce temperance in order to maintain social order and hierarchy were subverted by popular practice. In 1712, when the Assembly banned the sale of rum in taverns and selectmen tried to limit issuing licenses for public houses, there was popular resistance. Not only were much socializing and business done in taverns—for instance, courts routinely met there—but drinking was rapidly growing in popularity. Conroy examines the practice of granting tavern licenses as a form of aid to the poor and widows, which expanded significantly after 1719, accompanied by a parallel emergence in Boston of a hierarchy of taverns, from the genteel Crown Coffee House on Long Wharf to the modest establishment of Widow Smallpeice in Fish Street.

He then turns to the politics of Boston taverns and explains how some elected leaders used licensing as a means to political power, especially after the imposition of a royal governor and the accompanying dissatisfaction with restrictions on local autonomy. He demonstrates how the selectmen struggled between enforcing stricter rules and dealing with local voters who were also customers of taverns. The relationship between politics and taverns was especially visible in the countryside, where after 1720 a rapid growth of public houses coincided with a rise of local interest

groups, with the result that substantial numbers of tavern keepers were being elected to the Assembly.

Conroy's central thesis is that taverns were "conducive contexts for the abandonment of deferential, flattering speech and posture" (p. 233) and thus became centers of opposition ideology, first against Puritan restrictions and then against British rule. As print information proliferated, it was increasingly discussed in the tavern, which developed from a strictly local institution into a forum where larger, public issues were debated and weighed, a place where the theoretical "public" of printed discourse assumed flesh and blood. The tavern as an outlet for the vox populi provided an arena where new political views could be articulated more freely than elsewhere and where commoners could assume a more active political role. Conroy contends that elite, literate patriots, while welcoming republican talk in taverns and often using treating to mobilize support, feared not only that public order might be undermined by aroused, unruly tavern crowds but also that these commoners, imbued with a levelling spirit, would elevate to political offices ordinary men instead of republican aristocrats of merit. He reveals an interesting paradox between criticizing drinking as contrary to classical civic virtue and encouraging it for current political gain, an ambiguity well seen in the boycott by the Sons of Liberty of politically safe tea rather than popular rum. One might, however, disagree with the author that prerevolutionary attacks on luxury represented new and peculiar expositions of American virtue (p. 246). Such criticism was equally spirited in England; in the colonies it was creatively applied by anti-British authors to legitimize American rectitude.

This book—clearly showing the influence of Erving Goffman's sociology of public behavior—is elegantly written, closely argued, and well supported by primary sources such as diaries, sermons, licensing records, and newspapers. Apart from the themes mentioned above, it also contains much useful material about changing consumer tastes and gender roles. It marks a laudable contribution to colonial American historiography.

MICHAEL J. ROZBICKI  
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TIMOTHY D. HALL. *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 196. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

In writing on what the itinerancy characteristic of American religious revivalism in the eighteenth century meant to British colonial North Americans, Timothy D. Hall has brought a fresh perspective to familiar sources. He portrays itinerancy as one response to changes wrought by expansion of transatlantic markets and increased geographic mobility and social heterogeneity. Through literary analysis of contemporary polemics, Hall uncovers new reasons why itinerancy



became the principal focus of the controversies that arose over religious revivals.

Anti-revivalist authors rejected itinerancy as a threat to the traditional, parochial, bounded, hierarchical, and elite-brokered social order. To them, strangers who invaded other ministers' parishes symbolized the forces that were eroding the bonds that held society together. Anti-revivalists considered itinerancy pregnant with antinomian chaos, as evidenced by the taking of leadership roles by women, servants, blacks, and children.

Pro-revivalist writers, in contrast, embraced the permeable, mobile, leveling, and expansive society implied by itinerancy. They interpreted being open to itinerants as being open to the Holy Spirit, whom they believed was working an empire-wide revival of religion. Revivalists promoted a sense of belonging to an imagined transatlantic community of the spiritually reborn, and this sense was an important factor in the coming of revival to particular locales.

Itinerancy not only symbolized but also accelerated the changes Anglo-American society was undergoing. Itinerants such as George Whitefield enlarged Americans' choices of behavior and belief. The weakening of local loyalties and of the moral authority of local elites adapted itinerancy well to rootless eighteenth-century Americans. Itinerancy became a useful tool for the expansion of evangelical religion, especially on the southern frontier where established parish lines contained no stable populations. Itinerant revivalism did not lead to social disorder, because the reborn formed voluntary churches that demanded adherence to strict moral codes. These codes provided the behavioral bounds missing from the world created by expanding markets and popular mobility.

In setting empire-wide origins of the revivals against local origins, as if the one excluded the other, Hall pushes his argument farther than the evidence warrants. Striving to elevate the role of the transatlantic, imagined community of the reborn, he rejects or ignores evidence of the role of the local community. He dismisses as propaganda revival accounts written by local pastors and ignores the numerous conversion narratives that underscore the vital functions that such locally based activities as religious societies and communal hymn singing played in the spiritual awakening of converts. While pointing to the prevalent notion that the empire-wide evangelical revival presaged the millennium, he fails to note that even isolated revivals, such as the one at Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1705, stimulated the same sort of speculation.

Hall's thesis is original and stimulating, but his book leaves a number of questions yet to be explored. For example, if, as Hall implies, local elites were particularly sensitive to the threat that itinerants posed to their authority because other changes in society accompanying the growth of markets and the increased ease of long-distance communication also undermined it, where is the evidence for this? Does the situation foreshadow the supposed rejection by antebellum

elites of national reform movements such as abolitionism because those movements intruded on their status as local arbiters of morality? Hall's book may be as valuable for the questions it raises as for those it answers.

MICHAEL J. CRAWFORD  
Naval Historical Center

DEBORAH VANS AU McCaULEY. *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 551. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

The promise of this book's title is not fully realized, for, as Deborah Vansau McCauley notes, the religious tradition of Appalachia is largely an oral one, and the written sources from which a general history could be produced are largely the work of outsiders whose biases have hindered as much as helped our understanding of the region's spiritual life. Anyone interested in the historiography of Appalachian Mountain religion, however, should begin with this book and McCauley's forthcoming bibliography on the topic. She has done a great service by surveying the historiography, and her analysis of earlier works provides a corrective that all future scholars would do well to bear in mind. A major theme of her book is the efforts since the early nineteenth century by outsiders—both home missionaries and social scientists—to describe the exotic religious life of the region, which she believes has too often been seen as victimized by isolation and ignorance.

The book's dedication to McCauley's "plain folk" grandparents and to Brother Coy Miser, Holiness preacher, provides a hint as to her orientation, which is in tune with a growing number of studies. Perhaps her most valuable living resource (he has since died), Brother Coy is presented as the embodiment of the spirit of mountain Christianity. That spirit, in McCauley's view, is authentic, beautiful, and powerful. Whatever its people may need, she argues, they do not need the condescension of the mainline home missionary or the ideologically driven prescriptions of the social scientist.

To unravel the multitude of sects that characterize mountain religion, McCauley traces the history of each group, finding common sources in Reformation Pietism and Scots Irish religiosity and revivalism. Indeed, in her view, it is the common threads, not the apparent divisions, that are the essence of religious life in the Appalachians. She lists among these common threads congregational polity, nonhierarchical relationships, emotional worship practices, and nonrationalist belief systems that revolve around grace and the Holy Spirit. They are illustrated in McCauley's conversations with and observations about mountain people who today embody the traditions so long identified with the region.

These sections of the book were clearly a labor of love. The rest of it, focusing on the attitudes of outsiders and their efforts at a secularized salvation,

takes a different tone. McCauley has few kind words for those who, in bringing their own liberal theology and politics to their study of mountain religion, have stereotyped it as irrational and politically passive and have dismissed it as the religion of the poor. The snake handlers and oppressively conservative values that most outsiders identify with mountain religion distort a religious life that, McCauley argues, serves the true ends of the church and needs of the people quite well.

This is an impressive and valuable book, and its use of oral history points the way to the future for this topic. Readers who persevere through its sometimes daunting writing style and length will be rewarded. The book's one substantive flaw, in my opinion, is that it overstates the dichotomy between mountain religion and American Christianity generally. The distinctive religion that characterizes Appalachia and that stands in contrast to mainline Protestantism is found most abundantly in the mountains but not exclusively there. This quibble aside, books such as this bode well for the future of this fascinating field, and one hopes McCauley will continue her contributions to it.

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MARY J. OATES. *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America*. (Philanthropic Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 231. \$27.95.

Mary J. Oates tells the story of Catholic philanthropy in the United States with admirable attention to detail backed up with references to more than thirty archival collections. This first history of Catholic benevolence is fascinating because Oates gives a cross-grained reading that highlights enduring feminist and ecclesiastical issues: the industry of women, class divisions, and church politics are leitmotifs of her interpretation.

From the very earliest times, religious sisters, key to Catholic charitable projects, were dedicated to serving the poor and lower classes; upper-class women, who had money to give away, were disinterested in working directly with the indigent or in sending money to African Americans or Indians; and religious leaders, although they needed the time, energy, and independent spirits of Catholic laity, worked to curb their autonomy at every turn. These issues continue to vex Catholic philanthropy and lead Oates to conclude that Catholic charity depends on the revitalization of the democratic spirit (not episcopal control), the inspiration of a good cause (for example, the education of poor children), and the recognition of the value and wisdom of dedicated women.

The story reads like a drama. Catholic church leaders mobilizing resources in a working-class church needed volunteers or exceptionally cheap labor: nuns, in other words, whose dedication made them easy targets for exploitation by bishops and priests. What happens when these women refuse to be exploited and insist on defining their own areas of ministry? A

second plot line features the laity. A church reaching out to millions of poor immigrants needed the creative energy of its laity but could not pass up an opportunity to control it. What happens when grassroots philanthropists reclaim "the democratic heart of their hierarchical church" (p. 45)?

Oates has excellent balance throughout this book: she shows the impressive ways the church met the challenges of immigration and education and also exposes the shadow side of charity. For example, when those interested in benevolence turned to questions of justice—exploitation of laborers, for example—they received little help from the bishops, who contended that "too much emphasis on justice and social reform, especially on the rights of labor, would destroy the religious spirit of charity" (p. 55). Aside from Katherine Drexel, whose personal fortune was spent in benevolent response to African Americans and Indians, Catholic laity, bishops, and institutions carried racism well into the twentieth century, finally moved to desist by the civil rights movement of the 1960s rather than by moral convictions.

Why was Catholic philanthropy more successful in the nineteenth century than in the twentieth? Oates argues that new strategies in fundraising—professional firms, slick solicitation techniques, annual campaigns, increasing reliance on government funds—from the 1920s through the 1960s tended to discourage Catholic willingness to raise funds for their own institutions. Oates also shows how wealthy Catholics have clashed with episcopal authority on the issue of power. If wealthy Catholics sporting papal titles have very little interest in diocesan charities, she says, it is because of "clerical dominance of leadership roles" (p. 131).

The most significant location for a contentious argument about Catholic charity today can be found where the interests of all the players—nuns, the poor (often, today, African Americans), wealthy parishes, and the bishops—intersect, in inner-city Catholic schools. Oates is brilliant in her analysis of the Catholic school system (chapter seven), believing it to be pivotal for Catholic charity today. Educating poor children is "the most compelling challenge and opportunity facing modern Catholics . . . more than any other good work, it promises to revitalize the liberal democratic spirit of their collective philanthropy" (p. 164).

MARY JO WEAVER  
Indiana University

NINA BAYM. *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790–1860*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 307. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$17.95.

This is a valuable book, not only for the vast amount of information it contains about nineteenth-century American women writers and the work of history but also for the important corrective it provides to existing assumptions about nineteenth-century women.

Nina Baym finds that, contrary to general belief, nineteenth-century women wrote history in great numbers and in every genre. Surveying the seventy years between 1790 and 1860, Baym analyzes the work of 150 writers in a total of 350 historical texts: textbooks, eyewitness accounts, travel narratives, biography, journalism, novels, poetry, and plays. Even women's "private" travel letters and journals were public, often written to be circulated or published. Most of the writers were Anglo-Protestants from New England or their descendants (even the few African-American writers whose historical writings are included here were from New England), but they varied greatly with respect to social status, political opinions, and professional commitment.

Since history is, as Baym points out, "inarguably public" (p. 5), her book provides an emphatic rejection of the ideology of separate spheres. Although Baym does not deny that the rhetoric of true womanhood existed and exerted pressure on women, she asserts the "inadequacy of current gender-based distinctions between public and private" (p. 4). The women writers of history were commentators on current events and on public policy; they participated "directly and extensively in the print discourse of the national public life" (p. 239).

As Baym makes clear, however, one cannot assume that when women entered the public sphere to write history it was to provide a counter-cultural critique. Like most men's history, women's history, whether the writer was conservative or liberal, generally confirmed mainstream assumptions of the time: that world history represented a progression to Protestant Christianity and republicanism, that the United States was the most advanced nation thus far, and that the American Revolution was the "most important event in world history since the Reformation" (p. 56). For women, however, this religious patriotic interpretation of history had gendered significance. In writing history, women were guided by the belief that only republican Protestant Christianity "gives woman her social due and God-given place" (p. 127). In promoting the master narrative, then, women were working in what they believed to be their own self-interest: "They saw in Protestant Christianity the only ideology that, by valuing intellect and spirituality over physical strength, opened at least some kinds of public and political space to women, and promised to protect the weak members of society from the strong" (p. 66).

Influenced by the Enlightenment belief in intellectual equality and later by the Victorian belief in women's spiritual superiority, American women writers believed that women would increasingly assume a more prominent role in history. Yet despite this confidence in women's future, they did not praise the powerful women of the past. Bound by their own cultural definitions of womanhood, they took the politically correct position of the time and censored or obscured the behavior of powerful women, reserving their sympathy for the female victims of history. For

example, Judith Sargent Murray's 1798 history implies that it would be better for a woman to be the "feminine" Mary Queen of Scots and dead than the powerful but "unwomanly" Queen Elizabeth (pp. 219–21). One wonders to what extent this censoring of powerful women was performance. After all, the only powerful women whose actions were not censored were biblical women, whose behavior was safely a part of holy writ.

The bold assertion of this book is that if antebellum writers constructed history according to their own light, twentieth-century theorists have been no less guilty of constructing a similarly subjective history of nineteenth-century women. As Baym points out, to have selected only the rhetoric of domestic ideology from the whole of nineteenth-century women's life is a "telling commentary" on our century (pp. 4–5). Although the nineteenth-century women writers of history may have been chary of public women of the past, they were themselves public women. Baym concludes that these women were "far from conforming to any paradigm of sequestered, submissive, passive domesticity that we might patronizingly attempt to impose on them according to some misguided millennial narrative of our own" (p. 239).

JOYCE W. WARREN  
Queens College

WILLIAM R. CASTO. *The Supreme Court in the Early Republic: The Chief Justiceships of John Jay and Oliver Ellsworth*. (Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xxv, 267. \$49.95.

Scholars of the first decade of the Supreme Court's history usually treat it as an afterthought. The justices heard few cases, and the ones they decided have been forgotten. The members of the Court are routinely dismissed as mediocre. None of the twelve who served between 1789 and 1801 ranked as either "great" or "near great"; instead, ten of them were "average" and the other two "below average." Moreover, Chief Justice John Marshall's shadow has obscured the significance of the chief justiceships of his immediate predecessors, John Jay and Oliver Ellsworth. In the face of this received wisdom, William R. Casto offers a clear-headed revisionist analysis of the early Court that succeeds because it takes its subject on its own terms.

Casto argues that today we measure the Court's success by its ability to resolve conflicts over values and interests and then to impose its will upon others, notably other governmental units. So great is our fascination with the power of judicial review that the justices' exercise of it has become the touchstone for evaluating the Court. Yet Casto quite persuasively argues that such a standard did not apply in the early period and to treat the early Supreme Court as if it does misses its most important contributions. Chief Justices Jay and Ellsworth, along with a majority of their colleagues, viewed their duties as supporting the political branches of government, not opposing them.



Because the new government was an experiment, the justices realized that it might fall if the judiciary turned its opposition on another branch. Both Presidents George Washington and John Adams appointed persons, such as Jay and Ellsworth, who were fully committed to the new government. Both chief justices, moreover, provided advisory opinions to the presidents, gave grand jury charges that trumpeted the authority of the new federal government, and reminded everyone of the importance of balance among politics, governance, and law. With Federalists in the judiciary and in the executive branch, there was an uncommon degree of harmony, and the justices seldom found themselves in conflict with the political branches.

Casto gives the Court high marks for the supportive role that it played. Notable in this regard was the vigor with which the justices sustained the revenue laws, whose success was essential to the fiscal independence of the new government. In this light, the case of *Hylton v. United States* (1796), in which the justices narrowly construed the Constitution's limitation on direct taxation, was a benchmark in the development of the government's power to raise revenues. When the Court did take a position in opposition to the other branches of the federal government or state government, as in *Ware v. Hylton* (1796) and *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793), it did so with care. In *Chisholm*, for example, Congress and the states combined to reject the Court's opinion by passing the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution. Instead of quibbling about whether the amendment should be applied retroactively, the justices immediately acquiesced.

Casto also dismisses the notion that the justices were simply a lot of mediocre politicians. He argues that both Justices James Iredell and William Paterson were, as pure legal thinkers, the equal of anyone who has ever served. James Wilson and Samuel Chase, while less technically adept, were nonetheless brilliant theorists capable of transforming constitutional issues through their considerable intellectual powers. Only bad debts in the case of the former and a narcissistic personality in the case of the latter kept them from greatness.

This carefully argued, ably researched, and well-written account of the history of the early Supreme Court stresses that institution's pragmatic and principled approach to constitutional issues. The result is a book that should serve as a standard in the field.

KERMIT L. HALL  
Ohio State University

PETER C. MANCALL. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 268. \$29.95.

This excellent exploration of "the relationship between Indians and alcohol in early America" (p. xi) provides valuable perspective on several important cultural, economic, demographic, and ethnological issues in

colonial history. Beginning with a perceptive analysis of the persistent and ubiquitous stereotype of the "Drunken Indian," the work proceeds through a careful account of the liquor trade both as a vital facet of transatlantic trade networks and as one significant means of incorporating Native Americans into that network. The effect of that commerce, as Peter C. Mancall graphically illustrates, was devastating.

Provocative and useful sections of the book concern the varying roles alcohol played in eastern woodland cultures and the difficulties encountered in attempting to control its deleterious effects. In summary, "Many Indians drank for three reasons: first, they valued the sense of power drunkenness apparently conferred; second, they employed alcohol in hospitality rituals; and, third, they relied on liquor for mourning ceremonies" (p. 67). Descriptions of these rituals are tantalizingly few and brief, but Mancall is surely correct to stress their great significance to the participants. Frequently decimated and demoralized by disease and warfare, Indian societies craved ritualistic ways to reconstitute broken bonds, mourn their losses, and overcome despair. Given these pressures and the economic incentives, it is not surprising that Native American and colonial advocates of temperance, whose activities and attitudes are also well described, fought a futile battle.

Another valuable feature is the work's stress on comparative analysis. There is an enlightening, albeit brief, chapter on Spanish and French frontier experience with and policies toward alcohol among Native Americans. But even more interesting are the comparisons between English and eastern woodland Indian usages and customs. Drinking, of course, was a widespread and perhaps growing element of both cultures, linked to "widespread social change" (p. 8) on both sides of the Atlantic. Noting that "the consequences of drinking almost always seemed more dangerous among Indians than among colonists" (p. 12), Mancall observes that English society, with its longer experience with liquor, had developed more effective laws and customs for its control.

Yet even more striking are the similarities. Unlike most modern Americans, the colonists also consumed prodigious amounts of alcohol in their "hospitality rituals" and "mourning ceremonies." Many of them, too, "valued the sense of power drunkenness apparently conferred" (p. 67), and violence was a common result among them as well, often threatening familial and social order. These similarities help explain the ease with which Indians and colonists could share such rituals as toasting and gift exchanges based on alcohol. What was commonly lacking among the colonists was the underlying sense of desperation experienced by many Indians.

As with any effective history, this stimulating effort, based on solid research, is certain to provoke more work in a crucial area. To serve that end, it contains a surprisingly extensive bibliographic essay that, by itself, is worth the price of admission. This is a superb



book that should be read by anyone interested in eastern woodland Indians, intercultural history, or early America.

RICHARD P. GILDRIE  
Austin Peay State University

COLIN G. CALLOWAY. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. (Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 327. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$16.95.

This is a detailed study of eight Indian communities extending from Canada to Florida during the American Revolution, with additional commentaries relating to the time both before and after the war years. The focus is on communities defined as "a group of people living in face-to-face association and occupying a common location . . ." (p. xvi) rather than on tribes, although inevitably discussion also relates to tribal policies and experiences. Colin G. Calloway describes the book as "a non-Indian view of Indian history, and a non-American view of American history, written by an expatriate Briton who holds no brief for British colonialism" (p. xvi).

The loyalties of the eight communities ranged from efforts of neutrality to pro-American or pro-British. The Abenakis at Odanak, near Quebec, followed an ambiguous course by attempting to remain neutral but providing limited support to both sides, a choice that prevented devastating losses during the war. The Stockbridge community in western Massachusetts provided more consistent support for American patriots in diplomatic missions as well as in several battles. It failed, however, to retain its land or to receive more than limited compensation at the end of the war. Oquaga, home of a variety of Iroquois of the Six Nations on the upper Susquehanna River in New York, suffered severe religious dissension and internal factionalism. The Oquaga Iroquois experienced the burning of their town by Americans in retaliation for their support of the British. Fort Niagara, a British frontier outpost located on southwestern Lake Ontario, was a refugee community of Indians along with British personnel, but all suffered from lack of supplies and the resulting factionalism. Maquachake, a Shawnee community in central Ohio, was less successful than Odanak in attempting neutrality during both the Revolution and the Anglo-American competition that followed. Chota, beloved town or mother town of the Cherokees, witnessed the generation gap in its society as Dragging Canoe's expeditions against white American settlements resulted in a loss of Cherokee territory and the secession of his followers, the Chickamaugas. Tchoukafala in northern Mississippi was the diplomatic center of successful efforts to preserve the independence of the Chickasaws in both the Anglo-American contest during the Revolution and the subsequent conflict between Spain and the United States. The last of the eight communities, Cuscowilla in

central Florida, remained loyal to the British during the Revolution and became a part of the independent Seminole tribe created by the Creeks who migrated to the area.

The treaty of Paris of 1783 ignored the Indians in its provisions. A multitude of treaties soon followed in which the United States deprived the Native Americans, whether friend or foe in the Revolution, of much of their land and provided inadequate compensation for most of the groups who had supported the patriots.

This volume is based on extensive research in both primary and secondary sources and is well written, with skillful selection of quotations. The major emphasis relates to political, military, and economic experiences; only limited attention is given to the social and cultural impact of the Revolution on Native American communities. Yet it exemplifies the diversity of Indian culture and adds new dimensions to our knowledge of the Indian experiences during the American Revolution.

W. STITT ROBINSON  
University of Kansas

DAVID J. WISHART. *An Unspeakable Sadness: The Dispossession of the Nebraska Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 309. \$50.00.

David J. Wishart's new book on the dispossession of the Indians of Nebraska is the story of what happened to the Omahas, Poncas, Pawnees, and Oto-Missourians in the nineteenth century. Linked by a common history in the part of the country that became the state of Nebraska, they farmed and hunted buffalo in culturally similar ways. They came into direct contact with Euro-Americans by the early nineteenth century. Before the end of that century, all but the Omahas and a fragment of the Poncas had been expelled from the state.

Wishart is a historical geographer, and his sensitivity to the role of land in history is apparent. He is alert to its looks, its exploitable resources, its ability to sustain people, and the influence it exerts on the lives and cultures of the people who use it. The positive results of this sensitivity are many. Like most books about Indians, this one begins with a chapter on culture. But Wishart's assumptions about the relation between culture and land make his beginning chapter a real gem. He shows how the land, its resources, and the ways the people shaped their lives came together to produce cultures that made sense and worked.

The following chapters focus on the events that sundered the relation between the land and the Indians of Nebraska. One chapter is devoted to the three significant "forces of intervention": the fur trade, missionaries, and government agents. An experienced scholar of the fur trade, Wishart gives that force a degree of sophisticated analysis that the other two lack. Then comes the process of dispossession. With an impressive mastery of the primary sources, Wishart works decade by decade through the half century

following the Kansas-Nebraska Act. His picture is dismal. Competition for shrinking buffalo ranges and declining herds led to intertribal conflict that generally put the Nebraska tribes on the losing end. Hemmed in and devastated by the western Sioux (mainly the Brule band of Lakota) and rocked by epidemic disease, their ability to subsist in normal ways was effectively destroyed. Relocated to reservations, surrounded by settlers, and subject to the administration of government policies by inept, corrupt, and/or ethnocentric federal agents, the tribes either fled voluntarily to Indian Territory (Pawnee) or were forced to relocate there (Ponca, Oto-Missouria). Only the Omahas, for reasons not fully explained, remained to become allotment farmers on a remnant of their eastern Nebraska homeland.

Despite Wishart's delightfully sensitive introductory chapter and his ongoing appreciation of the culture changes imposed on Nebraska's Indians by the complex historical forces he describes, this book is at bottom just what it proclaims itself to be—a study of dispossession. The agents of dispossession are the actors; the Indians are acted upon. The process of dispossession is the dynamic; the Indians are the victims whose reactions, aside from the natural desire to survive, make little sense. This is a first-class study replete, as one might expect from a geographer, with excellent maps and graphs and insightful interpretations of the relations between land and people, but ethnohistorians will be frustrated by the unexplored avenues and unanswered questions. Wishart cannot be faulted for writing his book rather than mine, however. He has certainly demonstrated that the forces of dispossession can be cogently and gracefully described.

MICHAEL D. GREEN  
University of Kentucky

GORDON G. WHITNEY. *From Coastal Wilderness to Fruited Plain: A History of Environmental Change in Temperate North America, 1500 to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxxiv, 451. \$54.95.

Gordon G. Whitney's book is a thorough assessment of the land use history in New England and the Midwest. Whitney discusses the changes in the land that resulted from activities of American Indians, European colonizers, and American settlers who ventured westward. "The study of landscapes is necessarily a synthetic discipline," Whitney explains (p. 2), and his book reflects his extensive knowledge of sources ranging from history and geography to ecology.

Europeans were not solely responsible for transforming the primeval wilderness into pioneer farms and small settlements; indigenous people also shaped the land. Their impact was localized, though considerable, particularly in more densely populated regions where inhabitants clearly modified the landscape as they constructed villages and put in corn fields. "America's cultural landscape," Whitney reminds us, "took

root when the first Indian set foot on North America's shores (p. 120).

European settlers initiated the real "assault on the forests," though, as they converted woodlands to farms. Although the process originated in New England, large-scale exploitation did not occur until the last half of the nineteenth century, when extensive demand, readily available resources, efficient transportation, and technological advances stimulated the growth of the lumber industry. The result was "a dramatic decrease in the areas of untouched old-growth or virgin forest." By 1920, Whitney notes, the Northeast and Midwest had lost ninety-six percent of their old-growth timber (p. 191). The story was similar for the mid-latitude grasslands, which were rapidly and thoroughly modified. As habitats were eliminated, wildlife suffered, too: these regions lost from five to twenty percent of the mammalian fauna (p. 323).

Whitney's perspective is decidedly scientific rather than humanistic, and his ability to analyze both biotic and abiotic aspects of the landscape results in a well-integrated picture of regional land use. The volume catalogs the extent of environmental changes in the Northeast and Midwest and is particularly useful for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A consistent pattern throughout is Whitney's attention to balancing different versions of events, as revealed in historic accounts, modern interpretations, and scientific research. That tendency produces an often tedious narrative overly concerned with untangling competing explanations. In many instances, a critical evaluation of such sources would have been more valuable and would also have reduced the number of parenthetical citations.

While the book is a well-documented study of transformations in the landscape over several centuries, Whitney perhaps has said too little about human motivations. Exploitation of forests and grasslands reflected economic objectives, of course, but such activities also had intellectual roots in the larger values of Western Civilization, ranging from Christian teachings to faith in science and technology. A fuller discussion of those ideas might add an important thematic context for understanding the rationale that sustained European settlement and development.

Whitney's book nevertheless remains an important and useful volume for historians. This heavily referenced study begins with an excellent photographic essay that traces the decline of regional vegetation; it also includes dozens of pertinent illustrations. The book presents a comprehensive documentation of the changes in the northeastern and midwestern landscape from the forest primeval to the new forests, modern farms, and urban environment of contemporary America.

GEORGE M. LUBICK  
Northern Arizona University

PETER J. HUGILL. *Upstate Arcadia: Landscape, Aesthetics, and the Triumph of Social Differentiation in Amer-*

*ica*. (Geographical Perspectives on the Human Past.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1995. Pp. xviii, 255. Cloth \$61.50, paper \$24.95.

Peter J. Hugill is concerned with how American social elites shape local landscapes in settings where their aesthetic values find physical expression under varying conditions of control and challenge. This book represents a recasting of his doctoral dissertation and appears as the fourth volume in a series devoted to "geographical perspectives on the human past." It offers a detailed case study of 185 years of landscape management in Cazenovia, New York, founded in 1793 as a small upstate agricultural trading center and currently a prestigious residential outsettlement for commuting executives and professionals on the south-eastern metropolitan fringe of Syracuse. Five chapters trace the early development of a durable social elite (centered on the Lincklaen-Ledyard family) and its changing composition, reflecting shifts in the economic fortunes of its leading families; the dominance of that elite in setting the standards for the spatial evolution and visual character of the village through major estate development, gifts of public amenities, and contesting of deviant behavior; the decline of elite control when the elite could no longer regenerate from within and moved to co-opt and share power with outside sources of new wealth; the ascendancy of local merchant interests and consequent signage and public finance problems during the Depression and after; and, finally, the reassertion of elite values through alliances with well-heeled metropolitan commuters and the success of their new tools for reestablishing landscape standards, largely through community action focused on preservation issues. Organized around the notion of "sustained gesture," adapted from George Herbert Mead, the book offers fascinating historical evidence based on family papers, village records, newspapers, architectural analysis, socio-demographic reconstructions, and interviews with long-time residents. It stands as a rare and revealing look at a small country community that, through its fortuitous location and social history, shaped an elite character that survived stiff challenges and gained revalidation within a new metropolitan context.

The book's strengths lie in the specificity with which the landscape preferences and actions of the elite have been reconstructed over so long a period of time, the delineation of an oft-changing regional, economic, and social context for the village as a whole and its leading families in particular, and the demonstration of the ways in which the elite's values and actions resulted in unique configurations of landscape stability and change within selected parts of the village domain. The discussion of increasing social differentiation in Cazenovia between the Civil War and the metropolitan "invasion" of modern times is also splendid, though it is claiming too much to represent this as a microcosm of the American experience. Less successful is the attempt to portray, far less account for, the changing

physiognomy of the village at large since the study has not sought to present systematic evidence nor a balanced portrait of all parts of the village. This is hardly fatal, but it limits judgment as to just how effective the elite has been over time in relation to all the factors working upon the morphology of the place, either at any one time, in any one vicinity, or in toto.

Readers will note a significant shift from the archivally rich but incompletely digested material woven into the narrative of the first two substantive chapters (2 and 3) and the breezier but more coherent presentation of ideas and suitably winnowed evidence of the following two (4 and 5). Illustrations are uneven: the photographs are generally well chosen and effective; the maps are barely adequate, often failing to show key features, juxtapositions, or spatial correlations among phenomena discussed in the text; and, regrettably, the tables and charts are visually crude, oversized, and off-putting. The responsibility for this lies with the publisher, who has sanctioned—alas, for all volumes in the series so far—a book design suggesting all the *gaucherie* of a hapless high-school compositor.

In the substance of his book, however, Hugill offers a well-documented study of micro-scale landscape management of uncommon duration and power. It is a worthy addition to the growing literature on the evolution of the American cultural landscape.

MICHAEL P. CENZEN  
University of Chicago

DONA BROWN. *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1995. Pp. ix, 253. \$29.95.

This book is a marvelous examination of the economic, cultural, and ideological foundations of the development of regional tourism. Following a chapter that analyzes the beginnings of American tourism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Dona Brown turns to five locales and themes arranged in chronological sequence: the emergence of the White Mountains as a tourist destination and the romantic celebration of its scenery in the three decades prior to the Civil War; the development of Wesleyan Grove as a lower-middle-class "cottage heaven" on Martha's Vineyard in the years from 1860 to 1876; the marketing of nostalgia on Nantucket between 1870 and 1890; Old Home Week and the appeal of farm vacations in northern New England during the closing decade of the nineteenth century; and the coincidence of the colonial revival and the development of summer resorts in the Piscataqua Valley and coastal Maine between 1890 and 1910. An epilogue uses the development of Cape Cod in the twentieth century to contrast automobile tourism and its nineteenth-century antecedents.

In tracing the evolution of New England tourism, Brown presents a sustained analysis of three principal themes. First is the business of tourism, the development of a tourist infrastructure (hotels, transportation,

and attractions), the publication of travel books and other promotional literature, and the ways in which tourism brought the dynamics of the marketplace into rural New England at a time when traditional economies—whether whaling, farming, lumbering, or quarrying—had become less profitable. A second, related theme is the commodification of tourism, the commercialization of scenery and other components of the vacation experience. Third, and most important, is the creation of a mythic New England past, which effectively served as a veil screening the degree to which tourism had become part of the marketplace. In *Sacred Places* (1989), John Sears argued that tourism “played a powerful role in America’s invention of itself as a culture” (p. 4). Brown extends this analysis, demonstrating the degree to which tourism effectively shrouded New England’s recent past—the industrial cities, labor conflict, and large-scale immigration—and created in its place a new regional identity that harkened back to a conflict-free, homogeneous, Anglo-Saxon society.

Brown is sensitive to questions of class and economic relationships, to the conflict between tourist and resident over issues from service to the ownership of a sense of place. Her research draws impressively upon unpublished journals and other materials as well as popular guidebooks, magazines and journals, and other publications. The result is a book that combines the best of local history with strong thematic analysis.

One form of tourism left unexplored is the development of art colonies, yet another of the cottage industries that effectively redefined the meaning of New England toward the end of the nineteenth century. The Impressionist painters who clustered in Cos Cob and Old Lyme, Connecticut, for example, were almost exact contemporaries of the writers who found the Maine coast and the Piscataqua Valley so attractive, and they were no less middle class, in the sense that Brown uses the term, than were the painters, sculptors, and architects who summered in Cornish, New Hampshire. Analysis of the role of art colonies in the development of tourism would have added another dimension to what is already an exemplary book.

DAVID SCHUYLER  
*Franklin & Marshall College*

LORETT TREESE. *Valley Forge: Making and Remaking a National Symbol*. (A Keystone Book.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 269. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

Whose history? Which site? What story? Questions such as these have faced everyone involved in the identification, preservation, and interpretation of historic sites. Lorette Treese examines the Valley Forge story, tracing the history of the area identified with George Washington’s 1777–1778 winter encampment from its rediscovery in the first half of the nineteenth century to its present state. She argues that the “real” battle at Valley Forge has been over the meaning of

the site for different generations of Americans. In this context, Treese suggests, the Valley Forge experience offers an opportunity to explore the varying ways in which the American people have viewed the nation’s past.

Treese begins her examination with the area’s experience in the early nineteenth century. She discusses the various organizations dedicated to the preservation of the Valley Forge story. Disagreements over the lessons to be learned from the battle, the actual events associated with the battlefield, the preservation of the structures, the memorialization of the park, the operation of the site, and the interpretation of the Valley Forge experience dominate her tale. Treese concludes with the observation that the effort to incorporate the historical experience of the site into the story of the park could ignite yet another battle over the meaning of Valley Forge.

Treese’s study represents an addition to the larger analysis of the varying meanings and purposes associated with the commemorative process. The Valley Forge experience reveals the tension between the historical and the commemorative voice. It affirms the observation that every site, regardless of the level of preservation, represents a collection of pasts. It raises the challenge faced by virtually every historic site or landscape: how to accommodate the site’s history and integrate its past interpretive experience into its present programming regimen.

Unfortunately, Treese recounts her story in a vacuum. She makes little attempt to place her discussion within the growing body of literature that explores the relationship among martial landscapes, sacred spaces, and contested stories. We can learn a lot about Valley Forge but little about its place in the nation’s larger commemorative experience.

In addition, this study is visually inarticulate. All landscapes possess a visual component. Treese’s study includes lots of pictures. Their reproduction lacks distinction. They serve as mere illustrations when they should be integral aspects of the documentary evidence upon which her story is based. In this respect, her book represents a lost opportunity to utilize the site itself as a living document of differing visions and understanding of the nation’s patriotic space.

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SALLY McMURRY. *Transforming Rural Life: Dairying Families and Agricultural Change, 1820–1885*. (Revisiting Rural America.) Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 291.

This second volume in a new series, *Revisiting Rural America*, illustrates the vitality and significance of the new rural history. Sally McMurry analyzes the cultural, social, and economic changes in the rural north during the transition to industrial capitalism. Her focus is on the culture and farming system of commercial cheese-



making as they evolved from their antebellum origins in a subsistence economy to household production for the market and finally to the creation of local cheese factories. She skillfully combines knowledge of technology and economic change in agricultural history with the cultural, intellectual, and social issues and methodologies of the new rural history. Because the 475 cheesemakers McMurry studied farmed in Oneida County, New York, the locale of Mary P. Ryan's *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (1981), she makes valuable comparisons of rural and urban areas.

McMurry disrupts many of the dichotomies assumed in much historical analysis. Early cheesemaking families comfortably wedded "subsistence" farm production and local exchange with specialized production that linked them to distant markets. "Traditional" cooperative traditions and goals shaped "commercial" exchanges; families and neighborhoods cooperated in dealing with middlemen of the factor system and the brokerage houses. Farmers pursued "profits" and prosperity through cheesemaking for the traditional reason of gaining a "competency."

Changes in the farming system were connected with shifting gender systems. Gender and generation structured work, status, and power in cheesemaking families. Contrary to common wisdom, the redirection toward market production depended on the skill, knowledge, decisions, and labor of women. Women's adaptation of traditional cheesemaking for the market enhanced their power and status. McMurry challenges John Mack Faragher's notion of women's "culture of accommodation" to a rural patriarchy that exploited women's labor and freed men for political and leisure activities. These "traditional" farm wives were notably nonaccommodating. Empowered by their role in cheesemaking, they pushed the ideals of mutuality and renegotiated imbalances in the division of labor. Prospering cheesemaking families used their profits to educate daughters as well as sons in rural academies.

The centralization of cheesemaking in factories originated as much from family tensions and social needs as from the requirements or opportunities of the market. Cheese factories quickly emerged in response to a labor crisis created by gender and generational tensions: young women rejected the culture and labor of cheese production. Women's opportunities and aspirations for the education, autonomy, culture, consumption, and leisure that they associated with the emergent middle class appeared in the countryside of Oneida County simultaneously with these developments in urban areas. Women acted as managers and workers during the transition, but factories ultimately "masculinized" dairying. The labor demands and stress of dairy production intensified for men while women eagerly articulated middle-class identities; women created new bonds of community as male networks of shared work dissolved. Unlike their urban counterparts, farm women kept a hand in market production in poultry and eggs. These changes had unforeseen

consequences; specialization ended sustainable agriculture and "masculinization" marginalized women. Women nevertheless welcomed factory production because it resolved gender and generational tensions.

McMurry's book demonstrates the power of community studies to enhance our understanding of big historical questions about capitalism in the countryside, "modernization," rural patriarchy, and cultural, class, and gender identities. Country folk mixed "modern" and "traditional" strategies and character qualities with uninhibited indifference to social theory. This excellent study of rural transformation compels a reassessment by rural and women's historians by raising new questions and interpretations of patriarchy and market capitalism in the countryside.

JANE M. PEDERSON  
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Eau Claire

M. H. DUNLOP. *Sixty Miles from Contentment: Traveling the Nineteenth-Century American Interior*. New York: BasicBooks. 1995. Pp. x, 277. \$24.00.

In this book, M. H. Dunlop, a literary scholar of the late twentieth-century, offers a kaleidoscope of commentary on the interior of North America as seen by travelers to the region during the nineteenth century. In nine chapters Dunlop describes how many travelers found the interior prairie landscape disconcerting and disillusioning, their fascination with mounds and artifacts of "vanished" peoples, their passion for collecting Indian artifacts while denying the humanity of the makers of the objects, their many culinary [mis]adventures, the gendered character of social interaction, and the changing experience of travelers as they abandoned stagecoaches, wagons, and river steamboats for the luxury palaces offered by the rail companies. Writing with grace, precision, and wit, Dunlop creates memorable images relating to these themes.

Nonetheless, the historian cannot but wonder to what extent such a work of literary scholarship helps us to understand the past. The book offers Dunlop's impressions of the impressions of some three hundred visitors to the Midwest from several different countries, from different occupations and classes, following different travel agendas, over a century of time. Dunlop does not provide a systematic general profile of the writers' backgrounds, though most would seem well-educated and financially comfortable, nor does she indicate how the travel experiences are distributed throughout the century. Finally, perhaps because the travel accounts were prepared and printed to sell, the descriptions tend clearly toward hyperbole.

In essence then, Dunlop grounds her observations in a sample drawn from an undescribed base by an undescribed set of criteria. These criteria relate, presumably, to color of expression and/or to their relevance to Dunlop's interests and concerns. The reader has no way to know if the anecdotes upon which her

conclusions rest are representative of any broader set of similar observations.

For example, Dunlop sees the use by some travelers of the passive, "Biscuits were baked, . . . coffee roasted and ground, . . . sugar cracked" as evidence that the travelers "wished to conceal the gender of the workers" being described, denying thereby the value of work done principally by women (p. 151). She does not tell us what proportion of travel accounts used the passive in such descriptions or if the witnesses she cites used the passive in describing activities other than human labor. The passages could indeed have carried the meaning to those who originally composed them that Dunlop suggests, but they might also be examples of tedious writing with no gender implications whatsoever. How is one to know?

Dunlop's book is entertaining and full of engaging insights. But does it offer us glimpses of life in past time or merely reflections in a prism? The same question could profitably be asked of works of historical as well as literary analysis, but most historians seem to do better at capturing and presenting a plausible past rather than one conjured up to serve ideology.

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RICHARD F. TEICHGRAEBER III. *Sublime Thoughts/Penny Wisdom: Situating Emerson and Thoreau in the American Market*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 283. \$39.95.

In his essay, "Walking," Henry David Thoreau wrote that "with regard to Nature I live a sort of border life, on the confines of a world into which I make occasional and transient forays only, and my patriotism and allegiance to the state into whose territories I seem to retreat are those of a moss-trooper." Thoreau found himself neither fully enveloped in nature nor fully enclosed in society. He was engaged in, but at a critical distance from, both realms of experience. His references to boundaries, edges, and margins suggested an attempt to keep one foot in each zone. His images of middle grounds and connecting links described the author's efforts to reconcile and cultivate both impulses in his being. Richard F. Teichgraeber III's work on Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson examines two such "marginal" men who consciously located themselves both inside and outside the dominant American order. Their "border life" provides insight into strategies of social criticism and a challenge to prevailing literary criticism.

Teichgraeber calls attention to the complex and ambivalent stance Emerson and Thoreau adopted toward their society. Rejecting interpretations portraying the pair as defiant protesters or co-opted compromisers, Teichgraeber analyzes them through Michael Walzer's model of the "connected critic": as commentators who simultaneously challenged and championed

American life. Their writings sought to expose and enlighten, to combine provocative denunciation with tempered optimism. Emerson and Thoreau despaired of the nation's obsessive materialism, moral debility, and cultural constriction but trusted in its ideals of egalitarianism and democratic individualism. If Americans would live up to their noblest values, they could overcome their worst excesses. A higher order of life could be realized through reclamation rather than renunciation.

Teichgraeber illustrates his thesis in two ways. One example of the critics' "connection" involved social reform. Dedicated to abolition but wary of the abolition movement, critical of the slave South but outraged by the complicitous North, Emerson and Thoreau contended that the chattel system's destruction depended fundamentally on cultural and moral transformation. Such change was absolutely necessary, and it was entirely possible if the North would only recover and enact its own informing ideals. A second example of the essayists' engagement with society involved their own writings. Teichgraeber reminds readers that these two critics of American economic relations were also active participants in the marketplace of literature. The literary success they enjoyed was due in great part to changes in the publishing business and to the deliberate decisions they made in their trade.

The strength of Teichgraeber's informing insight is diminished a bit by certain weaknesses in the book. His prose is too dense and complex for the "non-specialist" he hopes to attract (p. xxii). His constant sniping at other commentators is both inappropriate and wearisome. And his theoretical argument ought to acknowledge compatible works such as Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* (1966) that, along with Walzer, demonstrate how social alternatives are generated from within a dominant order. Still, Teichgraeber persuasively argues that the richness of Emerson and Thoreau cannot be grasped by categorizing them simply as counter-cultural nay-sayers or apologetic aye-sayers.

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CHRISTOPHER CLARK. *The Communitarian Moment: The Radical Challenge of the Northampton Association*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 269. \$27.50.

The literature of American utopian communities is rich and growing. Virtually every major and minor experiment has been chronicled in some fashion. One important colony that has been largely overlooked, however, is the Northampton Association, which operated during the 1840s near Northampton, Massachusetts. Members of this group sought to build a society in which the inequalities of class, gender, and race would vanish, but their heroic efforts have been either ignored or misjudged, in part because colony records

were only recently available and the utopia defies easy categorization.

Between April 1842 and November 1846, more than 200 perfectionists who embraced radical abolitionism, temperance, and pacifism participated in a highly democratic intentional community. Resembling contemporary Fourierist settlements, the Northampton Association embraced a joint-stock economic structure. Like the more enduring Fourierist colonies, Northampton relied heavily on a single industry, in this case silk production. Yet like most secular and sectarian utopias of the antebellum era, Northampton combined agricultural activities with small-scale, shop-based manufacturing.

Members of the Northampton Association could take pride in the durability of their utopian quest. Although some Fourierist colonies lasted only months, this particular settlement held up rather well. With few exceptions paradise was ephemeral. Problems developed not from the community's social organization but from its business efforts. Northampton failed to establish a silk-manufacturing enterprise that could generate enough income to eliminate or greatly reduce its burdensome level of debt. Differing from typical utopian endeavors, Northampton never faced a leadership crisis. There was no charismatic leader and no upheaval caused by a dominant personality. After 1846, the colony merely melted away. Yet the Northampton Association made a positive impact on its participants, including former slave Sojourner Truth, and left a local heritage of political and religious liberalism.

Christopher Clark has produced a masterful work; it is a model for how a study of an individual utopia should be crafted. Clark has skillfully pieced together the often tantalizingly obscure history of the Northampton Association to provide thoughtful, comprehensive coverage of an undeniably significant communitarian endeavor, and he has not forgotten the appropriate secondary works. Clark's imaginative and impressive research has paid off handsomely. His overall thesis is clearly stated and developed: namely, that the "communitarian moment" of the 1840's arose at a particular conjuncture of economic, political, and religious change in the United States that linked the moral critique of chattel slavery to a wider critique of society" (p. 222). This book is a joy to read. Perhaps Clark might have spent less time describing silk manufacturing in antebellum America, but this is a minor criticism. Not all utopias of the nineteenth century have been blessed with such gifted historians.

H. ROGER GRANT  
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CHRISTOPHER MORRIS. *Becoming Southern: The Evolution of a Way of Life, Warren County and Vicksburg, Mississippi, 1770-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 258. \$35.00.

Study of African-American slavery, rediscovered by historians of the South three decades ago, gave rise to

scholarship that portrayed this region as having a unifying commitment to bond labor and its social consequences. The enormity of slavery—in a moral as well as economic and social sense—was reflected in histories that were not especially curious about differences among communities within the South. Slavery's rampant and inclusive power over southern economy and politics was the story that needed telling.

Christopher Morris's excellent study of Warren County, Mississippi, succeeds in showing why it is important to step back from the large picture in order to frame questions about the political economy of the slave South in terms of localities. Like others in recent years who have looked at the significance of southern society's particular roots, Morris argues that only the close focus of a local study can reconstruct the myriad shifting conditions that made slavery an attractive economic risk for white landowners.

Morris chose his site well, for Warren County became by 1860 a very "southern" place, deeply implicated in a slave and cotton economy of vast international origins but profoundly local dimensions. The county's major city, Vicksburg, would become the strategic and symbolic center of the Confederacy's collapse in 1863. But this comes at the end of Morris's story. Warren County was settled early in the American migration across the Appalachians, achieving a flourishing subsistence economy along its stretch of the Mississippi River even before the American Revolution. Thus, much of Morris's story of the ragged but successful settlements concerns how they were first western, in the sense of being founded on a widespread racial isolation, slash-and-burn agriculture, and a fiercely local worldview.

In his picture of the cultivation of cotton after 1810, the strength of Morris's localist approach to the southern political economy becomes apparent. First, he is able to show that farmers did not immediately see the appeal of cotton farming, nor did they abandon all else in a rush to own slaves. But farmers increasingly did decide to embrace both cotton and slave labor. In Morris's reasoned view, this process is not best described as one of international markets intruding on the integrity of a local economy. Rather, Warren County farmers invited cotton in, so to say, attempting to adapt it to serve their definitions of prosperity and ambition. Thus, they tried to integrate cotton and slaves into a pre-existing and largely successful agricultural diversity. Similarly, Morris characterizes the community basis of political power as evolutionary and anything but foreordained. The political power of the white community—situated in households in which the father and husband was master—only became organized in a piecemeal fashion. Though the planter class achieved important, consolidated power by the late antebellum years, Morris shows that planter class men's apparently consensual influence was fashioned out of conflict with others, including poorer whites, women, and, most importantly, slaves.

Morris's deep research into sources on everything

from cotton prices to divorce proceedings convincingly argues for the value of local studies as a check on the urge to oversimplify what were complex and fundamentally small-scale realities of social life. It should be said that Morris's measure of these realities is consistently materialistic. In this book, "becoming southern" is a matter of political economy and has little to do with subjectivity or feeling southern. Whole areas of social and cultural experience, such as those defined by religious faith, the content of education, authorship of various kinds, and other forms of self-reflection and ideology, are not much in evidence here. But all books limit their province in some way—or should—and this thoughtful, well-written study doubtless will be widely read and deservedly influential.

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STEPHANIE MCCURRY. *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 320. \$39.95.

Stephanie McCurry offers an important new interpretation of a long-neglected and previously invisible class—yeoman farmers—in the antebellum South Carolina low country. Her methodology is exacting in both thoroughness and precision but is most impressive when, in the process of connecting the interior world of yeoman households to the broader political culture, she anticipates contradictory evidence and allows ample room for ambiguity and apparent inconsistencies in her own hypotheses.

Beginning with a careful survey of the tensions surrounding spatial boundaries between yeomen and planters over the use of unfenced or unenclosed land, public and private, by ordinary farmers, McCurry establishes a lasting metaphor for the constantly shifting relationship between these two groups. The legal and communal sanctity of the yeoman's household would remain inviolable to all assaults of law or custom. She offers a simple definition for yeomen that avoids complicated considerations of how much land or how many slaves they owned: any "self-working farmer," by her estimate, belonged to the yeoman class. Although yeomen usually could never really aspire to becoming members of the planter class, most, if they remained in the state, could, through hard work over time, build a reasonable competency. Self-sufficiency was achieved by adding laborers to their work force in the form of numerous children and concentrating on producing primarily foodstuffs for home consumption, with only minor allotments for market crops such as rice and cotton. Mainly, however, economic independence was achieved by the total domination of the patriarchal yeoman over the labor of his children and wife.

Contradictions always abounded in the shifting re-

lationship between these independent yeoman and the planters in their neighborhood, who controlled a vastly disproportionate part of the community's wealth. Yeomen generally found it hard to resist the prerogatives of private property invoked by the planters, since their own considerable privileges rested precisely on these same claims as masters of small households. Evangelical religion, although offering a message of spiritual equality, inevitably reinforced the necessary subordination of both wives and slaves within the familiar ideology of the "household of God."

By 1860, according to McCurry, the planter aristocracy, having learned from previous mistakes in 1850–1851, managed to use both a transformed republican ideology and evangelical religion to persuade their yeoman fellow freemen that secession was the only means of confirming their masterly identity and property from impending outside attack. Politics at this point, she insists, had become only a broader focus of the culture wherein yeoman masters saw their position directly challenged by outside forces hostile to slavery. This persuasive explanation is given to the perennial question of why the majority of southern nonslaveholders sided with the planter aristocrats and eventually fought for the peculiar institution.

No one reading this fine book can fail to wish that more primary sources were available to analyze this elusive yeoman class, yet McCurry has used such sources as are available—census, court, and church records—with great skill and profit. The subtlety and texture of her interpretations offer a model for future studies of this class elsewhere in the antebellum South. Her analysis of the yeoman wife, also, offers an important new perspective to a field previously dominated by planter wives and daughters. Finally, her distinctions concerning the role of evangelical religion in buttressing existing patriarchal domination and limiting the power of women to define themselves offer striking contrast to the function of this presumably similar evangelical tide of faith in the North and Midwest during the same decades.

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RICHARD HOLCOMBE KILBOURNE, JR. *Debt, Investment, Slaves: Credit Relations in East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, 1825–1885*. Foreword by GAVIN WRIGHT. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 201. \$36.95.

This is a slender volume based on a limited selection of sources and dealing with a single parish in Louisiana. Nonetheless, it is a useful contribution to our understanding of the economic history of the antebellum South. Richard Holcombe Kilbourne, Jr., demonstrates that by the last two decades before the Civil War, a system of both long-term and short-term credit had emerged that was far more extensive than historians have previously recognized. It was based largely on financial instruments backed by slave property—"ac-



commodation notes" endorsed by wealthy planters and paper circulated by factors—and allowed the South to fund investment without heavy reliance on outside sources of capital. Kilbourne explores the legal nature of these instruments in some detail and demonstrates that credit was linked not so much to the value of the slaves themselves but to the income streams slaves produced.

Kilbourne also examines the postbellum period, but here his findings are less original. The collapse of credit across the South following the Civil War is well documented, although in the context of the extensive antebellum financial network he describes, it takes on new meaning. With the emancipation of the slaves, planters could secure loans only on the basis of land, which itself was significantly devalued, and the projected income from the growing crop. Crop "privileges" and "pledges" in Louisiana kept the staple-based economy afloat, but creditors were understandably now reluctant to make long-term advances. Regional economic development suffered accordingly.

One shortcoming of the treatment of the postbellum period is Kilbourne's apparent readiness to take slave-owners at their word when they complain of financial devastation. After describing the ruin of one particular clan, he observes, "So ended a story that in most respects typified the condition of formerly wealthy planter families . . ." (p. 123). In fact, as a number of studies have now demonstrated, large slaveholders proved adept at retaining their relative standing after the war. Yes, they were much less well-to-do than before. Almost everyone was. But they remained princes of the realm, even if the realm was severely diminished. In Concordia parish, to the north of East Feliciana parish, for example, eighty-four percent of all landed wealth in 1880 remained in the hands of those individuals who owned over 1,000 acres, and over half the elite traced its origins to the large slaveholding class. The credit ledgers of the R.G. Dun and Company Papers, housed at the Harvard Business School, would have helped Kilbourne here and would seem to be indispensable to anyone interested in the issues he addresses.

Kilbourne is a lawyer, not a professional historian. Whatever the lack of training in history might mean for his study, his background has clearly served him very well in sorting through complex legal issues related to credit. His book is, as I noted earlier, a worthwhile contribution to the field. Prospective readers should be forewarned, however; the prose can be heavy going. Kilbourne has sensibly provided a glossary of legal terms at the front of the text. Still, there are more than a few passages like the following: "Agreements of forfeiture were and are contra bonos mores (against good morals) in Louisiana; nevertheless, there are pledge agreements from the antebellum period in suit records that contain forfeiture provisions, permitting the pledgee to sell the security at public or private sale and obtain a deficiency judgment

against the debtor without recourse to judicially supervised collection proceedings" (p. 30).

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ERVIN L. JORDAN, JR. *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*. (A Nation Divided: New Studies in Civil War History.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1995. Pp. xv, 447.

This book underscores the current interest in blacks during the Civil War, especially by those who argue that slavery was not the cause of the conflict. Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., details the lives of free blacks and slaves in Civil War Virginia. While most blacks labored in Virginia's fields and factories, others became run-aways, contrabands, military laborers, body servants, laundresses, guards, and armed soldiers and spies for both the North and the South. Jordan paints a complex picture of black collaborators and resisters.

He investigates wartime black health, law, religion, education, sex, marriage, miscegenation, and race relations. Though Jordan blasts slavery as a "barbarously and unjustly . . . biased judicial system" (p. 180), he nonetheless concludes that "Black Confederate loyalty was more widespread than American history has acknowledged" (p. 216). Jordan argues that if called upon, "a constant supply of enthusiastic blacks" was ready to fill depleted Confederate ranks (p. 222). In the end, he insists, almost 180,000 black Virginians supplied "logistical support" for their state during the Civil War (p. 67).

Jordan's book raises many important questions and offers a wealth of fresh documentation. These are its major contributions, which historians will welcome. Unfortunately, his work also suffers from serious flaws that limit its credibility and importance.

First, it is less original than Jordan suggests. Scholars have long recognized the Confederacy's biracial dimensions. Many have chronicled the South's last-gasp decision to recruit blacks in the war's final days. Jordan misinterprets the few blacks recruited into Confederate units late in the war as "armed indigeneous allies" (p. 244).

Second, Jordan fails to subject his sources to careful contextual analysis—to scrutinize the "eyewitness accounts" that he argues document black armed "participation on the battlefields of Virginia for the Confederacy" (p. 222). He too readily defines Afro-Virginians as "soldiers" who performed a broad range of noncombatant roles. Most served in ancillary roles as cooks, blacksmiths, musicians, teamsters, body servants, and fatigue laborers. Cases where body servants fought or were mobilized for temporary local defense were rare. Jordan accepts stray accounts of black loyalty to the Confederacy at face value.

Third, Jordan's evidence often undermines his overall argument. For all his references to loyal slaves who protected their masters, he admits that "there were undoubtedly more blacks who preferred to assist

Unionists" (p. 228) and calls pro-Confederate blacks "a minority within a minority" (p. 229). Most slaves "understood that they had a better chance of gaining freedom, particularly if they behaved themselves and let events in the form of the Union Army advance their day of jubilee" (p. 260). "Although some" black Virginians "supported or spied for the Confederacy, the majority recognized that their assistance to Yankees would hasten the end of slavery" (p. 287).

Fourth, Jordan ignores major themes. He devotes too little attention, for instance, to how rank-and-file blacks responded to pro-Confederate blacks. He undervalues white fears of blacks with weapons. And he fails to explore sufficiently black Virginians' "inscrutable masks, watermelon smiles, and feigned indifference" (p. 21)—how they "resorted to combinations of guile and resistance to survive daily encounters with potentially hostile whites" (p. 136).

Fifth, Jordan clouds his narrative with jarring and illogical paragraphs that document different themes. Undigested anecdotes and hypotheses mar his book.

In sum, Jordan never satisfactorily squares slavery's indignities with his insistence that a minority of Virginia blacks loyally served "the cause."

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LAURENCE H. HAUPTMAN. *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War*. New York: Free Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 304. \$25.00.

When the Civil War intersected the "winning of the West" between 1861 and 1865, the American Indians who participated suffered great losses. Whether they fought for the Union or the Confederacy, lived in the North, South, or trans-Mississippi West, they were already a conquered people doomed to lose. Laurence M. Hauptman's new book offers a comprehensive, researched account of which Native Americans fought, why they did it, and how they fared.

In the West, Confederate Brigadier General Stand Watie, principal chief of one faction of the Cherokee, hated blacks and fought ruthlessly for the South (p. 50). An able cavalry officer and military tactician, his participation exacerbated a civil war among the Cherokee themselves. Five years after the war he died financially and emotionally bankrupt. Those Indians in the West who fought for the Union believed that the "Great White Father" would honor his land treaties. They were disappointed.

In the South, the Eastern Band of Cherokee benefited from the war. Four hundred of them fought with William Holland Thomas's Confederate Legion of Indians and Highlanders. A successful merchant and Whig politician, Thomas was a white man whom the North Carolina Cherokee had adopted when he was a boy. After he helped them escape removal to the West, they named him chief in 1839. Their well-placed trust of Thomas led them into the rebellion in the mountainous areas of North Carolina and Tennessee. After

the war, with the help of Thomas, they got their land and the right to remain in North Carolina. The Pamunkey and Lumbee Unionists, disgruntled at mistreatment by their white neighbors, served without reward as guerrillas and pilots for the Union. The Catawbas remained loyal to the Confederacy.

Those Indians in the North who aided the Union gained nothing for their efforts. Some Ottawa served as sharpshooters in the Army of the Potomac. A few Pequots blended into the Union's "colored" troops. Two Senecas, the brothers Isaac Newton and Ely Samuel Parker, became officers in the Union army. Despite Ely Samuel's association with Ulysses S. Grant after the war, he was unable to survive the scandals that ruined Grant's presidency.

Hauptman's primary contention that the Indians who fought on either side of the Civil War inevitably lost is beyond reproach. He fails to document convincingly his belief that their participation in the war made a difference in its outcome. He might have supported his sympathy for Native Americans with more detail about how they themselves felt. Despite their unhappy status as victims, many Indians did survive, adjust, and preserve their culture. Careful editing would have saved him and his publisher from embarrassing errors of punctuation, grammar, and spelling. As an intriguing tale of individuals and tribes who comprise a lost chapter in the Civil War, however, this book is worthy of readers.

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Mississippi State University

LEE KENNETT. *Marching through Georgia: The Story of Soldiers and Civilians during Sherman's Campaign*. New York: HarperCollins. 1995. Pp. x, 418. \$27.50.

After 130 years, the debate over the actions of Federal soldiers during General William T. Sherman's march through Georgia is as lively as ever. Sherman's defenders have been few, largely because denunciation of Sherman's "barbarism" derived as much sting from the accounts of northern troops as from the venom of outraged Georgians. Ultimately, most judged Sherman to be a brilliant, innovative general but found him culpable for a widespread breakdown in discipline.

In the 1930s, however, historians took a new look at Sherman's record. Influenced by World War I, they viewed his campaign as part of a new strategy, designed to terminate a horribly destructive war, thereby reducing rather than continuing devastation and death. Most of these studies were largely history written from the commander's perspective. Writers placed readers in Sherman's tent—sometimes in his mind—as the fog of battle tactics and campaign strategy unfurled in conveniently placed maps.

In recent years, historians have explored a new approach to military history, the one taken here by Lee Kennett. In Kennett's account, readers travel through Georgia with captains, sergeants, and common soldiers, recording their stories as they encounter south-

ern soldiers and civilians. Readers are on guard duty, in the trenches, on foraging details, on raids, in southern homes and slave cabins, hiding in the woods with fleeing whites, and protecting business establishments. Because responsibility for soldiers' actions is a critical part of the story, Sherman surfaces increasingly after the capture of Atlanta.

While Kennett's descriptions of the mobilization of society, the effect of the war on business, and the growth of big government in Georgia are well-written and imaginative, historians will be most interested in his answers to questions raised by Sherman's march: Why did Georgians refuse to follow the scorched-earth policy ordered by Governor Joseph E. Brown? What prompted southern males to flee, leaving their wives and daughters to confront Union troops? What was the actual level of destruction? Were Union soldiers truly vandals or were they just having "fun"? And, finally, how does one deal with the misinformation and falsehoods that permeate many accounts of this remarkable campaign?

Kennett's conclusions are based on impressive research in unpublished manuscripts, diaries, memoirs, and other archival material. Meticulous scrutiny of sources and skillful utilization of sociological and psychological theories convinced Kennett that claims of destruction, the most debated question, were exaggerated. The march to the sea, Kennett believes, did not differ in devastation from events in North Georgia or Federal actions in the Shenandoah Valley. Indeed, no metamorphosis among Sherman's troops occurred making them more violent and destructive; the vast majority were decent, God-fearing young men. Nevertheless, Kennett concludes, a significant number of Union troops engaged in vandalism during the march to the sea. Sherman's responsibility for all this is problematical. True, he gave vague, sometimes contradictory orders; true, he allowed discipline to deteriorate somewhat, but his actions proved inconsequential. Simply stated, Kennett believes that the nature of foraging provided Union soldiers an opportunity to vandalize. Along the line of march, acting as a group, soldiers, not Sherman decided whether or not a house burned.

Kennett's scholarship, and his willingness to raise and attempt to answer difficult questions, set a new standard for studies of Sherman's march; this book will not be soon superseded. It points the way toward new, in-depth studies of towns and counties that lay along Sherman's path. Kennett seems to believe, as does this reviewer, that while the entire story will remain unknown until we have those studies, when they appear they will reveal far less devastation than previously believed.

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ROBERT A. TAYLOR. *Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 219. \$29.95.

Recently, a number of works have addressed the economic limitations of the Confederacy and the battlefield impact of those weaknesses. Douglas Ball (*Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat* [1991]) has blamed southern monetary policy for the eventual collapse of the Confederacy, while Richard Bense (Yankee Leviathan [1990]) examined the problems the confederation of autonomous southern states faced in attempting centralized economic planning for war. Robert A. Taylor now provides a micro-level investigation of some of those same problems, discussing Florida's role in the Confederate economy.

Taylor sees Florida both as important to the "lost cause" and, at the same time, unable to meet the Confederacy's need for beef, pork, salt, and other supplies during the Civil War. Florida's exceptional production of salt, while continuing despite Union naval raids and incursions, was nevertheless hampered by constant attacks on plants. Florida produced so much salt for the Confederacy, in fact, that the natives "had to struggle to secure some of it for their own use" (p. 65). As federal forces expanded their coastal areas of control, Florida's agricultural base shrank further. Nevertheless, Taylor credits Floridians with maintaining the supply network and with providing foodstocks in substantial amounts until the end of the war. Lacking drovers, Florida beef producers "kept a considerable number of Confederate soldiers fed, albeit poorly, and therefore in the ranks" (p. 111).

Of particular interest are the actions of Florida Governor George Milton, who strove to support the Confederate military effort by encouraging domestic production but at the same time struggled to keep Florida's businessmen and farmers free from Confederate mandates and impositions. Although a "super-patriot" for the Confederacy who blew off his own head with a shotgun rather than face defeat, Milton willingly violated Confederate policies when he deemed it in the interest of his citizens. (In one instance, he redirected cattle headed for the front to a mental hospital that had gone for months without beef.) Overall, Taylor credits Florida's supply planning and the determination of Floridians for the success the state did achieve in provisioning the war effort.

Taylor also views the state's war production as important for tying up Union ships engaged in coastal patrol, blockading, and raiding. While he is essentially correct, it is also arguable that the Union Navy had little else to do, especially after the fall of the major Mississippi forts and the port city of Mobile. He details difficult deliveries of weapons and stores under constant harassment by the federals, as well as the losses to food production caused by weather, desertion, and corruption.

Nevertheless, what emerges is a picture of a committed population, directed by a protective governor, battling overwhelming odds. If this book had less comprehensive research behind it, one might think the story little more than a romance. But Taylor has incorporated the latest scholarship—which perhaps

could have been bolstered by a few mild doses of econometrics for emphasis—and tells an engaging tale. It tends to support recent interpretations suggesting that, regardless of the outcome on the battlefield, the Confederacy's central failure came on the farms and in the factories of the South.

LARRY SCHWEIKART  
University of Dayton

DONALD S. FRAZIER. *Blood and Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest*. (Texas A&M University Military History Series, number 41.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 361. \$29.95.

During the last three decades, a growing number of books have appeared, all long overdue, on various aspects of the Civil War west of the Mississippi River. Donald S. Frazier's, which focuses on Confederate efforts to create an empire by conquering the great American Southwest, is one of the most readable so far. Appropriately, Frazier took his title from a statement that H. H. Sibley, a disillusioned former champion of the ill-fated scheme, made in 1862 following the collapse of the Confederate invasion of New Mexico. "The Territory of New Mexico," he wrote, "is not worth a quarter of the blood and treasure expended in the conquest" (p. 268).

Although largely a synthesis of existing scholarship that tells a familiar story, Frazier's book explores the philosophies, motives, and emotions behind Southern imperialism as well as the conditions that gave birth to the Confederate dream of empire; the background and personalities of Sibley, John Baylor, and other architects of Southern expansion; and the military operations in the Confederate invasion of New Mexico and Arizona. It is the last, chronicled in ten of the thirteen chapters, that I find most interesting. With an eye on Confederate maneuvering in Arizona and elsewhere, Frazier effectively tells the story of the skirmishes at Val Verde, Apache Canyon, and Glorieta Pass and, in doing so, provides illuminating insights into the tactical blunders committed on both sides, the anxieties caused by marauding Apaches, nightmares created by a barren and perilous landscape, and the grinding attrition of men and animals in the throes of a hostile environment.

Frazier writes with a precise and breezy style that infuses excitement and pathos into the narrative. There are occasional miscues, such as his use of "affect" when he obviously means "effect" (pp. 31 and 78), but his frequent and skillful use of quotations from soldiers' letters, diaries, and postwar memoirs authenticates his assertions and keeps his story moving with clarity and balance. The text is interspersed with portrait photographs and excellent maps.

My only reservation about this solid work is Frazier's conclusion that "Sibley's failed adventure might have provided one of the few prospects for Southern independence" (p. 300). If independence were a prospect

at all, which I doubt, it was a mere shadow. Lincoln made it clear that there could be no peace without union, and certainly the North possessed both the determination (as long as Lincoln was president) and the resources to do what was necessary to disrupt Southern plans for separation. Even if the Richmond government could have provided enough men and supplies to conquer the great American Southwest and parts of Old Mexico, which is extremely unlikely, there is little historical evidence to support the author's speculation that slavery might have been revitalized, Pacific coastal ports "would have provided safe haven for Rebel shipping" (p. 299), California gold might have secured arms for the South on a cash-and-carry basis, and European recognition of the Confederacy could have become a reality. This optimistic scenario fails to take into account such factors as the growing effectiveness of the Union blockade, which could have been expanded as needed; the strength of the European aversion to slavery exploited so skillfully by the Emancipation Proclamation; the growing dissension within the Richmond government, aggravated by the inherent shortcomings of a Confederate democracy; the South's dwindling manpower and industrial insufficiencies; the ever-widening endemic destitution in the Confederate states east of the Mississippi River as a result of ravenous foraging operations and the North's escalating war on resources; and the convincing logic of the "natural limits" theory advocated by Daniel Webster and by modern scholars such as Charles Ramsdell and David Donald.

These interpretational issues, however, should not obscure the scholarly qualities of Frazier's work. The book is a thoughtful and competent contribution to the literature on the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi West.

B. P. GALLAWAY  
Abilene Christian University

TINSLEY E. YARBROUGH. *Judicial Enigma: The First Justice Harlan*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 280. \$30.00.

In 1970, a collection of scholars ranked John Marshall Harlan among the handful of "great" justices who had served to that time. As Tinsley E. Yarbrough recognizes, this exalted reputation rests squarely on the approval by later generations of Harlan's often impassioned dissents from the judgments of his day. Perhaps no judicial utterance of that era is so frequently quoted as Harlan's rebuke to the majority in *Plessy v. Ferguson*: "Our Constitution is color-blind," he thundered, "and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens . . . It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a state to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race" (163 U.S. 537, 559 [1896]).

These words inspired future Justice Thurgood Mar-



shall, who did more than anyone else to overthrow "separate but equal." Today, ironically, the same words are invoked by opponents of affirmative action to attack a constitutional regime that Marshall helped build. On both sides of the debate, the legacy of the first Justice Harlan lives on.

In this elegant book, Yarbrough examines Harlan's *Plessy* dissent, his equally eloquent denunciation of the *Civil Rights Cases* (which invalidated 1875 legislation guaranteeing equal access to public accommodations), and many other decisions. Yarbrough's chief focus, however, is not the legacy but the life. He resurrects John Marshall Harlan the man and recounts in generous detail his pre-Court history. Particularly good is Yarbrough's account of political circumstances of Harlan's rise to prominence.

The resulting portrait is not always pretty. As a young man, Harlan navigated his way through the political turbulence of Civil War Kentucky with stunning agility but little principle. He fought for the Union but left the army in 1863 to collect legal fees. He vehemently opposed the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment, supported George McClellan against Abraham Lincoln in the election of 1864, and argued against an 1866 federal statute giving blacks the right to testify in court. By 1868, however, it was clear which way the wind was blowing, and Harlan became a Republican. He represented that party in two unsuccessful campaigns for the governorship of Kentucky and established enduring patronage ties to the administrations of Ulysses Grant. At the Republican convention of 1876, Harlan nominated fellow Kentuckian Benjamin Bristow, but when it became clear that Bristow could not prevail against front-runner James G. Blaine, Harlan threw his support to Rutherford B. Hayes. The following year, President Hayes put Harlan on the Supreme Court.

Judicial office did not dull Harlan's interest in politics or curtail his eager pursuit of patronage appointments for friends and family. It did help insulate him from the importunings of his creditors, for, as Yarbrough reports, Harlan was "willing to take advantage of his situation" to avoid paying debts (p. 165). In this, as in most matters, Harlan was successful. Indeed, the only major disappointment of his later years seems to have been President William Howard Taft's refusal in 1910 to honor Harlan's quixotic desire, at age seventy-eight, to be named Chief Justice. He died one year later, widely lionized, after thirty-four years on the Supreme Court.

The "enigma" of Yarbrough's title arises from the uneasy fit between Harlan's life and the "moral example" that subsequent generations have found in his opinions (p. 229). By carefully disentangling the man from the myth, Yarbrough has resolved the mystery and reestablished the first Justice Harlan as a deeply interesting and important historical figure.

JOHN C. JEFFRIES, JR.  
University of Virginia

HAROLD D. WOODMAN. *New South-New Law: The Legal Foundations of Credit and Labor Relations in the Postbellum Agricultural South*. (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 124. \$25.00.

Planters typically have to borrow money to finance their activities, promising to repay out of the proceeds they receive when their crops are sold. Before the Civil War, factors—intermediaries between planters and wholesale purchasers—advanced funds because they trusted the planters to repay. The Civil War disrupted the social system—which modern economists might describe as a repeated game—that supported crop-financing. A legal infrastructure had to be developed.

Harold D. Woodman's provocative Fleming Lectures analyze the creation of that infrastructure, the crop lien system. Woodman's story is intriguing and important, filled with clearly presented social and legal detail. Woodman concludes that "politics, not the law, determined the manner in which problems finally got resolved" (p. 26).

The primary difficulty lawmakers faced was determining priorities among creditors. Tenants owed landlords and whoever else loaned them money for equipment and supplies. When a tenant borrowed from several sources and faced difficulty repaying, who got paid first? Modern economists would say that the law should make available all possible contractual arrangements among borrowers and creditors. Borrowers and creditors can choose whatever arrangement they find suitable given their particular preferences about allocating the risk of default.

Woodman describes how southern legislatures gradually worked their way to roughly that solution. Initially, some legislatures simply gave merchants priority over landlords. Eventually, legislatures developed a more complex system, generally giving landlords priority over merchants unless the parties made other contractual arrangements.

Woodman lucidly presents the legal economics of agricultural financing. He carefully explains, for example, how sharecropping differed from tenancy: tenants paid rent with the crop proceeds, letting landlords bear the risk of default, while sharecroppers were workers paid wages from those proceeds, which meant that they bore the risk of default.

Woodman's general argument is that "the crop lien laws . . . created a repressive labor system that gave property-owning landlords almost complete control of their workforce" (p. 93). This legal regime was "a free labor system . . . that in its essential features replicated that of the North" (p. 94). Woodman argues that "instead of being the inevitable result of forces or needs inherent in an evolving free labor system, the new law was the result of efforts to impose rules of the game based upon competing and often contradictory visions of what those rules should be" (p. 111).

Woodman faces a difficult task in attempting to

undermine evolutionary functionalism, the view that the legal regime gradually evolved to provide the best legal infrastructure. In his story, after all, the legal infrastructure ends precisely where a modern economist would prescribe. At some points, Woodman suggests that the legal regime itself generated the preferences tenants and landlords had. Had the legal infrastructure forced people to be landowners paying mortgages and barred them from being tenants paying rent, their preferences for allocating risk might have been different. If the legal regime generates preferences, evolutionary functionalism cannot account for any particular legal infrastructure. In this sense, politics determined the outcomes Woodman describes.

Woodman has substantially clarified the story of the legal infrastructure's development in postbellum southern agriculture. His arguments will surely provoke important elaborations.

MARK TUSHNET  
Georgetown University,  
Law Center

PATRICIA ANN PALMIERI. *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 381. \$35.00.

Historians of American women have been in the forefront of a major shift in the narrative of the history of higher education. They have explored the relation of schools to other key institutions in society such as the family or civic associations. They have recovered the history of the college, spurning the ruling paradigm that moved the story along a unilinear path from the denominational college to the research university. They have included the lives of students and faculty as important subjects of inquiry. Finally, they have insisted that women be included in the writing of the history of higher education and that gender be a critical category of analysis.

Patricia Ann Palmieri advances this fourfold enterprise in an excellent book that weaves collective biography and institutional history together to tell the remarkable story of the female faculty of Wellesley College. Palmieri focuses on the community of women—including Emily Balch, Katherine Lee Bates, Mary Calkins, Katherine Coman, and Vida Scudder—who found intellectual stimulation, companionship, and romantic love among their faculty colleagues and built an extraordinary college.

Although focusing on the professoriat of a specific college, Palmieri's narrative ranges widely. It is set solidly within the context of the intellectual debates of the larger culture and the specific discussions surrounding colleges and universities. It draws on the scholarship of higher education in all its aspects. It is based on Wellesley's rich college archives. After a finely wrought treatment of the early history of the college, based on primary sources, Palmieri turns to the long struggle of President Alice Freeman (later Palmer) to shape a modern liberal arts college out of

the hybrid institution founded by Henry Fowle Durant. Reshaped at the end of the nineteenth century by a housecleaning that put progressive faculty firmly in control, Wellesley entered its golden age in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Palmieri turns to the fifty-three women who dominated Wellesley, deftly etching a collective biography. Wonderful stories abound: many of these women had been favored daughters of intellectual fathers and mothers who pushed them to higher education and fostered their careers; as adults they found intimate companionship in "Wellesley marriages." Turning to the college careers of these women, Palmieri discusses their educational ideals, course offerings, and relation with students. An especially valuable contribution of the book is the line of influence it traces from individual teachers to the students they mentored. Palmieri makes clear that Wellesley was no conservative, imitative bastion but rather an innovative and intellectually exciting institution far in advance of many universities in science and literature and light years away in its incorporation of women into the curriculum.

Despite the careful research and intelligence that underlies this book and its skillful narrative and analysis, some elements call for reconsideration. At times a less celebratory tone seems appropriate: more balance and less praise for personal and collective experience are needed in the depiction of complex human lives that included jealousy and competition as well as mutual support. The final section of the book on the interactions of the faculty with successive student cultures needs more nuance and less bold declaration. As with some works long in gestation, newer scholarship, though always acknowledged, is not always integrated into core chapters.

These are minor detractions from a book that makes a lasting contribution to the history of women and higher education. Palmieri's narrative lets in the social and intellectual world outside college gates, focuses on the college in the era of the university, and recreates the lives and contributions of a singular faculty and student body. In so doing, it recovers the innovative community of women that shaped an important women's college.

HELEN LEFKOWITZ HOROWITZ  
Smith College

GILLIS J. HARP. *Positivist Republic: Auguste Comte and the Reconstruction of American Liberalism, 1865–1920*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 244. \$29.95.

Historians of American thought have traditionally assigned Comtean Positivism a place on the periphery of European intellectual influence on America, crowded to the margins by Darwinian postulates seemingly more appealing to an entrepreneurial people. Except for its impact on a small group of Gilded Age intellectuals, Auguste Comte's massive synthesis has been dismissed as, on the one hand, too Catholic,

sacramental, and mystical and, on the other, as too elitist, hierarchical, and bureaucratic. In his new book, Gillis J. Harp challenges this dismissal as too easy and argues the case for taking the French philosopher seriously as a significant source of American Progressivism. If he does not entirely succeed in overturning the conventional judgment, Harp manages to tell a much more complicated and engaging story of the transatlantic passage of ideas than the received version.

Necessarily Harp concentrates on a few key figures: Henry C. Edger, the English proselytizer of orthodox Positivism and founder of a mid-century New York cult; David Croly, father of the better known Herbert Croly and a tough-minded convert of Edger's; revisionist Thaddeus B. Wakeman and adapter Lester Frank Ward; the turn-of-the-century sociologists Albion Small and Edward A. Ross; and the Progressive publicist Herbert Croly. Each of these critics and would-be reformers of American society in an age of mounting unbelief provided variants of Comte's protean philosophy. Edger and David Croly and their upper-class coterie of New Yorkers preached and practiced a quasi-Roman ritual, refused to countenance dissent, and insisted on strict subordination. Their authoritarian dream of integrating corporate capitalism and interventionist state made no lasting contribution to serious social analysis. It was left to the more liberally inclined interpreters of Positivism like Wakeman and Ward to select and adapt aspects of the master's system to their own more liberal purposes. Both abandoned most of Comte's strictures for programs for the "scientific" education of Americans in limited democratic participation and acquiescence in management from the top. The Progressive sociologists Small and Ross carried forward this legacy of tension between elitist and democratic impulses, finally coming down on the side of order and social control. Formerly, Ross explained, Americans could reject leadership and champion self-reliance. "But when population thickens, interests clash, and the difficult problems of mutual adjustment become pressing, it is foolish and dangerous not to follow the leadership of superior men" (p. 176). This was essentially Herbert Croly's message as well in *The Promise of American Life*, which completed the process of Americanizing and historicizing the remnants of the Positivist tradition.

Harp scrutinizes the contributions of these several thinkers carefully and discerns in all of their work unresolved tensions and troubling contradictions as liberal and conservative motives clashed. He also traces the waning appeal of the grand synthesis in a new age of pluralism and pragmatism as "science" acquires confounding relativism and indeterminacy. The path of Comtean influence runs downhill into the new century as these few contributors to a weakened body of thought, having qualified, corrected, or abandoned most of the master's instructions, strike out in different directions. Thus Harp's conclusion that "the

liberalism that merged in the early twentieth century . . . clearly owed much to Comtean thought" (p. 214) remains ultimately unconvincing. As historians of Progressivism have noted for some time, the movement's intellectual reach was wide and its participants many and varied: legal reformers and labor leaders, socialists as well as businessmen, homegrown small-group advocates together with corporate managers. Somewhere on this ground of contention we call Progressivism stands the Comtean legacy, but nearer the edges, perhaps, than Harp would have it.

JOHN L. THOMAS  
Brown University

PAUL JEROME CROCE. *Science and Religion in the Era of William James*. Volume 1, *Eclipse of Certainty, 1820–1880*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 350. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$17.95.

William James has exerted a powerful influence on students of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this first of a two-volume study, Paul Jerome Croce places the young James at the center of a group of intellectuals grappling with the questions of certainty and uncertainty in science and religion during the late nineteenth century. In spite of James's centrality, this is not a biography but rather a study of the men and ideas influential to James's developing conviction that he must find a way to live with uncertainty. Croce defers a detailed discussion of James's mature positions to a second volume.

The popular scientific positivism of the mid-nineteenth century notwithstanding, Croce argues that uncertainty—the belief that absolute certainty was impossible—emerged as a corrosive thread in the thought of a group of influential thinkers associated with Harvard. The publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 hastened this development by challenging religious orthodoxy and epitomizing "a sea change away from the assumption that scientific research can provide certainty and toward a brand of science that found plausible, persuasive explanations as patterns in the midst of indeterminate events" (p. 88). Croce traces the ways in which uncertainty in science as well as in religion came to be accepted, grudgingly or willingly, by the scientists and intellectuals James encountered when he took up medical studies at Harvard. Asa Gray, Jeffries Wyman, Chauncey Wright, and Charles Sanders Peirce all moved away from their belief in certainty under the influence of Darwin's probabilistic argumentation.

In Croce's narrative, William James appears as a young man very much under the influence of his religiously dogmatic and idiosyncratic father. Henry James, Sr., sought to inculcate in his son the religious conviction he felt following a Swedenborgian revelation. Unpersuaded by his father's faith, the younger James was equally unpersuaded by the confident scientific certainty of his teacher, Louis Agassiz. James's turn toward uncertainty crystallized in the discussions



of the Metaphysical Club in Cambridge during the 1870s. Here, in debate with Wright, Peirce, and others, James gradually became convinced of the impossibility of establishing absolute certainty for any belief, religious or scientific. Croce takes his narrative to the point where James can articulate the question: how do we live in a world in which absolute certainty is impossible?

This book has many strengths. Croce provides clear and accessible expositions of the intellectuals' positions and their struggles with uncertainty. He convincingly demonstrates that for these men certainty in science and religion was deeply felt and only reluctantly abandoned. Croce suggests that James proved to be the most radical on this issue. Wright was agnostic on religious belief, but he never seriously questioned scientific certainty. Peirce's emphasis on a self-correcting science promised at least a near approach to certainty. Only James proved willing to abandon certainty altogether.

This book presents a plausible and persuasive argument for the corrosive effect of Darwinian probabilistic science on American thought. William James plays a relatively minor role; the emphasis is on the context in which he came to intellectual maturity. This is the book's weakness: Croce presents the era of William James largely without William James. Nonetheless, scholars interested in the late nineteenth-century intellectual nexus of science, religion, and philosophy can learn much from Croce's stimulating volume. I look forward to volume two, when William James takes center stage.

DANIEL J. WILSON  
Muhlenberg College

GERMAINE M. REED. *Crusading for Chemistry: The Professional Career of Charles Holmes Herty*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. Forest History Society. Durham, N.C. 1995. Pp. xiii, 474. \$45.00.

Where should the line be drawn separating individuals meriting a full-length biography from the plain folks who are inevitably relegated to historical oblivion? At first glance, one might conclude that Germaine M. Reed's new book is one of those works that crossed the line when it should not have, for chemist Charles Holmes Herty (1867–1931) discovered no new scientific laws or phenomena and added precious little to the body of pure chemical knowledge. Rather, Herty by his own choice pursued for the most part a public career that took him well beyond his southern rural origins to New York City and successive positions of leadership within the American Chemical Society, the Chemical Foundation, trade associations, and the business community. Ironically, perhaps, this highly visible career path undoubtedly rendered him largely invisible to several generations of historians of chemistry.

But historians of science have become more fascinated with the individuals once thought of as peripheral to the core development of a discipline, and

Reed's work correctly rectifies initial scholarly neglect. We learn that Herty's professional career encompassed such achievements as developing the cup and gutter collection method integral to the twentieth-century southern naval stores industry; providing strong executive leadership within the American Chemical Society during the critical years immediately prior to World War I; participating in the genesis of an independent American dye and organic chemical industry after the appropriation of German patents in 1917; incessantly advocating more scientific research; and, finally, pressing forward during years that could have been devoted to retirement with the dream of establishing a southern newsprint business, despite a host of critics who said it couldn't be done.

In this work, contextual evidence often provides clues necessary to examining the inner Herty. Indeed, from the very beginning of this biography to its conclusion, Reed excels at placing the subject within institutional contexts and environments that take the reader full circle from Herty's early years in Milledgeville, Georgia, to his final working days in Savannah, with intermediate stops in Athens (Georgia), Baltimore, Chapel Hill, and New York. Although Herty is always the focus, we learn much along the way about the studying and teaching of chemistry at turn-of-the-century southern universities; the dynamics and tensions associated with the American Chemical Society; the politics of the post-World War I American chemical industry, including complications brought about by German influence; and the enhanced place of chemistry and chemists in a culture that was becoming more reliant upon science-based industry at the expense of proto-industrial rule-of-thumb manufacturers.

But despite this most thorough study, based on extensive primary sources supplemented by numerous relevant secondary materials, Herty remains somewhat of an enigma. For of all the institutional contexts in which he was placed, this reader never really developed a feel for his relationship to those he should have been closest to, namely his family. This shortcoming prevented me from getting inside the subject and sensing Herty's frustrations, hopes, motives, and emotions. In short, the professional side of Herty swamped the personal, intimate side, and thus something was lost in the biographical account.

Nevertheless, Reed has written a first-rate historical study that does much to characterize not only one "big" man but also his professional community. Opening new areas to those working in both the history of the New South and the history of chemistry, it is a fine example of contemporary interdisciplinary scholarship.

JOHN A. HEITMANN  
University of Dayton

DAVID J. LANGUM. *Crossing Over the Line: Legislating Morality and the Mann Act*. (The Chicago Series in Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 311. \$24.95.



David J. Langum describes the unintended consequences of the Mann White Slave Traffic Act, a coercive law intended to enforce morality. He shows how the Mann Act, passed in 1910, has been used and could still be used by the Department of Justice to harass and prosecute individuals for a myriad of reasons that have nothing to do with the intent of the law. By citing actual cases, court decisions, and Department of Justice policies, Langum proves that attempts to legislate morality will inevitably fail to accomplish that goal. Instead, such attempts violate the basic premises of liberty and justice in a democratic nation by giving government the power to use the law to punish people who do not conform to expected behavior.

The Mann Act was passed during the Progressive era, a time of anxiety over perceived moral decay supposedly caused by immigration, urbanization, and changes in the role of women. The Progressives viewed prostitution as the most visible evidence of moral decay and proposed legislation to eliminate it by forcing people to conform to their moral values. The Mann Act, intended to protect innocent women from unscrupulous men, made it illegal to take a woman across a state line for prostitution or any other immoral purpose.

The unintended consequences of the law soon became evident. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, under J. Edgar Hoover, became an aggressive law enforcement agency in the regulation of sexual morality. Information about the sexual behavior of individuals gave Hoover enormous political power. Department of Justice policies and federal court decisions expanded the purpose of the Mann Act to cover noncommercial sexual behavior between consenting adults, which in turn led to blackmail and extortion, to the prosecution of individuals targeted by the government, and to the intimidation and incarceration of many women. The wife of Frank Lloyd Wright was able to extort a favorable divorce settlement. The government used the Mann Act to prosecute Charlie Chaplin, the actor, because of his political beliefs, and Jack Johnson, the successful black boxer, because he dated and married a white woman. Many women were intimidated and threatened with prosecution if they did not testify against men involved in consenting sexual relations, and twenty-three percent of women incarcerated in the federal prison for women at Alderson from 1927 to 1937 for violation of the Mann Act had been involved in noncommercial, consenting activities, not prostitution.

Langum describes the social, political, and emotional context in which the law was passed. He discusses many court decisions, including those of the U.S. Supreme Court, and many policy statements from the Department of Justice showing the extraordinary amount of time, energy, and money spent on enforcing a coercive law meant to make people good according to one group's definition of morality. He also explores how the law enforcers abused their power and harmed

people. Despite the unintended consequences of the Mann Act, Langum argues that politicians, fearing that they would appear to condone immoral behavior, have been too cowardly to repeal it.

This is an important book, for it illustrates the consequences of a coercive law passed during a period of moral panic, a law that imposes on all in a free democratic society the moral beliefs of a particular group. In our present period of profound anxiety over the social evils supposedly associated with immigration, urban crime, and the struggle of women for equality of opportunity and for the right to control their bodies, some moralists are demanding coercive legislation and constitutional amendments to impose their values on everyone. As Langum points out, such laws not only increase the power of the government over all its citizens but also lead, perhaps inevitably, to selective enforcement against certain groups of people.

This thought-provoking book should be read by everyone.

CLARICE FEINMAN  
Trenton State College

KENNETH M. MURCHISON. *Federal Criminal Law Doctrines: The Forgotten Influence of National Prohibition*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 279. \$42.95.

In recent years, some legal historians have rediscovered doctrinal history, the progression and change in formal legal doctrine enunciated by appellate courts, particularly the United States Supreme Court. But there is a difference. Whereas in earlier times, legal historians tended to see change in doctrine as the unfolding of the internal logic of earlier precedent and the legal system itself, the newer doctrinalists are open to the teachings of the legal realists. Accordingly, the new doctrinal history is apt to view change in formal law as largely, but not entirely, the product of events and tendencies dehors the law itself. This book is an excellent example of the newer doctrinal history.

Kenneth M. Murchison contends that experiences under national prohibition had a very great impact on the development of federal criminal law, particularly in the areas of the entrapment defense, search and seizure, double jeopardy and the development of the dual sovereign exception, property forfeitures, and jury trials. Many of the doctrines developed in the crucible of prohibition remain with us today.

Murchison further contends that there was a periodization of public opinion concerning prohibition. The first half of the 1920s saw great public enthusiasm for the noble experiment; the second half of the 1920s, incipient doubts and actual criticism of enforcement techniques; and the 1930s, outright and widespread hostility to prohibition. These shifts in public opinion were rather precisely mirrored in changes in the tone, temper, and disposition of prohibition cases decided by the United States Supreme Court. Whereas in the

first period, the Court was broadly deferential and supportive of law enforcement's concerns for prohibition enforcement, the middle period saw increased judicial concern over abuse, particularly where law enforcement had ensnared petty, noncommercial violators. By the 1930s, the pattern of the Court's decisions, while not overtly opposed to prohibition, tended toward that position.

Murchison is no reductionist, and he deftly folds other causative factors into the Court's doctrinal development of prohibition cases, including institutional concerns, anxiety that doctrine developed for prohibition might have a spillover effect in other substantive areas, and the conservative nature of the judicial process itself—the "taught tradition of law," as Roscoe Pound put it. Nevertheless, and in an argument far too detailed to replicate here, Murchison convincingly demonstrates, by relating the triple shift in public opinion to a triple shift in Supreme Court decisional pattern, that there is a correlation between the two. He considers carefully and rules out other factors—such as retirements, new appointments, and new analytic approaches—that could account for the change, and he therefore pronounces the correlation as causative. Nevertheless, it was not a matter of "conscious subversion" by the Court to public opinion but a demonstration that legal principles "are shaped by the realities of historical circumstance" (pp. 45–46), including the "external stimulant" of the "changing public attitude toward prohibition enforcement" (p. 103).

This study is doctrinal history and therefore will be of more interest to legal historians than generalists, although a general historian could absorb a great deal from it. Legal historians should read it. Murchison has done an excellent job of examining a welter of cases with sensitivity and an eye for placing them in context.

Close examination of case law is not available to help explain every change in law. For some shifts there is only a critical case or two, or sometimes a statute alone constitutes the change. But where there is a series of cases to be examined, doctrinal analysis forces a discipline on the legal historian. It is one thing to baldly assert that this or that economic or social development "caused" legal change. It is quite another to demonstrate this change in great detail in the fabric of dozens of cases evolving over time. Murchison shows the possibilities of doctrinal analysis.

DAVID J. LANGUM  
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GREGORY LEE THOMPSON. *The Passenger Train in the Motor Age: California's Rail and Bus Industries, 1910–1941*. (Historical Perspectives on Business Enterprise Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 247. \$42.50.

Business historian Gregory Lee Thompson has written a deeply researched history of competing modes of travel in California. He relies especially on the records

of state and federal regulatory agencies, a valuable source because the adversarial process in rate hearings assures a more accurate picture than the internal corporate records he also uses. Thompson argues that the railroads lost business in the 1920s largely because their corporate culture led executives to adopt faulty cost-accounting techniques.

Thompson points out that the executives, themselves largely upper or upper-middle-class commuters, preferred large, streamlined, intercity trains with palatial terminals, seeking to attract a luxury market. Meanwhile, bus companies cut costs and prices and emphasized local service. The latter was a winning strategy, Thompson argues, because well-to-do drivers were increasingly switching their long-distance travel to private cars and, by the late 1930s, to airplanes. Accounting problems involving an inappropriate allocation of costs deceived managers about the true profitability of long-distance passenger service. Executives allocated too small a portion of fixed costs to passenger travel. Moreover, the railroads never really came to grips with the issue of depreciation. Thompson more than adequately documents these defects of corporate culture and accounting.

Thompson also convincingly demolishes the theory—popularized by Roger Zemeckis's film, *Who Framed Roger Rabbit* (1988)—that General Motors conspired to destroy rail transportation. Before 1934, Pacific Greyhound purchased only one-third of its buses from General Motors, and by then the decline of rail service was well underway. By 1935, the Santa Fe Railroad was abandoning lines and replacing them with less costly bus service.

Thompson concludes with the counterfactual argument that a management strategy based on cutting costs and prices, like that pursued by the emerging Trailways and Greyhound buslines, would have saved railroad passenger service. This is hard to buy. The railroads suffered from an enormous legacy of mismanagement, especially poor route planning and construction. It is hard to believe that better accounting could have staved off the assaults by new technologies like the bus, private cars, and the airplane. This is the equivalent of arguing that the Vietnam War was winnable with an appropriate strategy. It ignores a long historical background and it assumes that the other carriers were not flexible enough to respond to a new strategy by railroads. Passenger trains were likely an obsolescent technology. Thompson also points out that long-distance passenger travel has flourished in Europe as an example of a possible alternative. The example is enticing, but European railroads have long had government subsidies and operate in an environment where cars consume much more of a family's budget. The European analogy cannot be used without much more precise comparison grounded in a close financial analysis.

The failure to sustain his central thesis notwithstanding, Thompson has made a valuable contribution to transportation history. The materials on the rise of

the long-distance bus industry are especially valuable. His discussion of managerial cultures is superb.

CLAY McSHANE  
Northeastern University

DAVID G. GUTIÉRREZ. *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 320. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$15.00.

With the recent passage of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 and Governor Pete Wilson's frightful scapegoating of undocumented residents, Mexican immigration has once again received national exposure. Wilson's xenophobic appeal appears to strike a new political chord, but such tactics have their antecedents in the West. As David G. Gutiérrez demonstrates in this study, xenophobia and nativism are not new to California or other parts of the West.

In his first two chapters, Gutiérrez documents the difficulties that Americans of Mexican descent experienced when seeking political incorporation and social equality in the territories conquered by the United States in the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Anglo-Americans impeded the full participation of *Tejanos* and *Californios* in the political process. To the conquerors, Mexican Americans were a people at odds with American values and culture. Anglo-Americans failed to see, however, that Mexican Americans were no less loyal to their adopted country simply because they maintained their cultural traditions and expressed affection for Mexico.

A major concern for Gutiérrez is the historical love/hate relationship that evolved over time between U.S.-born Mexican Americans and immigrants. The social and political distinctions between these two groups intensified in the four decades before the Great Depression. These differences were driven by fierce competition for scarce jobs, housing, and education. Gutiérrez suggests that this competition would not have existed had there been equal access to social and economic opportunities for Mexican-American citizens.

Immigration attitudes and policy do not exist in a vacuum. Gutiérrez demonstrates convincingly how Mexican-American community leaders and activists during the years between the Great Depression and advent of the Cold War played a significant role in the political shifts associated with immigration policies. Beginning in the late 1930s, Mexican-American leaders stopped blaming immigrants for their shortcomings and began to develop strategies to protect recent immigrants from abuse. Gutiérrez argues that linking the plight of Mexican (and other Spanish-speaking) immigrant workers to Mexican Americans' own ongoing struggle to gain equal rights as American citizens broke important new ground in public discourse on the

status and potential modes of incorporation of the nation's immigrant and ethnic minorities (p. 115).

Gutiérrez provides an excellent discussion of the Bracero program that merits review by scholars interested in the economic and political transformation of the West. For years, western farmers sought Bracero labor (Mexicans brought over the border on temporary work permits) as a way to lower labor costs. World War II allowed the introduction of such laborers on a wartime emergency basis, but the program continued well beyond the years of this national crisis. By subsidizing low wages, the federal government undercut the employment opportunities of Mexican Americans who had traditionally worked in agriculture. Tensions grew as Mexican-American leaders voiced strong opposition to the repeated renewal of the Bracero program.

The opposition by Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers and other Mexican-American organizations to the exploitation of Mexican immigrant workers eventually led to the demise of the Bracero program. On the advice of Mexican-American leaders, Lyndon Johnson refused to renew it in 1964. Gutiérrez's account provides new insights into the internal battles fought over the program and the balancing act of Mexican-American leaders not to sound too strong an anti-immigrant or anti-Mexican chord.

The Mexican-American community never spoke with one voice, and the political differences expressed by various leaders demonstrate the political and social conflicts of the post World War II era. Earlier political studies have emphasized how the U.S. Congress and Anglo-American leaders shaped the debate on Mexican immigration, but Gutiérrez looks within the Mexican-American community to determine their attitudes, reflections, and shifts in political stance over immigration policies.

Gutiérrez's book is well crafted, and its shortcomings are few. One minor criticism would be his treatment of the process through which Texas-Mexicans were incorporated into the Union. Texas-Mexicans did not become Americans with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 but earlier, when Texas joined the United States in 1845. Moreover, *Tejanos* were not citizens of Mexico in 1845, or in 1848 for that matter, but rather citizens of the Republic of Texas, which had incorporated them in 1836.

In scope and depth, this work is a model for an immigrant community's history. Gutiérrez forces us to rethink how the politics of immigration has been shaped regionally over the past century and the role played by the West in the national debate.

RICARDO ROMO  
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Austin

PHILIP J. MELLINGER. *Race and Labor in Western Copper: The Fight for Equality, 1896-1918*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 269. \$40.00.

This work examines labor relations in the copper mines and smelters of the states of Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah and the city of El Paso in the period set out in its subtitle. Through studying the more important work stoppages initiated by spontaneous worker groups, benevolent societies, and unions, Philip J. Mellinger proposes that three major factors contributed to labor's inability until late in the period to gain meaningful concessions from the large corporations which controlled the industry.

First and foremost was the ethnic make-up of the work force, which he demonstrates was much more complex and diverse than it has usually been described. As an example, he points out that the majority Hispanic contingent included Mexican Americans, Mexicans, Spanish Americans, and Spanish immigrants. Many divisions existed among the dozen or so ethnic groups, which management skillfully enhanced and manipulated through housing, job assignments, and wages.

A second factor was the exceptional mobility of the work force in these isolated desert communities where almost no alternative employment existed outside the industry. Based on examinations of company payroll records, census data, and local tax rolls, Mellinger concludes that prior to 1910 most copper workers moved elsewhere in a couple of years. Even later, the average stay on one job was seldom more than five years.

According to Mellinger, these two conditions contributed mightily to the third. Two national unions sought off and on to organize Southwestern Copper, the Western Federations of Miners, and, after 1905, the International Workers of the World. Both publicly supported the organization of all workers, but until 1912, both debated internally about the best strategy to follow in copper. Would it not be best to focus on the more privileged and permanent Anglo-Irish miners to gain a foothold or should they remain true to their proclaimed principles and include all the diverse and mobile ethnic workers? This ambivalence, Mellinger holds, retarded union success until policies of inclusion won out in both unions and among the workers themselves.

Another major theme of the book is that as limited as were the victories of the copper workers, over time, a growing workplace cooperation among the various ethnic groups led to a decline in social divisions in the mining communities as well. The evidence in support of this is not totally persuasive and even Mellinger admits that the copper communities were still mostly segregated into ethnic enclaves after World War I.

This work is built on a great deal of research in the rather limited available materials as well as a thorough use of the work of others who have addressed ethnicity and the workplace. In an attempt to place his findings within the context of this growing literature, Mellinger often interrupts his narrative with long discourses on the historiographic issues this literature has raised. This disconcerting practice is illustrative of a funda-

mental weakness in the book—a lack of overall organizational structure. In his desire to prove his theses, Mellinger moves from one episode to another without giving much guidance on how labor relations in Southwestern Copper developed over time.

This was a promising manuscript calling for the sharp eye and heavy hand of an editor. It did not get them. The book is marred by faulty sentences, careless citations, and speculation without documentation. What is one to make of a statement (without citation) like this: "Some of the working people who took trains out of El Paso in mid-1913 may have detrained at the Arizona mining camps at which labor conflict next erupted. Perhaps this was the way in which labor consciousness spread" (p. 138). The University of Arizona Press did not serve Mellinger or other historians well.

JAMES V. REESE

Stephen F. Austin State University

LESTER D. LANGLEY and THOMAS SCHOONOVER. *The Banana Men: American Mercenaries and Entrepreneurs in Central America, 1880–1930*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. 219. \$29.95.

Lester D. Langley and Thomas Schoonover have combined to tell the story of U.S. imperialism from 1880 to 1930, a time that saw American entrepreneurs, politicians, and mercenaries go to Central America to modernize its economy, its political culture, and its social values and to leave a bitter legacy that played itself out in the violence that swept across the isthmus in the 1980s.

Schoonover sets the tone with his description of a world in which the "banana men" operated. His "world systems" approach places the United States among the industrial powers that competed for markets, raw materials, and investment opportunities in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Central America, U.S. entrepreneurs found liberal political leaders anxious to imitate the more advanced societies of the northern hemisphere without sacrificing their own political position and wealth. Theirs became a marriage of mutual convenience that resulted in the exploitation of Central America. Following the construction of the Panama Canal, the United States government joined the intrigue in its search for Central American political stability.

Amidst this ambience, the banana men and mercenaries—Samuel Zemurray, Minor Keith, the Vaccaro brothers, Washington Valentine, and Lee Christmas—came to seek fortunes and influence politics. Langley focuses attention on United States policy in Nicaragua and the individual exploits of Zemurray and Christmas. In Nicaragua, the United States sought political order by supporting the Conservative Party. Zemurray, popularly known as "the banana man," plotted to build an empire in Honduras, with Christmas as his mercenary accomplice. Later, in Guatemala, Zemurray molded the United Fruit Company into an indomitable



force. In both instances, while the ruling elites maintained their grasp on political power and social dominance at the expense of other groups, their countries were raped of economic wealth.

In the early twentieth century, Washington's policy makers wanted to "restore" order, to make the region "safe for democracy," and to safeguard "national interests." When the established order was challenged in Guatemala in 1954 and across the isthmus in the 1980s, Washington policy makers again used the same rhetoric, and just as the private entrepreneurs and mercenaries made their way to the isthmus in the early twentieth century, the United States found its mercenaries in the "armies" of Castillo Armas and the Contras. Langley and Schoonover conclude that Washington again did little more than further entrench the old order.

While the bibliographical essay is useful, but brief, the chapter endnotes are a rich blend of primary and secondary sources that add credibility to this provocative volume.

THOMAS M. LEONARD  
University of North Florida

CARL SMITH. *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 395. \$35.00.

Carl Smith's book reconsiders the Chicago fire of 1871, the Haymarket riot of 1886, and the Pullman strike of 1894. He examines the "imaginative dimension," by which he means "the context of thought and expression which suffuses individual and social life" (p. 1.). Smith offers a cultural study of "how Americans discussed the disorderly in relation to the development of an understanding of the meaning of modernity" (p. 1). This book ends with the notion that "urban disorder, whose central theme is the breaking of imaginative frames, has in many ways become the frame itself" (p. 279).

The book is divided into three parts: "Fire," "Bomb," and "Strike." In each, Smith takes both text and pictures as the source of civil memory, the contemporary understanding of both "the city in disorder" and "the disorderly city" (p. 1). The fire serves as the first of three cataclysms. It burned homes and churches, warehouses and factories; it evoked images of rape, pillage, and terror. Neither Mrs. O'Leary (or her cow) nor the city's communists were guilty of arson, but someone had to be responsible. Military occupation, public relief, and municipal reform concealed xenophobia and paranoia. And popular discourse, especially a series of instant books, proves fascinating here: "The most terrible reality of the fire was that the unspeakable and the indescribable had happened, furnishing a vocabulary and a conceptual framework for a troubled future" (p. 98).

The fire had scorched a commercial city, the Haymarket bomb exploded in an industrial city. The

anarchists exploited existing fears and recent memories of disorder; their newspapers, parades, slogans, and words were designed to that end. The anarchists were hung, "because both cities and dynamite existed, and taken together, this was frightening" (p. 126). The key words for understanding the Haymarket trial were "foreign," "manly," and "natural" (p. 147). Accused and accusers both used these keywords, but they meant very different things to each. Smith's explication is immensely useful.

The third part considers the model town of Pullman and the Pullman strike. The palace-car prince fled the city and built his company town outside the city limits, where he could impose his own order. He owned the shops, rail lines, and cars; he also owned the homes, church, and theaters. George Pullman never saw the contradictions between individualism and corporatism, between democracy and capitalism, but many of his employees did. In 1894 they struck the company, the railroads, and the postal system. Martial law restored order. Another trial, less dramatic, but just as perfunctory, ensued.

Chicagoans used a vocabulary of war to make sense of the fire. They linked Haymarket to the memory of the fire, and many linked the strike to the riot. Civic memory, the memory of disorder, shaped belief. Throughout this sustained argument, Smith concentrates on three voices: "a Protestant evangelical outlook," "the voice of liberal education and worldly refinement," and a voice he characterizes as "professional, bureaucratic, and protoprogressive" (p. 13). In a city, however, that was seventy-five percent foreign born or of foreign stock, where Catholics outnumbered Protestants at least two to one, and in which class relations shaped industrial, residential, religious, and recreational developments, there were other voices. And most spoke in languages other than English. Their perceptions and memories of disorder might also be important.

If Chicago later became "the city that works," Smith's central argument that disorder, not order, became the framework for understanding the city remains historically ironic. Smith has usefully linked these three catastrophes. The book is crammed with insights and the argument is both nuanced and wonderfully researched. I recommend it not just to Chicago readers but to urban historians.

BRUCE C. NELSON  
Des Plaines, Illinois

HENRY M. MCKIVEN, JR. *Iron and Steel: Class, Race, and Community in Birmingham, Alabama, 1875-1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 223. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.95.

This book has genuine strengths. The research is strong, and the argument is basically plausible, yet it leaves the reader with the uneasy sense that the real situation was more complex. Henry M. McKiven, Jr., contends that the labor movement in Birmingham's

critical iron and steel industry was racist from its inception: "White skilled workers believed that their social and economic interests were inextricably linked to the maintenance of a rigid caste system" (p. 4). Union men wanted to prevent the emergence of skilled black labor, rightly fearing that such workers would be used to undermine their own authority, wage levels, and working conditions. Organized workers' authority on the shop floor thus "included the right to protect themselves against potential violations of the racial division of work" (p. 4). McKiven criticizes those who stress employers' manipulation of racism; such tactics aside, skilled iron workers saw black exclusion as desirable. By the turn of the century, mechanization was undermining skill levels and forcing union leaders to change their policies, but white union members made only a grudging accommodation to the influx of semi-skilled black workers.

The point goes beyond the workplace. McKiven exhaustively explores data on the structure of black and white households in urban Birmingham, underscoring the significant contrasts that reinforced racial preferences: "Away from work white skilled workers sought to build lives in accord with the status conferred by their work and their race" (p. 55). Residential segregation thus flowed naturally from workplace racial discrimination.

McKiven's general approach is consistent with a substantial body of historical writing, including the work of Herbert Hill, Alexander Saxton, and David Roediger. In particular, Robert Norrell's article on subsequent developments in Birmingham reaches compatible conclusions (Robert J. Norrell, "Caste in Steel: Jim Crow Careers in Birmingham," *Journal of American History* [Fall 1986]: 669-94). Still, one wonders if McKiven does not push the point too far. For example, he explicitly critiques Paul Worthman's upbeat depiction of interracial unity, but Worthman's article is not limited to iron workers; it includes the more inclusive coal miners' unions in the vicinity (Paul B. Worthman, "Black Workers and Labor Unions in Birmingham, Alabama, 1897-1904," *Labor History* [Fall 1969]: 375-407). The presence of this presumably different labor influence goes almost unremarked in a study that devotes substantial attention to other local developments. Similarly, the discussion of the Knights of Labor is primarily occupied with minimizing the significance of the order's mobilization of African-American workers (p. 37). The problem is particularly evident in the political sphere: minor groups that foundered on racial divisions receive attention, but apparently larger interracial movements are left out. Neither the Greenback party nor even the Populists appear in the index, nor do they appear in the text as far as I can tell. This seems a telling omission.

It is difficult to escape the suspicion that McKiven has overstated a reasonable case by selective choice of

evidence. Still, this is an intelligent, clearly argued book that deserves to be read.

MICHAEL W. FITZGERALD  
St. Olaf College

STEWART E. TOLNAY and E. M. BECK. *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 297. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Sociologists Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck have done a genuine service by examining the intensity of southern mob violence against African Americans from the early 1880s to World War I. No one interested in this topic can hereafter neglect their book and its informative appendixes on lynching inventories.

Tolnay and Beck exhibit three important attributes: a command of the secondary, interdisciplinary literature that allows them to evaluate and sometimes discount what previous scholars and commentators have said about lynching's recurrence and decline; a temperate, judicious approach that maximizes fairness; and a ready capacity to generate and critique their own explanations of lynching's manifest and latent functions. The narration of historical events, extensive application of mathematical computations, and explicative discourse are clear, straightforward, and logical. This book is wonderfully free of opaque impediments. With good reason, it won the President's Book Award of the Social Science History Association.

Tolnay and Beck focus on ten southern states: Kentucky (on the border) and nine of those that sought secession in 1861. Virginia and Texas, at the Confederacy's geographical extremes, are not included. The in-depth attention paid to the ten states reaches to county levels, seasonal agricultural and economic variations, demographic comparisons within and across state lines, caste and class divisions, and other essential assessments that validate the conclusions drawn. Tolnay and Beck examine the standard, long-standing explanations for lynching: a mechanism of intimidation and control in a racist society, a guarantee of status for marginal whites, an instrument to end Republican ascendancy in the post-Reconstruction South, a tool of Democratic leaders to deter radicals from joining the Populist movement of the 1880s and 1890s, a way to achieve "justice" whenever a jittery public felt the courts were too lax with "criminals," and a means to punish prosperous blacks for exceeding their "place." In systematic fashion, the authors find each relevant but insufficient to interpret lynching in overarching terms.

The task, after all, is to discover reasons for lynching's popularity among whites for four decades and for its decline after the early 1920s. The answer, according to Tolnay and Beck, lies in the economics of cotton culture, its relative erosion after 1900, white dependence on exploited black labor to sustain that culture, and the empowering options that mass migration from their rural confines offered African Americans during

and after World War I. The opportunities, however tenuous, to leave the South undermined basic caste and class configurations and permanently altered racial dynamics—lynching among them—throughout the region.

With all the book's strengths, some causes for unease remain. Accuracy, polish, and care in citations are occasionally sacrificed, not so regularly as to discredit the project's integrity but often enough for a volume that relies firmly on statistical analysis and the precision it demands. Perhaps all authors and editors should allow themselves one extra week of scrutiny before going to press.

ROBERT L. ZANGRANDO  
*University of Akron*

JEANETTE KEITH. *Country People in the New South: Tennessee's Upper Cumberland*. (Studies in Rural Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 293. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

A billboard outside Cookeville, Tennessee, proudly announces the town as "America's Most Affordable City." That statement of cultural identity suggests that the people of the Upper Cumberland region of northern central Tennessee may not feel especially strong historical burdens of either heroism or shame. It certainly suggests that they welcome outsiders with money to spend. In this engaging volume, Jeanette Keith traces how the people of the Upper Cumberland region tried to resist most of the changes we associate with the coming of modern America.

Keith offers a picture of rural society in the 1890s that is surprising only in its late date. Most people worked their own small farms, producing for household consumption before thinking of the market, valuing independence within patriarchal households, and resisting outsiders who might wish to interfere in their lives. The churches were plain and the religion evangelical, moralistic, and male-dominated. State politics were good sport, and most people preferred a minimal government that spent little energy or tax money on roads, schools, or charity. Keith makes effective use of folk sayings that give an impression of these traditional people as weary of the world and expecting little from it.

Keith neither romanticizes the people of the Upper Cumberland for their agrarian simplicity nor condemns them for backwardness and patriarchy. In comparison to so many local studies, this work describes no economic, technological, or political revolutions that shatter the certainties and break down the communal ties of the earlier period. Instead, it details a series of challenges to tradition in the early twentieth century and shows how many of those challenges failed. The economy changed enough to introduce railroads, new amounts of cash, and increasing public work for both men and women, but most people still ate their own hogs and chickens. Road building and school building increased, but always haltingly and with opposition.

Framing the book is the issue of the teaching of evolution. Dayton, Tennessee, lies outside the Upper Cumberland, but Keith introduces Upper Cumberland native John Washington Butler, author of the 1925 Tennessee Monkey Law. Butler feared that the centralization of the state school curriculum was bringing an urban and secular model of life to children who had always learned their most important lessons from Bible-reading farm parents. Keith argues that Upper Cumberland people saw the Bible as the key to interpreting all change. One wonders if Darwinism might have challenged parts of their religious beliefs other than the book of Genesis. Could the belief that everything changes have been particularly troubling to people fearing change? Did the religious folk find offensive the suggestion that they were part of the animal world?

Keith's suggestion that the victories of traditionalism came back to haunt the Upper Cumberland in the form of persistent poverty is intriguing, but it seems too much to ask a short monograph to divine the causes of today's rural poverty. This book is best at describing the lives that were undramatic, always a bit frustrating, and very much worth studying.

TED OWNBY  
*University of Mississippi*

APRIL R. SCHULTZ. *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian American through Celebration*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 156. \$25.00.

This short book examines the role of pageantry and celebration in the development and maintenance of ethnic identity among Norwegian Americans in 1925, the centennial year of the beginning of Norwegian emigration to America. Building her argument on the ideas of Terrence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm (eds., *The Invention of Tradition* [1983]) and Benedict Anderson (*Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* [1983]), April R. Schultz argues that the centennial celebration was a narrative constructed by middle-class organizers whose "conservative vision was an effort to . . . maintain their positions as leaders in a viable ethnic community and to present their values to the larger culture as compatible with American culture, business, and politics" (p. 50). In doing so, she argues, they sought to distance themselves from the political activity of laborers and women to forge ties to the business community. Alongside this conservative narrative, however, was a contradictory narrative calling for a celebration of diversity and a recognition of the uniqueness of Norwegian-American culture in the United States. The centennial, according to Schultz, was a "significant effort to reinvent a Norwegian-American ethnicity suitable to the context of 1920s America" (p. 9).

This book is a compelling discussion of the conflicts and contradictions in the Norwegian-American community in 1925. Among these are the debates over such

things as the use of language and the role of public schools, both centered on the overarching issue of assimilation versus acculturation. Schultz chronicles the tensions within the ethnic community in 1925 but concludes that, although the centennial figured in a dynamic process of ethnic self-evaluation, it was "merely a nostalgic look at the past" (p. 129).

However readable the book, and as provocative as Schultz's analysis is, it suffers from certain weaknesses. Schultz tends to repeat points. Her fascination with and overuse of the word "jeremiad" sidetracks the reader. More serious is her apparent lack of knowledge of the Norwegian language; she admits in the acknowledgments that she required an article be translated for her. It is also evident that Schultz is not as familiar with Norwegian history as she ought to be. To write about Norwegian Americans one must understand not only them but also the culture and the country from which they came.

The lack of knowledge about Norway leads Schultz into several errors that could have been avoided. The Eidsvoll celebration of 1914, for example, did not commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of Norwegian independence from Denmark; it celebrated the centennial of the establishment of the Norwegian constitution, a subtle, but significant difference (p. 15). The "living dead" of Norwegian folk belief were not "the worst kind of troll"; in fact, they were not trolls at all but rather the restless spirits of deceased persons (p. 37). Finally, neither the Norwegian national anthem nor the Norwegian flag were "only twenty years old" in 1925 (p. 107). Although Norway did achieve full independence and a separate monarchy in 1905, the national anthem had been written over forty years before that, and the flag, which dated from 1821, had been flown as the official flag of Norway since 1898.

In spite of its shortcomings, Schultz's book, presents a facet of American immigration history which is too little known. It will not replace the solid historical analysis of Odd Lovoll's several studies (*A Century of Urban Life: The Norwegians in Chicago Before 1930* [1988]; *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian People* [1984]; and *Cultural Pluralism versus Assimilation: The Views of Waldemar Ager* [1977]) of Norwegian America, but it nevertheless contributes to an understanding of the ethnic mosaic that helped create the American cultural landscape.

TERJE I. LEIREN  
University of Washington

EILEEN M. McMAHON. *What Parish Are You From? A Chicago Irish Community and Race Relations*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. xii, 226. \$32.95. JOHN T. MCGREEVY. *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 362. \$27.50.

Catholics made up the largest single group in the industrial cities of the North after World War II. While others left for the suburbs, they stayed put near the churches, rectories, convents, and schools at the sacred core of their parish neighborhoods and publicly proclaimed their presence in a yearly round of processions, carnivals, and block parties. Protestants envied Catholic success in keeping congregations in the city, while Catholics grew up in worlds so completely theirs that they might never meet a Protestant in them. It was into this distinctly Catholic urban milieu that the millions of African Americans migrating from the South came, with tremendous consequences, as these two excellent studies show, for American Catholic culture.

John T. McGreevy's book is a prodigiously researched, gracefully written work distinguished especially by its seamless treatment of social and intellectual history. McGreevy argues that a fault line of race runs through twentieth-century American Catholicism. On one side of the fault are Catholics raised in the "disciplined and local" world of the city parish, where neighborhood and faith were so intimately intertwined as to be identical. This distinctly Catholic arrangement of urban space was sanctioned by theological emphasis on the centrality of community and place in religious experience and necessitated both by anti-Catholic hostility and by the intense rivalries among Catholics from different European nations. On the other side is an understanding of Catholic life that first evolved among American and European intellectuals in reaction to the violence of racist theories, especially anti-Semitism, in Europe before World War II and then deepened and developed as Catholics confronted the issue of racism in the United States after the war. The church, by this account, is not the gathering of the faithful into ethnic and religious enclaves; the church is the "mystical body of Christ" on earth, as Pius XII called it in an influential 1943 encyclical. The watchwords of this ecclesiology were unity, integration, and wholeness. Puerto Rican and Mexican-American Catholics encountered the practical consequences of this new orientation when they were denied their own national parishes in the 1940s. But the real eruption along the fault line came when priests and nuns formed in the seminaries and universities of the one Catholic world told those living in the neighborhoods of the other in the 1950s and 1960s that their Catholic faith required that they open their hearts, streets, and churches to African-American migrants, while across the picket lines parochial Catholics shouted back that they thought to be Catholic meant to build the school, live in the neighborhood, and worship with one's own.

Eileen M. McMahon offers a richly detailed and evocative account, based on archival research and conversations with former residents, of what life was like in one city parish, St. Sabina's, on Chicago's southwest side, which in its mid-century heyday drew thousands to its novenas, devotional societies, and communion breakfasts. McMahon's sources speak lov-



ingly of this world: this is where they grew up, under the inescapable scrutiny of priests and nuns; they met their spouses here at parish dances; and they always assumed that it was from St. Sabina's that they would be buried, just as their parents had been.

McGreevy concludes that the fracture opened by race finally split the foundations of the Church itself, as liberal nuns and priests brought the language and tactics of Selma and the inspirations of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) into the churches and neighborhoods, demanding fundamental changes in liturgy, moral theology, religious life, in the very nature of Catholic identity. The encounter with race had riven the American church into “two ‘Catholic’ worlds” (p. 177). McMahon comes to a similar conclusion in her account of the tragedy at St. Sabina's, where the only respect fleeing parishioners could pay their beloved pastor, one of the founders of the integrationist Organization of the Southwest Communities, was to sneak off in the middle of the night so that he would not see them go.

American Catholics worship today mostly in suburban churches empty of saints and candle smoke, the result of the seismic shifts in religious sensibility and geography described so well in these books. But the idea that there are now two distinct Catholic “peoples” (McGreevy, p. 215) in the United States is too sharply drawn. It obscures the deeper common sources of Catholic life, the stories, beliefs, and orientations to the sacred that shape Catholic faith and practice and make Catholics across the political spectrum still recognizable to each other. In which of McGreevy's worlds would the Berrigans go, for instance, who fashioned a radical political practice out of Catholic sacramental and devotional idioms and remained parish priests in bearing and style through all their protests? The notion of “two Catholic peoples” also overlooks the ways that “parochial Catholics” were themselves influenced by progressive theological currents over the last twenty years.

But most importantly, it is hard to see where African-American Catholicism would fit in this understanding. It is precisely what liberals were most eager to jettison from the old Catholic world that African-American cradle Catholics and converts have most valued: a disciplined, religiously based educational environment; a vivid spiritual world that linked heaven and earth with emotional power and imaginative richness; and a secure neighborhood life oriented toward the church. At the same time, African-American churches exemplify post-conciliar understandings of the church as witness for justice and advocate of the poor. They have a foot in both of McGreevy's worlds, and so do most American Catholics. St. Sabina's old Irish-American parishioners told McMahon that they are proud that the church they once loved so much has become a vibrant African-American parish; one woman told her, “We turned it over to people who can use it. I think all the old timers would be happy with that” (p. 184). Happy, in other words, that the parish

has become just like the St. Sabina's they knew years ago, where culture, faith, neighborhood, and sacraments combined to make a uniquely Catholic environment. This is the deepest irony of these superb histories and the most promising direction for further research on African-American Catholicism: that the parish worlds that proved so limited in the encounter with race should be the greatest outcome of that encounter as well.

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EARL OFARI HUTCHINSON. *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict, 1919–1990*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 338. \$27.95.

Earl Ofari Hutchinson's work might more accurately be titled *Some Episodes in the Flawed Relationship between the Communist Party and Black Leaders*. It provides an account of a few interesting chapters in the relationship between the Communist Party and non-Communist African-American leaders. Although Hutchinson devotes some attention to upswings in this relationship, his focus is on the downswings, which he views as inevitable. Rather than attempt to illuminate a changing historical relationship, the goal is to make a moral judgment about an unchanging character: “If they did indeed take their marching orders from the Soviets, their intentions toward blacks would always be suspect” (p. 2).

Although it ignores the debate in the scholarly literature on the Communist experience, Hutchinson's work shares the core ideas of the anti-Communist school that the Communist party is a product of the Soviet Union and an enemy of democracy. The opposing scholarly tradition has no single view of the party but regards Communists as important participants in mass movements for social change. Hutchinson includes some favorable portraits of individual black Communist leaders, records anti-racist actions, and quotes affirmative comments about the party from participants he interviewed, but these references function as mere asides.

Hutchinson often neglects to provide necessary context. For example, he fails to discuss the socialist background and Socialist Party views on race. There are unsupported assertions throughout, such as statements about “Russian pressure” (p. 13) and “Moscow's orders” (p. 16) in the 1920s, without any specifics.

Attempts at striking a more balanced note leave key questions unanswered. In analyzing the breakup of the alliance between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Communists in the Scottsboro case, Hutchinson refutes NAACP charges that the Communists were using the case for propaganda purposes, but he fails to explain the breakup. There are similar unanswered questions in Hutchinson's discussion of the competitive relationship between Communists and black nationalists. He

notes that the nationalist "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign "fizzled out" and that "the Party had even taken back the reins of the boycott movement" (p. 143) but fails to explain why.

The method of argumentation is often tendentious. Hutchinson asserts that Communists gained support because of their opposition to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia but that a *New York Times* report on Soviet sales of oil to Italy "seemed to wipe out much of the good will Communists thought they had built up with black leaders" (p. 145). Hutchinson leaps to a discussion of black defections from the party, only one of which stemmed from this incident. He fails to note that, despite the *Times* story, non-Communist black leaders joined in Communist-led mass protests supporting Ethiopia and in Communist efforts to provide material aid to Ethiopia.

Among numerous errors is the assertion that the party failed to advocate social equality until 1926 (it was 1921). The discussion of the Angela Davis case includes the erroneous claim that the party sought only bail and not freedom for Davis and that the Free Angela Davis committees disbanded upon her acquittal. In fact, they evolved into the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

Except for a brief period in the 1930s when they had a mass following, Hutchinson concludes, Communists could neither prove their sincerity nor offer security to potential allies from the wrath of conservative anti-Communists. Although Communists advanced the cause of racial equality, black leaders "could never really embrace the Reds," Hutchinson maintains, because of a fundamental "clash of race and ideology" (p. 300). The Communist ideology of working-class unity, Hutchinson believes, despite the occasional demonstration of it, contradicts black experience. Unfortunately, his book strikes this reviewer as an attempt to prove this preconceived idea.

MARTIN HALPERN  
*Henderson State University*

MERLIN OWEN NEWTON. *Armed with the Constitution: Jehovah's Witnesses in Alabama and the U.S. Supreme Court, 1939-1946*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 221. \$29.95.

Students of American constitutional history are aware of the role played by organized litigation on the part of such pressure groups as the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in advancing individual rights and civil liberties. Although not active in recent years on the legal front, the Jehovah's Witnesses were a major player in the 1930s and 1940s.

Merlin Owen Newton's new book is an example of an increasingly popular genre in American constitutional history: the in-depth study of a single major Supreme Court case—or in this instance, the two Jehovah's Witness cases coming out of Alabama—that describes the local context, examines the different

actors and their motivations, and tracks the litigation from its beginnings through final disposition.

David R. Manwaring's *Render unto Caesar: The Flag Salute Controversy* (1962) is an excellent case study of the Jehovah's Witness battle against the compulsory flag salute in the public schools. Newton's revised dissertation deals with *Jones v. Opelika* (1942; reversed 1943) and *Marsh v. Alabama* (1946). The first case involved the constitutionality of a nondiscriminatory occupational licensing tax applied to distributors of Witness literature; the second asked whether the owner of a company town could bar Witness proselytizers. Although laying down the principle that privately owned property may in some circumstances be regarded as a public forum, *Marsh* has had limited practical impact in the years since. But, as Newton rightly observes, *Jones* was a critical turning point not simply in the Witness's legal battles but in the larger struggle between Justices Felix Frankfurter and Hugo L. Black for leadership of the Court. Newton is more speculative—and unconvincing—when she suggests that the Jones-Marsh challenges to the Alabama power structure "set an example for later proponents of reform" (p. 133).

Both Rosco Jones and Grace Marsh were full-time Witness proselytizers. But neither case appears to have been consciously planned. The Witnesses' brilliant legal strategist, Hayden Covington, seized upon the difficulties into which the two had run to pursue his campaign of challenging restrictions on Witness proselytizing on First Amendment grounds.

Newton's major contribution lies in her graphic portraits of Jones and Marsh, made possible by her tracking down Marsh and Thelma Jones, Rosco's widow. Although otherwise a rather conventional southern woman, Marsh was tireless and indefatigable in performing what she saw as her duty to spread the true faith. Jones's courage was even more remarkable for a black man in the deep South at that time.

My major complaint is that this work is another example of how the current professional ethos encourages the expansion of what could be handled as an article into a thin but heftily priced book.

JOHN BRAEMAN  
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RICHARD LISCHER. *The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Word That Moved America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 344. \$25.00.

This important study of Martin Luther King, Jr. by Richard Lischer finds King's significance in his sermons rather than in FBI wiretaps or the academic plagiarism issue.

Dismissing his derivative, published sermons as only King's "training wheels," Lischer listened instead to raw audiotapes. The professor of homiletics' ear quickly picked up two creative preacher Kings, and the

reader is treated to an illuminating account of King's relationship to both black and white preaching.

Lischer knows black history and the Ebenezer Baptist Church, where young Martin absorbed the African-American tradition of preaching. Daddy King might have embarrassed Martin by whooping and walking the benches, but he taught him the creative power of the black preacher's spoken word, how to preach a religious idea so that it took possession of a congregation. Without this skill, the younger King could not have led the struggle for civil rights.

King's escape from his African-American heritage into the liberal European theology of Crozier and Boston is well known but has never been better told. Lischer insists that while King learned to internalize the vocabulary and values of liberalism, he never fully became a liberal. To be sure, writing honors exams required speaking the language of higher criticism and liberalism, but no black preacher could give up his pastoral power or those freedom stories of a people delivered by God from the Red Sea and redeemed by the blood of Jesus. The adult King preached to his people an antiquated theology, not theological liberalism.

While King studied white liberal theology at Crozier he also apprenticed with black Reverend Pius Barbour, who led African-American seminarians in a preaching clinic with his Chester congregation, drilling them in the grand tradition of black preaching, grading their content, delivery, and audience reaction. Just as King's most important teacher was a black preacher, Lischer emphasized, so would his ideal pastor be another, Gardner Taylor, the Brooklyn evangelical so skilled he could generate passion while retaining his composure.

Lischer's civil rights movement began in Montgomery, when the twenty-six-year-old King preached to his first mass meeting using the rhetorical idiom of the traditional black preacher. Without a written sermon, King creatively connected his set pieces and crafted metaphors to express a "daybreak of freedom," to which the people responded with thunderous joy and declared King the civil rights prophet.

King practiced the creativity and originality of a preacher. Yes, he borrowed titles, outlines, and formulas, as all preachers do, but he put his materials together in new ways, moving his audiences as no other minister did. King's performances were remarkably creative, according to Lischer. Although the preacher had started his craft depending on written sources, he rapidly shifted away to the language and theology of African Americans.

King could also speak the language of whites. Their own best religious and political values were in his message. His dream was their dream, too, and for a time both believed. But King lost hope in liberalism during the last three years of his life, becoming a depressed preacher, an angry Jeremiah condemning Lyndon Johnson and his Vietnam War, capitalism and its exploitation. Lischer puzzles briefly over the depressed preacher, but his focus is rather on the trium-

phant King, who for a decade created a national congregation for equality with his Christian message.

This book offers a persuasive preacher, not a saint but a creative power with the spoken word who was much more than a creation of the media.

DAVID M. TUCKER  
University of Memphis

CHARLES M. PAYNE. *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 525. \$28.00.

Three-quarters of the way through this captivating book, Charles M. Payne tells a story about Aaron Henry, one of the most powerful black leaders in Mississippi in the 1950s. Ever watchful of his opposition, Henry once ordered a copy of a segregationist tract from the Citizens' Council, the "uptown Klan." Soon the notorious white supremacist Robert Patterson delivered the tract to Henry by hand. "Patterson was afraid that a mailed copy might fall into the wrong hands," Payne writes, and Patterson genuinely wanted to protect Henry's reputation. "It was the same 'Tut' Patterson who as a youngster had been Henry's best friend growing up in Clarksdale" (p. 310). Referring to this childhood relationship earlier in the book, Payne says the 1950s ended "with the state's progressive and reactionary forces headed by two men who had once been as close as brothers, an apt symbol of the complexity of racial politics in Mississippi" (p. 60).

The story is an apt symbol of the complexity of Payne's book. One of the many original ideas in it is that Henry's intimate knowledge of white folks died out with his generation. Urbanization, far from causing racial "progress," meant that a new generation of black Mississippians had less contact than their parents with white people and, therefore, less well-informed strategies. But in the early 1960s, Payne sees young activists in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee still relying on the older generation. The young people radicalized their elders and gave them a fresh infusion of shock troops for their protest activity. Payne notes, sadly, that the younger generation eventually lost patience with the older generation as the movement lost its self-discipline and resourcefulness in the mid-1960s.

Payne makes the existence of the older generation's "organizing tradition" his central thesis, but this is not his most original or persuasive contribution. The "continuity" of the movement of the 1950s-1960s with earlier "resistance" has become a cliché among historians. Payne pays homage to the idea of continuity, but compared with other studies that look for continuity extending back to the 1930s, the Progressive era, or mother Africa, his book actually presents a case for discontinuity. Payne shows how the generation that came of age in World War II was unique, far more organized and militant than previous generations. The only continuity Payne demonstrates is the unsurprising



continuity between that generation and the generation of its children, who joined the movement after 1960.

Payne is much more interesting in his analysis of the culture that motivated the older generation's protest. He calls it a culture of "civic involvement," which, among other things, was far more secular than most historians of black protest in the 1950s have assumed. This culture gave local black leaders a sense of "personal efficacy" for a whole range of accomplishments besides successful protest. Payne adds an original analysis of religion, which, he argues, gave masses of poor black women the sense of efficacy that property ownership gave to a few better-off black men. This leads to a more complex and searching analysis of gender than any study of civil rights activity has yet attempted.

On top of all this, Payne is the only scholar in years to shed new light on why the civil rights movement fell apart in the mid-1960s. Too often obsessed with origins and precedents, other scholars have left the end of the movement relatively unexamined. In short, this is the most original and imaginative analysis of the civil rights movement to come along in many years. It is as careful as it is bold, and its implications extend far beyond the temporal and spatial boundaries Payne modestly imposes on his argument.

DAVID L. CHAPPELL  
University of Arkansas

STEPHEN C. HALPERN. *On the Limits of the Law: The Ironic Legacy of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 391. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

Stephen C. Halpern has written an instructive account of the history of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the provision authorizing withholding of federal funds from programs that discriminate on the basis of race. Organizing his account around presidential administrations, Halpern lucidly relates the legal struggle over enforcement of this principal statutory weapon in the battle over school desegregation. During the Johnson administration, a synergistic relationship developed between federal courts and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), which dramatically accelerated southern school desegregation. By 1966, both HEW and the courts were rejecting freedom-of-choice plans and imposing numerical goals and timetables for desegregation.

During the Nixon administration, that synergistic relationship turned adversarial, as political calculations inclined the administration against requiring immediate desegregation. When Nixon's HEW delayed enforcement proceedings against recalcitrant southern school districts, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People went to court, securing unprecedented mandatory timetables for HEW's disposition of discrimination complaints. Halpern aptly describes how administrative bad faith produced inefficient judicial remedies, such as requiring

agency investigation of every complaint rather than allowing discretionary enforcement. The addition of other antidiscrimination statutes (sex, disability) to HEW's jurisdiction also produced an unfortunate competition among interest groups for scarce enforcement resources. Passage of the Eagleton/Biden Amendment in 1977 effectively negated Title VI's application to grade school segregation by barring the threat of funding cutoffs to require busing. Chapters on the Reagan and Bush administrations focus mainly on the dilatory federal response to segregation in higher education.

The book's only significant drawback consists of the rather odd lessons that Halpern draws from his narrative. While acknowledging that Title VI produced "historic breakthroughs" in southern school desegregation (p. 80), Halpern nonetheless concludes that we must "reconsider the liberal love affair with civil rights laws and litigation" (p. 310). Legal initiatives have "distorted our vision and understanding of the issue of equal educational opportunity and limited the measures taken to realize that goal" (p. 2). Specifically, Title VI's enforcement history reveals that litigation inevitably focuses on "futile [and] irrelevant" solutions to our racial problems (p. 304) such as the "racial body count" (integration) approach to school desegregation, which ignores "the desperate conditions of urban life facing increasing numbers of [black] children" (p. 94). Halpern adds, moreover, that "litigation has not proven to be an effective substitute for political nerve and will" (p. 321).

These lessons are unpersuasive. Halpern pays insufficient attention to the difficulties of statutory enforcement in an era of divided government. Small wonder that Title VI was rendered largely nugatory by a Nixon administration that "had to be hauled kicking and screaming into desegregation on a meaningful scale" (p. 91). Nor does Halpern establish that litigation inevitably focuses on "irrelevant" solutions such as the "racial body count" approach to school desegregation. He fails to mention the funding equalization litigation that was proceeding simultaneously and came within a single vote of succeeding in the Supreme Court (*Rodriguez*). Nor was school desegregation litigation so plainly doomed by demographic shifts, since the Supreme Court also came within a single vote of "busing the suburbs" in *Milliken*. In short, perhaps it was conservative judges, rather than something in the nature of litigation, that undermined the campaign for school desegregation. Nor is it clear what Halpern expects of "political nerve and will" other than enactment of the legislation that he so disparages.

While Halpern fails to establish that legal solutions to school segregation were "doomed from the outset," he is right that neither legislation nor litigation is likely to produce a "social revolution" (p. 317). Title VI was remarkably effective at accomplishing its immediate goal: desegregating southern schools. That it failed to do more—desegregating northern schools or securing genuine educational equality for blacks—testifies less



to the inefficacy of law than to the ambivalence of Americans' commitment to racial justice.

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University of Virginia

TIM LEHMAN. *Public Values, Private Lands: Farmland Preservation Policy, 1933–1985*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 239. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

This is a sophisticated, well-written, and thoughtful analysis of farmland protection policy in the twentieth century. Traditionally historians of American land policy have concentrated on the disposal of the public domain. Lehman, in contrast, is concerned with how policy makers attempted to attach public values to land that was privately owned.

Until the 1970s, few outside agriculture had any interest in farm policy. However, the development of public consciousness over such issues as world hunger and the environment opened agriculture to public scrutiny as never before. Thus, by the late 1970s research teams in the United States Department of Agriculture worked on two broad issues thought vital to the future of farming. The first—the structure of agriculture question—received considerable coverage because it connected a few years later with the farm crisis of the 1980s. The second, however, farmland protection and land-use planning in urbanizing rural areas, has received less notice.

The great merit of Lehman's book is that it provides a succinct history of conservation and farmland protection from the 1920s onward. It charts how the political climate affected government policies toward rural planning. Although the movement began in the early 1920s, it was not until the emergency of the Depression that a crusading Hugh Bennett forced agriculturalists to think seriously about conservation. The drive to initiate a system of rural land use planning foundered, however, because of conservative opposition in the late 1930s. Despite the emergence of conservation districts, the agricultural boom caused by World War II allowed agriculturalists to jettison concerns about diversification and conservation. This period coincided with the production revolution spearheaded by the introduction of chemicals, hybrids, and sophisticated machinery. A tiny band of critics such as Russell Lord and William Vogt attacked these trends, but they remained isolated outcasts.

The publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962 brought a further change in the political climate and a renewed interest in how industrialized agriculture treated the land. Pressure from the emerging ecological movement placed farmland protection on the federal policy agenda. As Lehman shows, although the Carter administration supported initiatives like the National Agricultural Lands Survey and liberals in Congress tried to introduce legislation to control suburban sprawl on farmland, conservative forces—some of them economists within USDA—and the

advent of the Reagan administration blocked progress. They feared the intrusion of government regulations on private land. Only a savage downturn in the economy in the 1980s forced a reintroduction of conservation measures in the 1985 Farm Bill.

Unlike most historians, Lehman is not afraid to deal with issues in the recent past. He believes that history has a role to play in the formulation of public policy and that social science displayed its limitations when it attempted to affect the outcome of the farmland preservation movement. While the history of land-use planning and legislation hardly makes enthralling reading (Lehman's analysis of the intricate political maneuvering of land use politics points to the difficulty of writing about recent political events in a straightforward fashion), he has filled a void in agricultural history, especially in his coverage of the environmental critique of production agriculture.

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PAUL W. HIRT. *A Conspiracy of Optimism: Management of the National Forests since World War Two*. (Our Sustainable Future, number 6.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1994. Pp. liv, 416. \$40.00.

In a meticulously researched and persuasively argued study, Paul W. Hirt documents the United States Forest Service's mismanagement of our public forests over the last five decades. America's most powerful land resource agency cooperated with Congress, the timber industry, and local communities in the utilization of millions of acres of natural resources that left polluted streams, dwindling wildlife populations, and mountain slopes denuded of trees. Hirt contends that blame for the excesses and failures lies not only with the industry, bureaucrats, and politicians but also with the public, since many Americans continued to embrace two ideas: first, that nature was to be overcome and exploited for profit; and second, that humans could effectively control nature through environmental engineering, thereby achieving maximum resource development and economic growth. The Forest Service and the timber industry adopted the term "intensive management" for the various theories and practices that foresters used to manipulate the data to justify increased timber production quotas while at the same time claiming to protect water, soil, wildlife, scenery, and wilderness. They could not do both, yet for over four decades leaders in the "conspiracy of optimism" persisted in the deception (often of themselves as well) with disastrous, perhaps irreversible, consequences. There was not a sinister conspiracy; instead, their experience attests to the power of ideas. As Hirt points out, most of the forestry leaders had good intentions and felt they were prudently practicing their profession. Their unconditional acceptance of the myths of abundance and technological control over nature, however, blinded them to the realities of intensive management.

World War II's insatiable appetite for timber and the subsequent postwar housing boom were the catalysts that induced Forest Service officials to undertake a large-scale program of intensive management. From the 1950s into the 1970s, silviculturists won out over ecologists as the agency shifted from managing natural forests and ecosystems to managed forests (occasionally referred to as "timber plantations" or "tree farms"), where logging took precedence over all other forest uses (market and nonmarket). This is further corroborated by examining staffing priorities: two-thirds of Forest Service employees in the early 1990s were silviculturists and road engineers, the latter having built 342,000 miles of logging roads, which in some forests was just over one mile for every square mile of timber. By the 1960s, the agency had adopted industrial-style clearcutting over selective cutting as the most effective harvesting technique to meet ever-increasing allowable cuts (now called Allowable Sale Quantity, a further indication of priorities). Actual harvests in Lolo National Forest in Montana, for example, skyrocketed from eight million board feet in 1950 to a high of 167 million board feet twenty years later. Concern was expressed by environmental organizations (Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, Wilderness Society) and by experts within the Forest Service itself that maximizing harvests was prematurely depleting timber reserves and harming ecosystems. After clearcut logging, reforestation often failed, especially on arid, south-facing slopes or areas with shallow soil. Nevertheless, the "techno-optimists" prevailed, rationalizing that further research would provide the answers. Moreover, they continued to issue overoptimistic timber production projections, which assured increased agency appropriations just as it wreaked havoc on forest ecosystems. To admit that there were limits, as mounting evidence indicated from the 1960s on, would threaten job security and the life of the agency itself. Employees critical of maximization of production were transferred or fired. Finally, in the late 1980s, with ecosystems in a state of collapse, disgusted conservationists, foresters, and grass-roots users (e.g., hunters, campers, birders) organized to expose the abuses and the failures of intensive management to balance multiple uses, to protect ecosystems, and to achieve a sustained yield of forest products and services. According to Hirt, "Americans demanded illusions of abundance in order to avoid accepting limits to production and consumption. But now the bill has come due. The 'Great Barbecue' is over" (p. xliii).

This is an important work, a model for political economy and policy analyses of both government and private sector bureaucracies. Taking up where William Robbins, *Lumberjacks and Legislators* (1982) ends in 1941, Hirt examined congressional hearings, budget studies, Forest Service reports, archival collections, oral histories, and the voluminous literature (articles and monographs) on the management of natural resources to build a convincing case for the Forest

Service's failure to fulfill its mandate as steward of the national forests. His analysis of the agency's use of flawed data to create illusions of a timber cornucopia while masking environmental damage is especially insightful. Hirt concludes with a useful appendix, "Footpaths through Forest History," a historiographical essay that places his study in the context of the scholars who influenced his monograph: Donald Worster, Patricia Limerick, William Robbins, Grant McConnell, Samuel Hays, David Clary, and Randall O'Toole, among several.

JOHN JAMESON  
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CHRISTOPHER ANDREW. *For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush*. New York: HarperCollins. 1995. Pp. xii, 660. \$30.00.

Christopher Andrew posits that all presidents since World War II "have been influenced—often more than they realized—by what the intelligence community tells them . . . [or] have developed exaggerated notions of what [intelligence] can—or should—achieve" (p. 2). Claiming that presidential temperament and intelligence expertise determined their uses of the intelligence agencies, he concludes that "intelligence and the intelligence community have transformed, and been transformed by, the presidency of the United States" (p. 5) and that how presidents used intelligence and the intelligence community "is an essential—though frequently neglected—part of the history of every administration since the Second World War" (p. 537).

Andrew's survey of presidential uses of "secret intelligence" and authorization of covert operations markedly resembles Arthur Schlesinger's authoritative study of the expansion of presidential power, *The Imperial Presidency* (1973). Based primarily on research into secondary sources (the specialized historical literature as well as the memoirs of presidents and intelligence agency officials), he makes a compelling case on the importance of the presidential-intelligence community relationship for understanding recent American politics and decision making. His fairly comprehensive survey details how presidents, beginning with Franklin Roosevelt, purposefully exploited the resources of the nation's intelligence agencies to anticipate the plans and objectives of their foreign adversaries, to undermine the influence of their domestic adversaries, and to conduct policy without public or congressional scrutiny. Conversely, he argues, a president's political fortunes at times were affected by misuse of the intelligence agencies (most notably, in the cases of Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan). Nonetheless, Andrew does not convincingly document either that presidents failed to realize how their decisions were influenced by secret intelligence or how the presidents transformed or were transformed by the intelligence community's

ability to provide secret intelligence and conduct covert operations.

The principal deficiency of this ambitious study, as Andrew lamely concedes in passing, stems from continued classification restrictions on relevant documents. If we cannot review the intelligence reports to the White House and are not aware of all covert operations (leave alone, given the practice of presidential deniability, resolve whether particularly sensitive operations were known in advance and authorized by various presidents), how can we evaluate the importance of secret intelligence and, more generally, the nature of the president-intelligence community relationship? Furthermore, because Andrew assumes that secret intelligence provides the key to understanding the presidential role, he often fails to distinguish carefully between military and political intelligence and between intelligence gathering and covert operations. His George Washington example relates not to Washington's presidency but to his role as commander of the Revolutionary War Army. Nor does Andrew carefully distinguish between presidential uses of political and military intelligence during the post-World War II period. Often, his judgments about presidential naivete concerning secret intelligence and reliance on and uses of such intelligence are based on the unsupported contentions of former intelligence agency officials (not disinterested parties) or are simply speculative. Andrew, moreover, has not researched the admittedly incomplete declassified records of National Security Council and Cabinet minutes accessible at presidential libraries. These offer limited insights into how intelligence influenced, or did not influence, presidential decisions and tactics.

Andrew's monograph might offer less than it promises. It is, nonetheless, a useful beginning point and should compel more cautious scholars to examine what he correctly calls a "frequently neglected" part of the history of "every" post-World War II administration.

ATHAN THEOHARIS  
Marquette University

LOUIS FISHER. *Presidential War Power*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. xvi, 245. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

The war power is the ultimate prerogative in foreign policy, and, as Louis Fisher forcefully argues, the Constitution indisputably places that power in Congress. Primarily through their constitutional role as commander in chief, however, presidents since George Washington have steadily encroached upon the congressional war power. Beginning with Harry Truman's deployment of United States forces into combat in Korea in 1950, chief executives have almost completely usurped the war power. The Vietnam War was, indeed, Johnson's war and Nixon's war. Fisher criticizes the presidents, whose aides are often more loyal to their bosses than to constitutional processes, for this assault on the intentions of the framers, but he also blames

Congress for its passivity. "Congress may stand against the President or stand behind him," Fisher concludes, "but it should not stand aside" (p. 205). The Founding Fathers understood, Fisher contends, that the genius of representative government is the superiority of collective wisdom over individual wisdom.

Defenders of presidential war power have claimed that there are scores of historical precedents for executive deployment of United States forces. Fisher's brisk but insightful survey of presidential conduct from Washington in the Indian wars to Bill Clinton in Bosnia helps set the record straight. Before Korea, he finds, presidents either obtained legislative sanction or conducted operations too small to be comparable to modern mobilizations of manpower and firepower. In detailed analyses of Korea, Vietnam, and the numerous military initiatives of Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Clinton, Fisher offers point-by-point rebuttals to presidential rationales for authorizing military action without first seeking congressional approval. In the style of a lawyer's brief, his arguments demolish claims that contemporary problems are more hazardous than those of the past or that treaty obligations under NATO or the United Nations constitute congressional approval for military action.

Fisher's focus on constitutional interpretations sometimes omits consideration of other pressures shaping policies. For example, when Robert Taft and other congressional conservatives challenged Truman's decision to send U.S. ground forces to Europe in 1951, isolationism stirred the debate as profoundly as did constitutional interpretations. Fisher's analysis overlooks this dimension. Defense of congressional prerogatives, although genuine, can also be partisan. Criticisms of Truman and Clinton were both political and constitutional in origin. James Madison's "Helvidius" papers in 1793 were classic arguments for congressional power but also partisan responses to Alexander Hamilton's "Pacificus" papers.

Still, Fisher's trenchant arguments are an important contribution to historical and legal scholarship on separation of powers and national security. He insists that the War Powers Resolution of 1973 was absolutely proper and that Congress has an obligation to resist presidential war through its own powers of authorization and appropriation. He acknowledges that the War Powers Resolution has not worked well and that, for example, Reagan's aides knowingly ignored the resolution and other explicitly prohibitive legislation. He notes conversely that, in Panama and Iraq, Bush acquiesced to the spirit of the statutes while denying that he had to comply with them. Capitol Hill possesses its own constitutionally mandated war power, and Fisher's advice to Congress is to use it or lose it.

DAVID L. ANDERSON  
University of Indianapolis

GREG RUSSELL. *John Quincy Adams and the Public Virtues of Diplomacy*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1995. Pp. x, 295. \$42.50.



The central premise of the new book by Greg Russell is that John Quincy Adams has something to teach us about the abiding principles underlying American foreign policy. Few would disagree that the end of the Cold War has left our modern-day statesmen adrift in a world where friends and enemies and even definitions of the national interest are decidedly less clear than they had been during the preceding fifty years. In ransacking the past for strategic wisdom, most foreign policy theorists have short memories. Their studies tend to congregate in the post-World War II years, when the Cold War paradigm was created. Russell has chosen to look back further in time to the original intentions of the revolutionary generation and to the pre-eminent diplomat of the early republic, who self-consciously saw himself as the nineteenth-century defender of the founders' legacy.

As a young boy, Adams and his mother Abigail watched from an adjoining hillside as the British troops stormed Bunker Hill in 1775. As an old man he sat beneath an umbrella during the dedication ceremonies at the Bunker Hill monument, scrawling into his diary his sense of outrage that President John Tyler, a slaveowner, had desecrated the true meaning of the American Revolution by his presence. In between, Adams served as a foreign minister in virtually every European capital from London to St. Petersburg, as a United States Senator; as a professor at Harvard; as perhaps the greatest Secretary of State and perhaps the most politically inept President in American history. He then returned to the House of Representatives, where he died at his desk in 1848.

Russell sketches this long and multi-faceted career in his introductory chapter. But the remaining chapters are designed as meditations on the different values underlying Adams's vision of America's role in the international arena. The obvious way for a historian to proceed would have been to select specific episodes—negotiating the Treaty of Ghent, sanctioning Andrew Jackson's military expedition in Florida, shaping the Monroe Doctrine, opposing the annexation of Texas—and then to tease out the connections underlying these specific decisions. But Russell, who is a political scientist, prefers to begin with abstract categories like "American Nationalism" or "Ethics, Philosophy and Religion." The result can be repetitive, as we get capsule summaries of the same issues in different contexts; and the level of generalization can be frustratingly elusive, as we occasionally reach conclusions that seem to possess all the verbal clarity of, say, Hegel.

That said, the book is a good deal more than a series of present-day questions arbitrarily imposed on the past. Russell has immersed himself in the vast collection of Adams letters, diaries and memoirs. His secondary sources are somewhat dated; there is little sense of the extensive literature on republicanism that has shaped the modern scholarly debate about the ideological legacy of the revolutionary generation. But

Russell has dug and thought deeply enough to recognize that Adams defies all the conventional categories.

He was a principled realist, an expansive isolationist, an advocate of aggressive neutrality. His core contribution, as Russell sees it, was to recognize that American foreign policy must project abroad the liberal values of the American Revolution, but must do so with greater prudence and discipline than a democratic people can usually muster. As Adams put it, America is "the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own" (p. 3). The chief temptation, to be avoided at all costs, is to believe that an overwhelming conviction in the righteousness of our cause is a guarantee of its ultimate triumph elsewhere in the world. If Adams has a spiritual descendant in twentieth-century statecraft, it is George Kennan. If, as Russell clearly believes, he has something to teach us today, it just might be due to the fact that the end of the American century poses choices eerily reminiscent of those faced by statesmen who pre-dated the full arrival of American hegemony.

JOSEPH J. ELLIS

Mount Holyoke College

ROBERT SHOGAN. *Hard Bargain: How FDR Twisted Churchill's Arm, Evaded the Law, and Changed the Role of the American Presidency*. New York: Scribner. 1995. Pp. 320. \$24.00.

Robert Shogan, the veteran journalist who has written four earlier books dealing with aspects of the American presidency since Harry Truman, has now produced a thoroughly researched and extremely readable account of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "deal" of September 1941. In response to urgent pleas from Winston Churchill and American hawks, Roosevelt sent fifty World War I destroyers to the beleaguered British in return for U.S. naval leases at British sites in the Western hemisphere.

Although he has uncovered a number of details, most of them picturesque and some of them quite revealing, Shogan's account is not likely to change our previous understanding of what the destroyer deal was and how it came about. What, then, is the point of the book? The answer lies in its subtitle. Without questioning the wisdom of sending the destroyers per se, the hindsight developed over more than thirty years of observing the American presidency at close range and with an increasingly jaundiced eye leads Shogan to see the way the destroyer deal was made as the model for American interventions in conflicts beyond its borders in more recent times and, indeed, for the "imperial," above-the-law presidency that promoted them. Although he recognizes that presidents enlarged their foreign-policy authority "at least as far back as Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana" and that Theodore Roosevelt "had disregarded traditional congressional prerogatives," to put it mildly, in acquiring the Panama Canal, Shogan concludes that "[Franklin D.] Roosevelt's destroyer deal marked a watershed in the use



and abuse of presidential power, foreshadowing a series of dangerous and often disastrous adventures abroad" (pp. 270–71).

Shogan works hard and effectively to identify in Roosevelt on the eve of World War II the elements which he regards as the basis for future presidential misadventures: a penchant for manipulation, a lack of candor, an overwhelming concern for being reelected, and, perhaps above all, a willingness to circumvent Congress by means of at least dubious legality. He emphasizes the Roosevelt style of leadership and his penchant for political maneuvering, makes much of his flip-flop on the League of Nations to secure the nomination in 1932, notes the machinations by which he successfully sought renomination for a third term, and repeatedly chastises him for his failure to lead the nation candidly and consistently toward support of Great Britain, while eschewing political calculation and outright deceit.

But Shogan is a cynic, not a demonizer, and he is also a good reporter who has done his homework well. While he sometimes bends chronology for the sake of dramatic effect, can rarely resist a pithy quote even when of dubious authenticity, and falls far short of proving his main thesis, he has produced the most thorough account of the destroyer deal we are ever likely to see. He has also provided a good description of how the Roosevelt administration operated in the realm of foreign policy, replete with shrewd vignettes on the major and some of the not-so-major players. There are copious, if often frustrating, notes, photographs, and a bibliography.

MANFRED JONAS  
Union College

RICHARD CROCKATT. *The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics, 1941–1991*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. xviii, 417. \$29.95.

For Richard Crockatt this book represents the culmination of many years of writing and teaching about the Cold War. It also reflects Crockatt's wide yet careful reading in Cold War history and international relations theory; he is especially indebted to John Lewis Gaddis, Raymond L. Garthoff, Paul Kennedy, Joseph S. Nye, and Kenneth N. Waltz.

In addition to drawing on many of the fine scholarly works, journalistic accounts, and memoirs that have appeared since the early 1970s, Crockatt benefits from (a) writing after the end of the Cold War with the resulting gain in perspective; (b) approaching the Cold War as international history rather than simply as U.S.-Soviet relations; (c) seeking in every chapter to explain the historical forces at work and not to fall into the familiar trap of highlighting leaders' mistakes and scholars' misinterpretations; and (d) having a publisher who permitted a detailed treatment (378 pages of text, with fairly small print) instead of the usual

abbreviated account intended primarily for undergraduates.

The result is the finest overview of the Cold War yet published, a book whose broad interpretations are likely to be taken seriously even after newly available information and newly published works combine to alter scholars' perceptions of particular episodes. Indeed, substantial rethinking already has occurred—notably on the Korean War and the Cuban missile crisis—since Crockatt finished the manuscript in early 1994.

One of the book's great strengths, ironically, is that its main points will be familiar to specialists and self-evident to many other readers. Emphasizing soundness instead of originality works largely because the scholarship on which Crockatt builds is so impressive. Crockatt argues that the coming of the Cold War is explained at least as much by the collapse of the existing balance of power in Europe and Asia during World War II as by ideological differences; that the Cold War began rapidly in the middle to late 1940s not by design but because each side, moving to establish a new balance of power, took advantage of its particular strengths—the Soviet Union's position in neighboring countries and America's economic strength and nuclear monopoly; and, perhaps most important, that the United States outlasted the Soviet Union in the Cold War largely because America was part of "two overlapping but distinct systems," the "Cold War system" and the "world capitalist system," whereas the heavily militarized, economically inefficient Soviet Union only fit into the "cold war system defined by the geopolitical division of Europe and its extension to parts of the Third World, the existence of nuclear weapons, and ideological conflict" (p. 370). Crockatt argues that the Cold War ended when Soviet leaders decided, in the late 1980s, that the Cold War system was outdated and that the wisest course involved demilitarization and integration into the world capitalist system.

The book will not please everyone. Some scholars will wish that Crockatt had been more critical of U.S. foreign policy and of the Cold War's impact on American society and politics, while others will regret his depiction of the U.S.S.R. as a great power and not as an evil empire. I wish that the writing was more vivid and engaging, so that the book would serve readily as a text for undergraduates. I also believe that he largely overlooked the important British role in the Cold War, especially in the downturn in East-West relations in 1945–1946 and during the Korean War.

Finally, the discussion of U.S. and Soviet policy in the 1980s is unnecessarily deterministic. I disagree that the "more complex international environment" virtually forced the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to end the Cold War, contrary to Crockatt's strong implication that it did (p. 301 and elsewhere). The occasionally questionable section on the end of the Cold War (1981–1991) contrasts with the superb analysis in the previous

section—"detente and its limits, 1965-1981"—and indeed with most of the rest of the book.

RALPH B. LEVERING  
Davidson College

KEITH L. NELSON. *The Making of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Shadow of Vietnam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 217. \$35.00.

This is the story of two ailing empires, each needing the other to protect its authority and power to rule over and within its alliances. Keith L. Nelson's pithy look at the struggles of Moscow and Washington to preserve their respective positions succeeds admirably. Nelson gives readers the essence of why detente became almost a no-brainer for both sides.

Despite some occasional "lapses" (such as Cambodia in 1970), Richard Nixon knew that he had to get out of Vietnam, hopefully with some sort of decent interval before the fall of Saigon. But that was only the outer rim of problems that extended back to the center of the system. There was, above all, Germany. Willy Brandt's attempted dealings with Moscow proved only too successful, at least in American eyes, and presented a quandry to policy makers who had for so many years counted on Adenauer's steadfastness to preserve stability in the center. Moscow scored a coup with a renunciation-of-force treaty and also gained assurances on much increased economic cooperation with Germany.

Nixon, meanwhile, believed Vietnam could be settled by going through Moscow. That happened not to be true, but this initial reason for holding out the promise of American technology in exchange for diplomatic aid with Hanoi soon meshed into other reasons for seeking some sort of *modus operandi* with the Soviet Union. Inside the cabinet, for example, Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans pushed hard on the economic button. American business wanted access to Eastern Europe and Russia—just like the Germans!

Moscow's problems reached far deeper into the center of Marxist theory and Soviet reality. In simple terms, the system ran out of steam. Long before Ronald Reagan's efforts to spend the Soviets back to the Stone Age, Russian leaders were losing the struggle to keep up with, let alone surpass, the West. After a period of genuine hope in the 1950s, when Soviet economic growth did indeed appear to have overcome the troubles left in the wake of two world wars and Stalinist agricultural policies, full realization hit home in the mid-1960s.

Sounding very much like a professor of business administration, Leonid Brezhnev addressed his colleagues in June, 1970, and told them that the secret of future growth lay in the "management of science" and the "science of management" (p. 36). Russia needed the West for life-saving infusions of technology, but it also needed the West to help maintain stability in Eastern Europe. Hence the importance that Moscow

placed on the 1972 Declaration of Basic Principles "to provide an explicit endorsement of peaceful coexistence and an implicit, eagerly desired recognition of Soviet equality as a great power" (p. 143).

When Lyndon Johnson assumed the presidency after John Kennedy's assassination, he vowed that he would not be the president who lost Indochina. Brezhnev felt the same way about Czechoslovakia. If "revisionist" tendencies were to gain the upper hand in Prague, he confided to an adviser, he would have to resign as general secretary, for "it would look as if I lost Czechoslovakia" (p. 125). Thus did fear of losing control drive the forces making for detente. In both instances, furthermore, the object was to use the rival power to hold back the forces of motion within the troubled domains—a very tricky business. And, in the end, it was a failure for both.

Nelson sees both accomplishment and tragedy in detente. It served to break down the logic and momentum of the Cold War, yet its manipulators proved too conservative to seize the opportunity to provide a genuine alternative to the superpower conflict. "The achievements and the mood were half-formed and were allowed to wither half formed, with the result that another generation was unnecessarily subjected to the risks and costs of continuing Cold War" (p. 152). Some will quarrel with that conclusion, but Nelson's book is an indispensable introduction to the history of our era. It will find several audiences—and serve them all well.

LLOYD C. GARDNER  
Rutgers University

JOHN ROBERT GREENE. *The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. xv, 256. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$15.95.

The study of presidents has fallen so low in our profession that John Robert Greene may be the only living historian under forty to have written a synthetic account of a whole contemporary presidency. It is no easy task, not only because our government is intricate and available sources are voluminous but also because many difficult policy questions remain unresolved. Even two decades later, who knows what policies, if any, could have cured the economic "stagflation" of the 1970s? As Greene shows, however, these scholarly problems can be transcended with admirable results.

Greene has thoroughly mined the pertinent archival sources while avoiding the temptation to string together quotations from previously unsung memoranda. Rather, he has ably summarized complex issues, synthesized large amounts of data, and presented his analysis in fluent prose. The resulting portrait of Gerald Ford is largely congruent with Ford's image in political folklore (which, in this atypical case, also resembles his actual personality and mode of governance). Simply put, Gerald Ford was a decent man who tried both to unite the country after the Watergate scandal and to promote a moderate Republican

agenda. Nonetheless, Greene demonstrates that even "average" presidents deal daily with important issues. In retrospect, some of those issues will primarily interest specialists in foreign policy or the presidency as an institution. For example, Greene skillfully unravels proliferating intrigues within the White House staff, unsuccessful efforts to solve the energy "crisis," and abortive attempts to mediate a Middle East peace. Other issues deserve attention from anyone trying to make sense of the 1970s.

As Greene shows, a coherent conservative economic philosophy lay behind most of Ford's sixty-six vetoes. The military response to the Cambodian seizure of the merchant ship *Mayaguez* is a tale of crackpot realism with deadly results. On the other hand, when Ford, in a legendary slip of the tongue, denied in debate with Jimmy Carter that the Soviet Union dominated most of Eastern Europe, he was trying to explain a complex geopolitical situation and a sensible American policy. Greene is also right that Ford would have been better off, ethically and politically, if he had cooperated with congressional committees investigating abuses by the Central Intelligence Agency. And Ford deceived Congress—and perhaps himself—when he testified that as vice president he had not discussed a pardon for Richard Nixon with anyone from Nixon's staff.

Greene claims at the outset that Ford is wrongly regarded as a mere "caretaker" president and receives insufficient credit for helping to restore national unity after the Vietnam war and Watergate scandal. This is either a straw man or a linguistic quibble about the meaning of "caretaker." Green himself shows that the Democratic Congress controlled the legislative agenda and that a plurality of Republican hearts already belonged to Ronald Reagan, and no serious scholar thinks that it was easy to heal the divisions of the 1960s and early 1970s. (Indeed, they have not yet healed.) Fortunately, Greene has no need to push his case so far. This is a fine book.

LEO P. RIBUFFO

*George Washington University*

ALICE GOLDFARB MARQUIS. *Art Lessons: Learning from the Rise and Fall of Public Arts Funding*. New York: Basic Books. 1995. Pp. x, 304. \$25.00.

Those brave experiments in federal subsidy, the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, now little more than three decades old, have recently faced the most serious challenge of their existence. The outcome is still not clear, but legislative hostility has certainly limited the scope and scale of their influence. Endowment defenders and enthusiasts for direct government aid to the arts will find little comfort in Alice Goldfarb Marquis's well-annotated, clearly argued historical review of public arts funding since World War II. Her book concentrates on the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), with some side glances at the evolution of arts subsidies since the Eisenhower years. Beginning with the creation of

complexes like Lincoln Center, continuing through the tortuous negotiations that created the current federal structure, charting the significant role of foundations like Ford and Rockefeller, and offering, among other things, some shrewd biographical sketches of key players, Marquis provides a lively and opinionated overview of just how we reached the current state of polemical anger and name calling. She concludes that our system is not working well, never has worked well, and, actually, cannot work well, despite the idealism, hard work, intelligence, and creative energy of many dedicated participants.

Marquis finds as prevailing conditions confusion and indecision, abetted by self-serving interest groups. The agency's focus "has never been clarified beyond a multitude of halfmeasures, initiatives, and pilot projects" supported by "a bizarre assortment of constituencies, ranging from the staid trustees of elite institutions to shrill players of a single confrontational note" (p. 258). The lure of money has roped them all into an artificially maintained cultural zoo. A believer in a market arts economy that relies not upon expertise or politically motivated administrators but on "the acid test of audience appeal" (p. 255), Marquis is convinced that "well-meaning attempts to organize artists, to shelter them, to guide them, to speak for them must result in mediocrity, conformity, and conservatism" (p. 243). She concludes her survey by proposing a system of publicly subsidized impresarios "for every locality or neighborhood," to book spaces anywhere from prisons to shopping malls for all artists who wish to use them and to distribute vouchers for everything from art education to literary magazines. This, she insists, "would cost no more than what public agencies are now spending on the minority of arts they support" (p. 254).

Marquis's recounting of the bureaucratic inanities and inept strategies that have bedeviled the NEA, her skewering of the ponderous and expensive system of panel reviewing and council overseeing, her revelations of institutional conservatism combined with lip service to trendy avant-garde fashions, and her depictions of conflicts of interest, ignorance, and bias are all managed with efficiency. While the thrust will surprise few critics of Endowment practice, the massed details are truly depressing and unsettling. The portrait of John Frohnmayer, the NEA chairman with the most "disastrous" tenure, is savage and unrelenting: a "feckless bumbler" (p. 231), an inept administrator who lied, publicly and privately, and misconstrued the political, intellectual, and constitutional meaning of his most serious challenges.

There is much to ridicule and taunt, and Marquis's language falls to the occasion. To pass safely through congressional hearings, the NEA "must, like a Siberian sled dashing through a pack of ravaging wolves," distribute goodies to committee members (p. 220). The fiascos over public art wounded the NEA image and "the blood seepage would soon attract the philistine

piranhas cruising for victims in cultural waters" (p. 199).

But Marquis is far more effective at dissecting than she is at evaluating. Her sops to some NEA accomplishments aside, she does little to analyze what the series of subsidies to exhibitions, musical performances, opera, ballet, and theater companies have meant to their audiences beyond criticizing the vapid generalizations, fear-mongering rhetoric, and misleading statistics that some defenders employ. Foreign experiences with art subsidies are conspicuous by their absence, and so is testimony from those who have actually enjoyed NEA programs. Their minority status does not single them out from other beneficiaries of government programs. This book is a tale of folly. Constructed in an adversarial mode and rhetorically overdrawn, it has many compelling moments and persuasive insights, but a measured assessment of what the National Endowment for the Arts has meant awaits another text.

NEIL HARRIS  
*University of Chicago*

EDWARD T. LINENTHAL. *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*. New York: Viking. 1995. Pp. xiv, 336. \$27.95.

Edward T. Linenthal's study recounts the events that led up to the establishment of the Holocaust Museum. From the decision during Jimmy Carter's presidency to establish some appropriate commemoration of the Holocaust until the museum's opening in April 1993, fundamental questions arose about the meaning and purpose of a Holocaust memorial. Various interpretations came from different people who wanted the world to remember and/or learn something from German policies of genocide during World War II. The only item on which all members of the President's Commission on the Holocaust could agree, however, was the establishment of a "Days of Remembrance" program, now observed annually in April.

Fundamental questions remained about whether any kind of memorial would be appropriate. Some argued that it would focus on Jews as victims rather than as people who had many accomplishments and who had contributed great things to civilization. Others suggested that, although the United States government would fund the basic building and operating budgets, such a memorial might divert Jewish funds from more worthy causes designed to help the living. Even those convinced that the Holocaust should be memorialized could not agree where such a memorial should be located, what it should consist of, and which victimized groups of the Nazis should be recognized, subordinated, or ignored.

To practically all Jews, the Holocaust meant the extermination of six million of their coreligionists during the years 1939–1945; consequently, they should be the focus of the remembrance. Others insisted, however, that other Nazi targets like the Poles, Ukrai-

nians, and Gypsies be recognized; to still others, the experiences of the Armenians at the hands of the Turks during World War I deserved a place in memory. Trying to capture the sense of this debate as well as the feelings of some of the more articulate Jews involved in deciding who should be included, Linenthal writes: "Jews were exterminated; others were murdered" (p. 54). For Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer and millions of his coreligionists the world over the issue was even clearer: the Holocaust meant "the murder of six million Jews and nothing else" (quoted on p. 54).

After years of haggling about what the Holocaust meant and which groups should be included in the memorial, the President's Commission on the Holocaust decided that the proper place for a national American memorial would be in Washington, D.C., rather than in New York City; that it should be on the mall; and that the focus would be on the Jewish victims, with slight acknowledgement of others who met death either during World War II or earlier. Planners ultimately agreed on a museum, a research institute, and an educational outreach program.

How all of this occurred, what went on during the planning and design stages, and which individuals were most significant in bringing the project to fruition takes up the rest of Linenthal's narrative. Along the way he pauses to analyze how different interpretations of events that occurred during the Holocaust not only conditioned the way people thought but how these varying explanations dictated the formulation of the museum's exhibits.

This book has been carefully researched and is well written. It tells us not only about how a museum was established but how Washington politics and different ethnic sensitivities (those of Jews as well as other groups) contributed to the final product. As it now stands, the Holocaust Museum is well worth visiting; Linenthal's book, which details its development, is well worth reading.

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN  
*University of Arizona*

#### CANADA

SEAN T. CADIGAN. *Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland, 1785–1855*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 242. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

I find Sean T. Cadigan's work by turns useful, frustrating, impressive, awkward, provocative, repetitive, cumbersome and, in the end, tantalizing rather than fully satisfying. His purpose is revisionist: to challenge the view that merchants shamefully exploited Newfoundland fishermen by manipulating the truck system under which families were supplied on credit against the following season's fish catch. Cadigan traces the emergence of this common view to the rhetoric of political reformers seeking to discredit fish merchants in their



quest for colonial self-government. All of this is provocative and useful. The case is made through a detailed analysis of family production in the fishery and an investigation of the relationships between fishing people and merchants. Much of it rests on court and local government records that have rarely, if ever, been used as thoroughly.

But the impressive argument does get overtaken by detail. Clarity is not enhanced by the peculiar terminology of the Newfoundland fishery, and the overlapping meanings of such terms as "planter" resist even Cadigan's prefatory attempts to define them clearly. Too much of the prose in these pages plods rather than sings. Despite comparisons of Newfoundland with other British North American colonies, I think the deep roots of agrarian sentiment (that steered both development and rhetoric in Newfoundland) are insufficiently explored and integrated into this analysis.

Still, Cadigan's insistence that the truck system was a realistic accommodation to the limited possibilities and requirements of the local economy (rather than the deliberate exploitation of helpless victims by mercenary capitalists) and his understanding—indeed deconstruction—of a common interpretation of Newfoundland's past as a mystification springing from a particular combination of economic, geographical, ecological, social, and political circumstances are both, I judge, right and welcome. Our students will understand Newfoundland better for this book, and others interested in the workings of staple economies, household production, and the truck system will also learn from it.

GRAEME WYNN  
University of British Columbia

CAROLYN STRANGE. *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880–1930*. (Studies in Gender and History.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 299. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$22.95.

One strong theme in the writing of Canadian women's history has been a preoccupation with class and particularly with the lives of working-class women. Many earlier studies explored working-class women from the vantage point of unionization, the family economy, left-wing organizing, or the clashes between middle-class and working-class visions of womanhood. Carolyn Strange's study, while it follows in this tradition, also takes a fresh approach, focusing solely on single, urban working women as a category of analysis. Moreover, she does so by looking at the construction of these women as a "problem" in the eyes of reformers, evangelists, and legal and medical authorities, focusing especially on the way in which meanings attached to women's sexual, moral, and off-the-job lives were linked to fears of social and sexual disorder. Her book focuses most intensely on Toronto women's leisure time, their pursuit of pleasure, their encounters with sexual danger, and the attempts of various medical,

legal, and political authorities to regulate women's leisure and sexual lives.

Strange's set of question thus takes its cue from American studies like Kathy Peiss's *Cheap Amusements* (1986) or Joanne Meyerowitz's *Women Adrift* (1988) and its theoretical inspiration from the work of Judith Walkowitz and others who explore the meanings and images of urban women, particularly the sexual signifiers associated with these women. As Strange shows, these meanings provided rationales for regulating, reforming, and even incarcerating those single women considered "errant" by authorities. Unlike earlier feminist historians, then, who were more interested in exploring women's economic oppression, their struggle to sustain the family economy, or their organized resistance, Strange notes the paucity of sources and thus the difficulty of gaining "direct access to working girls' experience or subjectivity" (p. 11). She concentrates more on the working girl as a "problem" in the minds of others. Having said that, I think that the voices of working women do sometimes come through; indeed, some of the most powerful passages are those where young women—like those incarcerated—protest their treatment at the hands of the regulators or the violence they encountered within their own families.

Strange has already distinguished herself as a talented scholar of legal and criminal history, and she draws heavily on court and prison records as well as government inquiries and reformers' investigations of the working girl. Her analysis of the legal records is a great strength of the book; whether examining the concept of "chivalric" justice, the trials of men charged with rape, or the courtroom dramas surrounding "ruined girls and fallen women," she brings an astute analysis to bear on the gender biases incorporated into legal system of the time.

Strange argues very convincingly that working girls were only "incidental beneficiaries" (p. 174) of the moral reform program before World War I, for this agenda led to restriction of women's sexual choices, not increased safety. When court contests pitted the working girl against a more "respectable" man, even if the man was on trial, the woman often came up the victim (unless the case was complicated by the racist disinclination to believe the testimony of a non-Anglo man on trial). Strange's heavy use of court and prison documents, of course, reinforces her particular emphasis on the perception of young working women as a "problem" and on the dangers they encountered in their search for pleasure. On the other hand, the many working women who accepted or obeyed the dictates of the family economy or family authority are not so easily discovered in these records.

Strange's study is also enhanced by her attempt to chart changes over time in the perceptions of working women, her distinction between the various discourses—evangelical, medical, legal—that shaped the terrain of this debate about single women, and her recognition that there was not always a "neat fit" (p.

212) between the regulators' pronouncements about working girls and the reforms actually put into place. Too often, earlier studies assumed very little change from the 1880s on, and they tended to see the reform agenda as a rather unified one. Still, it is interesting to note that Strange's overall picture of these new regulators reinforces some of the earlier analyses of reformers. In both cases, historians note the immense social distance and different visions of proper womanhood separating middle-class reformers/regulators from working women.

The means of regulating working girls, Strange argues, did change over time, particularly as a measure of acceptance of single working women emerged after the War. In the 1920s, she shifts her research boundaries to include more white collar workers and claims that more emphasis was put on protecting them as mothers of the (Anglo/white) race. While this may be true for some of the health promotion campaigns of the time, other campaigns, like the minimum wage laws—which were supported by the labor movement as well as by reformers—may have not been so singularly tied to eugenic fears.

Like Peiss, Strange emphasizes working-class women's resistance by highlighting their attempts to set their own leisure agenda, though she spends less time exploring the potentially negative and oppressive side of the emerging capitalist leisure industry. In Strange's view, the danger lay not there but with the way in which women's sexuality and pleasure were increasingly regulated, not to protect women against violence but to channel them into chastity, marriage, and motherhood.

Strange's book is an engaging read, for she is an excellent writer, and her exploration of the danger/pleasure dilemma for single working-class women in a large urban context is convincing. It is in some ways ironic, though, that her theoretical approach to the subject puts working women on center stage but is simultaneously shy about claiming actually to "know" them. One hopes that working-class and feminist historians don't become so absorbed in the discursively created "problem" of the working girl that we are deaf to the voices of marginalized or oppressed women when they do speak through the sources.

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COLIN D. HOWELL. *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 285. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$18.95.

This is a well-written social history of baseball in Canada's Maritime provinces. While not ignoring baseball's evolution from a simple game of boys into a highly commercialized spectacle, the game on the playing field, or the underlying economic and social forces affecting the sport, Colin D. Howell is mainly interested in how the "discourse" around the game was

connected to fundamental social cleavages. Not surprisingly, then, Howell finds that the debates over baseball entailed antagonisms arising from class, gender, race, ethnicity, regionalism and nationalism, work and play, and the commercialization of leisure. In the nineteenth century, for example, discussions of professionalism, amateurism, gambling, and drinking in baseball implicated class conflict. The working class, anxious to exhibit its independence and athletic skills and attracted to the game's fraternal camaraderie, resisted the evangelical, bourgeois reformers, who were intent on molding baseball to their notions of manliness and respectability.

After World War I, as baseball became more respectable and less a ritual of class conflict, it served as a rallying point for civic loyalty among the small and medium-sized towns in the Maritimes. Then, with growing conservative regionalism, baseball sank its roots deeply into local communities, giving them a sense of identity and self-awareness. The game continued to flourish at the community level after World War II, but by 1960 it had succumbed to a nationally marketed sporting culture. That Maritime boys today wear Toronto Blue Jays and Montreal Expos caps reflects the demise of local baseball.

There is much to commend in this book. Howell is the first to examine debates over baseball's place in society within a particular region and to show that the content of the discourse changed significantly over time. While his overly long discussion—much of it based on American rather than Canadian sources—of the nineteenth-century "bourgeois ideal of healthful sport" is familiar, he adds a significant qualification by finding that reformers in the early twentieth century turned from concerns about baseball's rowdiness and respectability to the enlistment of baseball on behalf of greater social efficiency and scientific management. Even more novel and illuminating is how Howell seizes upon the discussions arising from barnstorming black and women's baseball teams in the Maritimes to explore cultural constructions of race and gender.

Yet reservations about Howell's method remain. He is inclined to assign too much causality, at least by implication, to his central concept of discourse. While Howell amply documents the nineteenth-century bourgeois reformers' publicly expressed concerns about baseball, it is far more difficult to determine how much their statements actually affected the course of baseball's social history in the Maritimes. Indeed, the most satisfying part of Howell's book is the final section in which his analysis rests less on discourse and more upon an examination of larger social processes. In that section, the role of industrialization, deindustrialization, a growing regional self-consciousness, mass consumerism, and the cultural imperialism of the United States receive their due as forces shaping Maritime baseball history.

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## LATIN AMERICA

ALAN L. KARRAS. *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740–1800*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 231. \$34.50.

This is an important book that deserves, even belatedly, the attention of readers of *The American Historical Review*. By now some of Alan L. Karras's statements are out of date, such as his claims that historians have focused on the period after 1820 and thus have been concerned with "americanization" (pp. 2–4) and that little attention has been paid to transients.

The book is organized along parallel thematic lines. The first chapter examines the Scottish background of migrants, the limited options for the rising middle class (defined primarily as those with some type of professional education), and motives for migration. Following are two chapters on Jamaica and the Chesapeake, respectively. A fourth chapter examines the webs of patronage and how the relationships with Scottish relations or employers developed. A final chapter evaluates the relative success and failure of these so-called transients, as well as their fate during and after the American Revolution. Cornell University Press is to be commended for using the footnote form of documentation, because it is unlikely that many readers are familiar with documentation from all three regions, and footnotes make the text read smoothly.

One difficulty Karras encountered was the paucity of reliable sources. Only emigrants who did not plan to return to Scotland were recorded by ship captains or government officials. Thus, correspondence serves as the principle basis for his analysis. Newspapers also contained some personal information about sojourners, although the vast majority of articles about the colonies were negative in tone.

For the aspiring middle class, migration offered the opportunity for economic advancement and thus an improved social and economic status on their return home. Especially in Jamaica, the goal was to make money and leave as quickly as possible. There was little interest in establishing social institutions. Unfortunately, Scots found it difficult to transmit their assets home or to liquidate their property. Many, regardless of their education, ended up as plantation managers. In the Chesapeake, Scots gained prominence as tobacco factors, particularly after 1740 when merchants began to dispatch agents to maintain permanent stores. For the first generation the business proved to be lucrative because the Scots offered planters greater security and bargains than were available under the English consignment system. Subsequent agents, however, had less autonomy and were more regulated by their employers.

In both cases, Scots tended to remain aloof from their English neighbors and developed webs of patronage within their own ethnic group. They were also highly moralistic and expressed disapproval of slavery—or at least the slave trade—and the extravagant

lifestyles of wealthy Englishmen. Yet they apparently did not attempt to create their own churches. Religion is dismissed in a single footnote which refers to Anglicans (p. 64). But Scots were Presbyterians and thus "dissenters" in both regions. How did this influence their reluctance to interact with others? Or was the transient mentality responsible for the lack of interest in organized religion?

In the end, few transients returned to Scotland. Was this a failure? Yes, for most were unable to achieve their primary goal. At the same time, Scots often achieved their secondary goal, a more comfortable life than they would have been able to attain at home. Overall, this is a good example of comparative regional history and an intriguing study of a limited group of migrants to the British colonies.

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KATHLEEN MARY BUTLER. *The Economics of Emancipation: Jamaica and Barbados, 1823–1843*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 198. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$16.95.

The Act of Parliament emancipating slaves in the British Empire in 1833 provided twenty million pounds in financial compensation to the owners of slave property. Kathleen Mary Butler examines all aspects of that award: why it was paid; how the money was raised; how it was dispensed; who got it; and to what extent it revitalized economic activity in the colonies.

Emancipation involved confiscation by the state of privately owned property, slaves. Had such confiscation not been accompanied by indemnity, Parliament would have established a precedent particularly dangerous for the British propertied elite. The issue of compensation was nevertheless fiercely debated. Radical abolitionists opposed it, and no one at the Colonial Office believed that so large a compensatory grant was possible. Members of Parliament were torn between their concern for private property rights and their commitment to economy in government. Although Butler demonstrates that the West India interest worked incessantly for a decade to insure that emancipation would be attended by a substantial indemnity, she does not examine in detail the political process that determined the amount. She is substantially more confident than I that what did occur was bound to occur.

The grant, less than half the estimated value of British slaves, was raised through a government contract with the Rothschilds. Indemnities were paid in London, a practice that satisfied the merchant creditors of West India planters but created a hardship for minor slaveholders in the colonies. Butler offers a penetrating examination of the structure of West Indian debt. Her work is replete with examples that reveal the extraordinary complexity of plantation finance. Although colonial planters and metropolitan merchants were mutually dependent, their interests



were not identical. Butler demonstrates the debt relationship between the two groups, showing that a vast portion of the indemnity passed directly to merchant creditors. At the same time, she exposes the problems associated with holding credit against West Indian property. Merchant creditors often prospered in the short term from planter indebtedness, but the long-term decline of the plantation economy spelled disaster for metropolitan merchants as well.

The book concentrates exclusively on Jamaica and Barbados but it does not treat them equally. Chapter five, for example, examines the impact of compensation payments on economic speculation in the colonies; the material is well presented, but Barbados is given twenty-four pages of text while Jamaica receives only three pages. In my judgment, the book does not sufficiently emphasize differences in the character and the traditions of the two colonies. Readers should also be cautioned not to draw general conclusions about other British Caribbean colonies from the experience of either of these.

Butler breaks new ground in demonstrating the extent to which women were involved in plantation ownership and finance. She shows that the bulk of underwriting in the period covered by her book was not done by merchant houses but by private individuals. Continuing a tradition among historians of the West Indies, she disparages colonial planters for blaming their manifold woes on everyone but the culpable party, themselves. Yet her text provides numerous examples of enterprise and entrepreneurial skill among West Indians in the emancipation period, demonstrating the fragility of sweeping generalizations and colonial stereotypes. This is a painstakingly researched, clearly written, and valuable contribution to British colonial history.

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STAFFORD POOLE. *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1995. Pp. 325. \$40.00.

The legend of the Nahua convert Juan Diego's miraculous visitation from Our Lady of Guadalupe on the hill of Tepeyac in 1531 is one of the most treasured stories in the popular culture of modern Mexico. The Virgin's feast day, December 12, ranks with the Day of the Dead and Holy Week among the year's most important religious holidays and, since the end of the colonial period, the image of Our Lady has come to symbolize the identity of the nation. Yet, for all its popularity, the origins of the cult have remained uncertain. The earliest authoritative accounts of the miracle date from the seventeenth century, more than one hundred years after the event. Sixteenth-century references are fragmentary and contradictory, and none of the surviving writings of Archbishop Juan de Zumarraga, a key figure in the traditional narrative,

mention the apparition at all. The result has been an interesting and provocative debate among historians about the historical basis of the narrative itself as well as about the significance of the cult in the early history of religious conversion and syncretism among the native peoples of central Mexico.

Stafford Poole's remarkably erudite book argues convincingly that the traditional narrative of the miracle was an invention of the mid-seventeenth century, derived primarily from Miguel Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen Maria* (1648), a version embellished and disseminated by other creole chroniclers of the period such as the Jesuit Mateo de la Cruz. In reaching this conclusion, Poole rules out the historical authenticity of virtually all the key elements of the conventional myth, including the roles of Juan Diego and Archbishop Zumarraga, the sixteenth-century origins of the cloak bearing Our Lady's image, and the early association of the miracle with Tepeyac. The focus of his study is a painstakingly comprehensive survey of colonial sources that pertain to the cult, including familiar ones by Bernal Díaz, José de Acosta, Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, and Francisco Javier Clavajero as well as many less familiar works. Among the latter, perhaps the most significant are documents in Nahuatl, including testimonies from native witnesses who lived in the region of Tepeyac and who claimed to have heard stories of Juan Diego from their parents and grandparents. Also in this category is the *Nican Mopohua*, a text published in 1649 but which some linguists claim has earlier sixteenth-century origins and which therefore offers a contemporary source to verify key elements of the tradition; Poole effectively challenges this claim.

By disputing the sixteenth-century origins of the cult, Poole also undermines the common view that Our Lady of Guadalupe offers an archetypal example of postconquest syncretism. Drawing again on sources in Spanish and Nahuatl (as well as an account by a shipwrecked Englishman), he refutes the supposed link between the Virgin and the indigenous goddess Tonantzin, and he reexamines evidence about devotional activity at Tepeyac prior to 1648. Poole shows that in the colonial period the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe drew its devotees primarily from Spanish creoles in Mexico City rather than from Indians in the rural hinterland, a conclusion that supports the earlier argument made by William B. Taylor ("The Virgin of Guadalupe: An Inquiry into the Social History of Marian Devotion," *American Ethnologist* 4 [1986]: 9-33).

Poole's close exegesis of texts might easily have yielded a dry, pedantic study interesting only to specialists and bibliophiles. Instead, his book is lively and engaging. His careful scrutiny of sources paves the way for a revealing and sensitive cultural history of colonial Mexico that spans theological and doctrinal debates in the church, the history of popular devotions among both Spaniards and Indians, and expressions of creole nationalism that predate the politics of Mexican inde-



pendence. In biographical sketches of colonial authors and accounts of native testimony, he also provides vivid pictures of the social contexts of cultural life. Poole's conclusions no doubt will provoke controversy among defenders of the traditional narrative, but he has set a very high standard of scholarship for those who will challenge him. This is an important book, one that will endure.

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RICHARD BOYER. *Lives of the Bigamists: Marriage, Family, and Community in Colonial Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. x, 340. \$40.00.

One of the most persistently applied doctrines of the Catholic church has affirmed the indissolubility of marriage. On the basis of the words in the gospel of Matthew professing that men and women should marry and become one flesh, the church has sought to arrogate and control sexual activity. The idea of the sacredness of marriage, strengthened by the decrees of the Council of Trent, collided with the customs of the conquered peoples of the Spanish Indies. Even more important, the enormous geographic mobility unleashed by the conquest and colonization and subsequent economic opportunities and social dislocations impelled men (and many women) to abandon their spouses and to form new relationships in other communities.

Between 1571 and 1789, the Inquisition had the power to investigate breaches of the law on monogamy and to recommend punishment for those who violated their marital vows and selected another spouse. The rich documentation provided by the pursuit of bigamists has benefited social historians hungry for qualitative sources about popular classes. Richard Boyer has been able to draw on a wealth of materials, including the works of Solange Alberro and Asunción Lavrin, as well as on his own previous contributions to the field. He demonstrates intelligent use of scholarship in European as well as Latin American history.

Boyer's richly researched and well-crafted study of two hundred plebeian individuals who fell into the hands of the Inquisition illustrates how legal procedures can enlighten us about the lives of individuals otherwise obscure in the historical record. Boyer has chosen to use Inquisition documents to establish life cycle events for those individuals accused of bigamy. The individual lives of fifteen people can be reconstructed through the book's index, so that this work provides us with both individual and collective portraits. Personal accounts tend to be thin on childhood; only a few men and women chose to elaborate on the conditions of their early lives. About the circumstances of marriage, including informal engagements and church ceremonies, we are much better informed. The widespread practice of wife beating and other examples of the *mala vida* (bad life) remind us of the

prevalence of violence in many households and in relationships. The differences between modern and colonial violence remain to be investigated. Nonetheless, Boyer's historical imagination in reconstructing the circumstances in which marriages occurred and failed is especially commendable.

One question examined in this book is how the Inquisition was able to find and prosecute so many bigamous individuals of relatively humble circumstances. Boyer's tracing of the "flow of information" leading to denunciation of a bigamist reconstructs an aspect of social relations in colonial Mexico. The social internalization of the Catholic position on marriage is indeed remarkable. The unanswered and perhaps unanswerable question remains: are we dealing with men and women seeking to injure their neighbors by reporting them to the Inquisition, or with tale-bearing informers who sought to live in a society in which sacred vows were respected and the sacrament of marriage meant a formal commitment to a single partner and to the children of that union.

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ROBERT H. HOLDEN. *Mexico and the Survey of Public Lands: The Management of Modernization 1876-1911*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 235. \$30.00.

Unlike many monographs, which make great claims that are never fulfilled, this concise, understated volume delivers on its promises and then some. On one level, it provides an exhaustively researched account of Porfirian land policy and its consequences, with particular emphasis given to the state-commissioned surveys of Mexico's public lands by private companies. On another level, it illuminates broader theoretical problems such as Mexico's transition to capitalism and the accompanying process of state formation.

Few events have been more critical in the shaping of modern Mexico than the division of the nation's public lands. The loss of more than one half of the national territory to the United States during the mid-nineteenth century spurred liberal governments from Benito Juárez to Porfirio Díaz to forge a more coherent land policy. These statebuilders believed that the discovery and transfer of *terrenos baldíos* (national and, by definition, "vacant," "unproductive" lands) to entrepreneurial interests would contribute to economic growth, expand state revenues, and insure the integrity of the nation's borders. Basing his study primarily on files from the Archivo de Terrenos Nacionales of the Secretaría de Reforma Agraria, Robert H. Holden examines the contentious process whereby roughly fifty private companies surveyed over one third of Mexico (63.5 million hectares) and received almost one tenth of the national territory in compensation (21 million hectares). This "largest program of public land transfer in the nation's history" (p. 16) took place

between 1878 and 1908; indeed, the bulk of it transpired within a single decade (1883–1893).

The study focuses on six states—Sinaloa, Sonora, Chihuahua, Durango, Tabasco, and Chiapas—that were among the leaders in percentage of land awarded the surveyors in compensation and afford the study reasonable geographical balance. Holden pays particular attention to conflicts that involved the companies and their lawyers; local and national-level bureaucrats, judges, and politicians; and landholders, large and small, who often resisted the surveys. More than anything else, one is struck by how shrewdly the Porfirian state used the private surveying companies as its proxy, thereby insulating itself from the maelstrom of litigation and protest inherent in this intrusive process.

Holden also debunks two powerful notions about the companies and their legacy that have gone unchallenged in the agrarian historiography of the Porfiriato. First, he rejects the view that the companies were the creatures of a rapacious landed oligarchy that worked in concert with a corrupt state to dispossess a defenseless peasantry. He argues persuasively that the federal government typically took the side of landholders (peasants and *hacendados* alike) in disputes with the surveying companies; that the companies themselves often took the line of least resistance, respecting “productively occupied” property, whether titled or not; and that campesinos, far from being defenseless victims, frequently distinguished themselves as tenacious litigators.

Holden also takes issue with the related notion that the activities of the surveying companies contributed to the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution. From Wistano Luis Orozco’s influential *Legislación y jurisprudencia sobre terrenos baldíos* (1895) through the first populist histories of the Revolution that accompanied the state’s codification of an agrarian revolutionary myth in the 1920s and 1930s to the appropriation of that myth by subsequent generations of professional scholars, this causal link has seemed so axiomatic that supporting evidence is rarely provided. Holden’s reading of the documentary record, however, confounds notions of causality based on facile assumptions of popular memory and culpability. He points out that most surveys had been completed by the early 1890s, almost twenty years before the start of the Revolution. Furthermore, except in northwestern Sinaloa, where high population density, elevated land prices, and late surveys provoked substantial agrarian discontent, landholders rarely protested. More often than not they appreciated the increase in land values that routinely accompanied survey.

On the whole, Holden’s argument is persuasive, all the more so because he does not abstract the *compañías deslindadoras* from the larger political process whereby peasant communities and smallholders were despoiled during the Porfiriato. He freely admits that the methods by which lands were stolen, like the agents who stole them, “were many and varied, and the deeply

rooted agrarian sources of the great conflict cannot be ignored” (p. 129). Still, more attention might have been given to the indirect consequences of the survey process. While expropriations of traditional community lands may have been rare, especially in the northern states, recent research suggests that the massive survey and transfer of lands preempted access to customary pastures, woodlands, and hunting grounds. It also deprived individual campesinos of access to plots that would have improved their socioeconomic positions (as *rancheros*). In the process, notable families like Chihuahua’s Terrazas-Creel clan and lesser landowners and merchants (who were often clients of these *parentescos*) typically prospered as subaltern groups languished.

Holden’s painstaking analysis of the players, mechanisms, and consequences of the Porfirian land survey is suffused by an appreciation of the cultural revolution that attended formation of the modern state. Inspired by the work of E. P. Thompson, Philip Corrigan, and Derek Sayer (though Corrigan’s and Sayer’s *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* [1985] is surprisingly omitted from the bibliography), Holden often effectively captures “the voice of the modern state” (p. 23). We glimpse in the mapping of the Porfirian countryside and its subjects—as well as in the “Revolutionary State’s” celebrated “recovery” of survey-company land grants (more rhetorical than real)—the systematization, simplification, and naturalization of meanings that accompanied the state’s increasing power and control. It is this process that will likely prove to be Mexico’s most profound and enduring revolution.

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KEVIN J. MIDDLEBROOK. *The Paradox of Revolution: Labor, the State, and Authoritarianism in Mexico*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 463. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

Kevin J. Middlebrook’s study is now the best and most important book in English on the Mexican labor movement, and it is likely to remain the standard work for some time. Focusing on the nature of state control over labor—and labor’s apparent acquiescence in this (the revolutionary paradox), Middlebrook has not intended to write a complete history of Mexican labor. The period before the revolution is neglected, there is nothing on the social history of labor, and industrial sectors other than railways and automobiles are mentioned only in passing. Instead, Middlebrook uses case studies (railways and automobiles) to examine state-labor relations at different points in time to develop his argument about the role of unions in Mexico’s single-party authoritarian regime.

The paradox that Middlebrook explores is how “revolutionary mass mobilization gave rise to a durable authoritarian regime in which the governing elite has maintained a strong base of popular support while

simultaneously imposing significant constraints on mass participation" (p. 290). He argues that both the rank and file and labor leadership have benefitted in both material and symbolic ways from an alliance with the elites of Mexico's single-party state. In return, organized labor has provided the political elite with an important base of political support and legitimacy. This alliance made possible patterns of industrial relations at the workplace level that provided the stability required for economic growth. Cooperation between the state and pragmatic labor leaders linked to the official party was never automatic, and it was at times subject to serious challenge by rank-and-file demands for greater autonomy and militancy. Middlebrook examines the most important of these challenges (the late 1940s and the late 1970s) and their resolutions. By looking at the alliance under stress he is able to show how the mechanisms and institutions that underwrite it have operated at different times and in different sectors of the economy.

Middlebrook's basic method is to examine case studies of individual industries to trace in detail the processes underlying state control over the labor movement. In so doing, he links changes in patterns of economic development and in the nature of political alliances at the state level to worker-management conflicts at the local level. He succeeds admirably in presenting a complex and nuanced account that weaves together different dimensions of the picture into a coherent and convincing explanation.

In the first case study, Middlebrook focuses on worker insurgency in the railway union in the period leading up to the confrontations of 1948–1951. He argues that this clash between radical unions and the state created the basis for the definitive institutionalization of the revolutionary model of industrial relations characterized by strong and pervasive state control over and financial subsidization of unions linked to the official governing party. In his second case study, Middlebrook examines the development of rank-and-file militancy in the automobile industry in the 1970s, which led to the emergence of some democratic unions that achieved significant benefits for their members.

Middlebrook then takes the story on to the devastating impact of the debt crisis on organized labor and the subsequent turn toward neo-liberal economic policies. Here he reexamines the automobile industry, showing how the state and the official labor leadership, together with employers concerned with increasing productivity and workplace flexibility in a new internationally competitive environment, were able to reimpose control over the labor force. Middlebrook ends with some interesting speculations about the role of organized labor in the on-going process of democratization of Mexico's authoritarian revolutionary regime.

Throughout the book, but particularly in the key case studies of railways and automobiles, Middlebrook brings an impressive array of careful and detailed empirical evidence to bear on his argument. He has worked with a wide range of sources and has inter-

viewed key participants. The result is a powerful and convincing book that nicely balances a concern for empirical detail and specificity with a broad overall view of the role of organized labor in the revolutionary alliance during the period since the Revolution of 1910.

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ENRIQUE CÁRDENAS. *La hacienda pública y la política económica 1929–1958*. (Sección de obras de historia, serie hacienda.) Mexico City: Colegio de México and Fideicomiso Historia de las Américas and Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1994. Pp. 230.

This book is about Mexico and the results of state macroeconomic policy. It is not about narrow treasury policies in all of the Americas, as the sponsors at the Fideicomiso lead the reader to believe by omitting from the title the key words "Mexico" and "State."

Enrique Cárdenas offers an important view of Mexican economic history from the Wall Street crash in 1929 through 1958, when Mexican President Adolfo López Mateos was inaugurated. The era saw the rise of commercial protectionism and, by 1947, import substitution. Cárdenas sees a shift to the policy of "Stable Development" in 1958.

Cárdenas masterfully develops his argument that, since 1930, Mexico has used monetary and fiscal policy to meet the challenge of changing worldwide economic conditions. Shocked by the impact of Wall Street's 1929 crash, Mexican government policy was clearly reoriented to intervene in and to stimulate the growth rate of the economy, the real GDP per capita of which averaged 2.2 percent between 1930 and 1958. Cárdenas finds that the policies of President Lázaro Cárdenas (no relation to the author) were not fiscally expansionist from 1935 to 1940, as traditionally believed. Rather, economic growth then benefitted from cyclic economic recovery.

Mexico benefitted from export-led growth during World War II and then from growth inertia. That inertia was aided by a rising protectionist scheme that did not hurt Mexico until it became excessive, presumably during the 1970s, although Cárdenas does not give the date after which protectionism became counterproductive.

Following Mexico's currency devaluation of 1949, which led to the years of "growth with inflation," Cárdenas sees inflation in benign terms as not having been caused by deficit-spending. Indeed, he sees internal inflation as caused by cyclic external macroeconomic conditions that did not slow economic growth.

In Cárdenas's words: "The promotion of economic growth owing to commercial protectionism after 1947 was aided, on the one hand, by the favorable relative-price situation inherited from the 1930s and high external demand of the 1940s, both stimulating Mexico's dynamic industrial growth even before the imple-

mentation of specific import licenses and quotas. On the other hand, public investment in basic infrastructure was financed mainly by Mexico's own fiscal resources and only in a complementary way by foreign credits or by the Mexican banking system" (p. 163). (This last point is countered statistically, however, by my own studies of on-budget and off-budget expenditures, which show the major importance of foreign credits for all years beginning in the late 1930s and continuing into the 1960s and 1970s.)

In the view of Cárdenas, state policy resulted in the profitability of private investment in both urban and rural areas, gross fixed capital formation averaging 8.8 per cent yearly, and social benefit to the population. The public investment policy of the 1930s and 1940s did not yield its real fruits until the 1950s, when the economy was also able to take great advantage of positive externalities. Thus treasury authorities were able, in the main, to counteract external shocks, finding the way to maintain high economic growth and to improve the living standards of Mexicans. (That the living standards improved is largely taken for granted by Cárdenas.)

Statistical series developed and presented along with tables, in appendixes, build upon the following sources: Cárdenas's previous *La industrialización mexicana en la época de Cárdenas* (1987) and publications by the Bank of Mexico, the Mexican Treasury Department, the Mexican Statistical Agency, and scholars such as Victor Urquidí and Ernesto Fernández Hurtado.

Beyond his present discussion of methodology for estimating the sources of economic growth, it would be interesting to see Cárdenas consider alternative periodizations that do not agree with his own as well as examine the reliability of the data he presents. Cárdenas does not discuss problems in the series and how they have been overcome, if that is the case.

Of special interest to readers of the present volume is what remains to be told. Who were the makers of Mexico's economic policy during the period from 1930 to 1958? Which ministers of the economic cabinet took what positions? Why are institutions such as the Bank of Mexico almost absent from the text? We see the results of policies without knowing who was responsible or about the debates behind them. As the book progresses, economic policy seemingly develops in a vacuum. (Hence the index is topical and includes no names of persons or agencies.)

Now that he has given us his macroeconomic findings, Cárdenas can make another important contribution by analyzing the policy process itself and its fascinating interaction with politics.

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LINDA A. NEWSON. *Life and Death in Early Colonial Ecuador*. (Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 214.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 505. \$45.00.

The coming of Europeans to America produced one of the most cataclysmic declines ever experienced by a human population. Beginning in the late fifteenth century and in some cases lasting well into the seventeenth century and beyond, the indigenous population suffered severe setbacks, collapse, or even total obliteration. During the past thirty years, scholars have reconstructed the demographic history of Native America, assessing the magnitude of the demographic catastrophe in Mexico, Peru, and Nicaragua. This volume is an important addition to that work.

The population history of sixteenth-century Ecuador was complicated by local geography and history. Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, the Inca conquest, although concentrated primarily in the highlands, had already taken its toll on the native population through wars, building projects, and dislocations in economic and social structures. As a result, the Spaniards did not conquer people living in peace and harmony but rather societies already in some degree of turmoil. The arrival of Europeans produced a larger, more far-reaching population disaster. From an estimated total of 1.6 million people in 1530, the indigenous population fell to less than 250,000 (approximately an 85 percent decline) by the end of the sixteenth century.

In this well-written and interesting book, Linda A. Newson traces that population decline. She does this by intelligently complementing fragmentary historical information with the skillful use of archaeology, disease etiology, geography, ecology, epidemiology, and anthropology. Often arriving ahead of the conquerors themselves, a host of new pathogens—including those for smallpox, influenza, typhus, and malaria—wrecked demographic havoc on the native inhabitants of the "New World." But the demographic disaster was not uniform throughout the region; uncovering and explaining this variation is at the heart of Newson's study. Newson is especially interested in the spatial variations of survival as well as the interaction between culture and environment. Aware of the complexity of depopulation and partial recovery, she argues that European, African, and Native American diseases, warfare, conditions of housing and diet, systems of work and tribute, climate, physical geography, the character and size of the native population at the time of conquest, settlement patterns, migration, and the nature of the economy must all be considered. The relationship of mortality, migration, and female employment to fertility is also examined.

This detailed study stresses regional and sub-regional variations. Dividing the region that would become the Audiencia of Quito into three major geographical zones—the coast, the sierra, and the Oriente—Newson first surveys the various indigenous peoples before the conquest as well as their geographical settings. After assessing the effect of the Incas' conquest on the region, she examines the demographic developments during the years following the Spanish conquest in seventeen specific areas. Using a wealth of information, she makes reasonable population esti-



mates at the time of Spanish conquest for each major zone, and then further calculates what befell the population over the course of the sixteenth century.

Newson finds that, like Mexico and Peru, the greatest demographic catastrophe occurred in the coastal regions of Ecuador, primarily in the zone surrounding Guayaquil. Here the indigenous population was reduced to less than one percent of its pre-conquest size. She suggests that one of the most important causal factors was the existence of a major seaport through which European products and European diseases arrived in the region. The least affected area was Mainas in the Oriente, where the population was only reduced to approximately one-third of its former numbers, protected by low population densities that produced disease "fade-out."

Throughout this book, Newson is measured and cautious in her discussions, willing to acknowledge lacunae in the data and to suggest other possible interpretations. For example, she tests the hypothesis that indigenous populations subject to the *encomienda* on the whole fared better than those in missions or those enslaved, but she admits that there is no strong evidence for this theory in the Ecuadorian case. She provides a good discussion of sources as well as a thorough bibliography. Newson is also to be congratulated for the excellent maps that illustrate her discussions. In sum, this is a model study that should interest historians, demographers, anthropologists, and all students of indigenous populations.

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FRED SPIER. *Religious Regimes in Peru: Religion and State Development in a Long-Term Perspective and the Effects in the Andean Village of Zurite*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 1994. Pp. 328.

This ambitious book examines approximately 10,000 years of religion and politics in the Andes. Fred Spier focuses on the role of religion—broadly defined—and religious leaders in organizing and distributing production, and on how this in turn facilitates state formation. He studies the relationship and above all the differentiation between religious, military, and state leaders, a particularly rich perspective for understanding pre-Hispanic societies. He also scrutinizes the role of religion in legitimizing different regimes from the Incas to the modern state. While maintaining this broad, comparative focus, Spier presents precise information on Catholicism in the town of Zurite in southern Peru.

A Dutch sociologist with wide theoretical interests, Spier employs an unabashedly functionalist model. In

order to justify this much maligned theory, he refers to his baker in Utrecht and the "functions" this man serves and seeks. Much of the book, in fact, is written in a booming first person. This theoretical perspective tells us a great deal about the church and the elite, but it says little about religion itself, granting it almost no autonomy. Although greater attention to religious practice and beliefs would have been difficult in such an ambitious work, Spier's fine-grained analysis of the town of Zurite calls for such an effort.

Spier is at his best when making long-term connections and comparisons, reviewing religion and the state from pre-Inca to modern times. His book synthesizes a great deal of research and poses valuable comparisons. Spier summarizes different archeological and ethno-historical works to sketch pre-Inca and Inca religious practice and regime formation. He examines in great detail the constant struggles among the secular and regular clergy and the colonial state. For modern Peru, he concentrates on the Catholic church's declining power and the concomitant increase in that of the state and Protestant churches. Throughout this panoramic review, the sections based on the town of Zurite stand out. Unfortunately, Spier's findings on this town are insufficiently linked to his larger arguments about religious regimes over the millennium. He thereby misses opportunities to substantiate his broader theories, leaving unclear the relevance of his archival work on Zurite.

Various problems make the book a difficult and often frustrating read. Besides the frequent stylistic infelicities, the sociological theory usually requires several readings. Many sections summarize well-known secondary works. While often a bit tedious, these sections also contain questionable interpretations. For example, Spier contends that "Inca history is often regarded as mythical, and as such devoid of any useful historic value," misinterpreting the work of several leading ethnohistorians (p. 47). Some of his citations and omissions are surprising. While relying on the highly ideological Hernando de Soto for contemporary Peru (*The Other Path* [1989]), he does not, for example, incorporate the path-breaking books of Alberto Flores Galindo and Steve J. Stern.

This is a smart and suggestive book on a region in which research that bridges the pre-Hispanic, colonial, and modern periods is rare. While many readers will question its theoretical framework, dispute some findings, and wish for more clarity, all will be rewarded by suggestive arguments and important data.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### GENERAL

N. JARDINE, J. A. SECORD, and E. C. SPARY, editors. *Cultures in Natural History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xxi, 501. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$29.95.

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Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xxix, 441. \$50.00.

### GERMANY/AUSTRIA/SWITZERLAND

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### ITALY

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### EASTERN EUROPE

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### AFRICA

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CRAWFORD, MICHAEL J., editor. *Naval Documents of the American Revolution. Volume 10, American Theater: October 1, 1777–December 31, 1777; European Theater: October 1, 1777–December 1777*. Forewords by BILL CLINTON and WILLIAM S. DUDLEY. Assisted by E. GORDON BOWEN-HASSELL, CHARLES E. BRODINE, JR., and MARK L. HAYES. Washington D.C.: Naval Historical Center. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 1350. \$55.00.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945–1950: Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1996. Pp. xxviii, 1148. \$48.00.

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FERRELL, ROBERT H., editor. *Harry S. Truman and the Bomb: A Documentary History*. Worland, Wyo.: High Plains. 1996. Pp. ix, 126. \$24.50.

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JOSLYN, MAURIEL PHILLIPS. *Charlotte's Boys: Civil War Letters of the Branch Family of Savannah*. Berryville, Va.: Rockbridge. 1996. Pp. xix, 374. \$32.00.

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MARTIN, EDWARD A., editor. *In Defense of Marion: The Love of Marion Bloom and H. L. Mencken*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1996. Pp. lii, 397. \$65.00.

- MOULTON, GARY E., editor. *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*. Volume 10, *The Journal of Patrick Gass, May 14, 1804-September 23, 1806*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 300. \$45.00.
- PETERSEN, NEAL H., editor. *From Hitler's Doorstep: The Wartime Intelligence Reports of Allen Dulles, 1942-1945*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 684. \$85.00.
- PEYSER, JOSEPH L., translator and editor. *Jacques Legardeur de Saint-Pierre: Officer, Gentleman, Entrepreneur*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1996. Pp. xxv, 336. \$39.95.
- RIGGS, MAIDA LEONARD, editor. *A Small Bit of Bread and Butter: Letters from the Dakota Territory, 1832-1869*. South Deerfield, Mass.: Ash Grove Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 284. \$17.95.
- RIPPLE, EZRA HOYT. *Dancing Along the Deadline: The Andersonville Memoir of a Prisoner of the Confederacy*. Edited by MARK A. SNELL. Novato, Calif.: Presidio. 1996. Pp. xviii, 168. \$19.95.
- SAYLOR, JAMES, compiler. *Presidents of the United States: Their Written Measure*. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress. 1996. Pp. ix, 216. \$19.00.
- TAYLOR, WILLIAM O. *With Custer on the Little Bighorn: A Newly Discovered First-Person Account*. Foreword by GREG MARTIN. New York: Viking. 1996. Pp. xiii, 206. \$27.95.
- VAN LEW, ELIZABETH L. *A Yankee Spy in Richmond: The Civil War Diary of "Crazy Bet" Van Lew*. Edited by DAVID D. RYAN. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 1996. Pp. ix, 166. \$22.95.
- WAKELYN, JON L., editor. *Southern Pamphlets on Secession, November 1860-April 1861*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xxix, 418. \$45.00.

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- MCKAY, IAN, editor. *For a Working-Class Culture in Canada: A Selection of Colin McKay's Writings on Sociology and Political Economy, 1897-1939*. Assisted by LEWIS JACKSON. St. John's, Newfoundland: Canadian Committee on Labour History. 1996. Pp. lii, 615. \$29.95.

## Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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- ANDERSON, TERRY L., and PETER J. HILL, editors. *The Privatization Process: A Worldwide Perspective*. (The Political Economy Forum.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1996. Pp. xiii, 270. Cloth \$62.50, paper \$23.95.
- APPLEBY, JOYCE *et al.*, editors. *Knowledge and Postmodernism in Historical Perspective*. New York: Routledge. 1996. Pp. viii, 559. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$27.95.
- BELL, P. M. H. *France and Britain 1900-1940: Entente and Estrangement*. New York: Longman. 1996. Pp. viii, 275.
- BIZZOCCHI, ROBERTO. *Genealogie incredibili: Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanica, number 22.) Bologna: Mulino. 1995. Pp. 288. L. 38,000.
- COHEN, ROBIN, editor. *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 570. \$125.00.
- CROCKATT, RICHARD. *The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics, 1941-1991*. Paperback edition. New York: Routledge. 1996. Pp. xviii, 417. \$18.95.
- DEFRONZO, JAMES. *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*. 2d ed. Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xvi, 363. \$22.95.
- DE GRAND, ALEXANDER J. *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: The "Fascist" Style of Rule*. (Historical Connections.) New York: Routledge. 1996. Pp. xviii, 102. \$9.95.
- DENING, GREG. *Performances*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 296. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.
- DONNELLY, TOM, and SEAN NAYLOR. *Clash of Chariots: The Great Tank Battles*. Edited by WALTER J. BOYNE. (An Army Times Book) New York: Berkley Publishing Group, for Army Times Publishing. 1996. Pp. xiv, 301. \$31.95.
- ELLIOT, ANTHONY. *Subject to Ourselves: Social Theory, Psychoanalysis and Postmodernity*. Cambridge, U.K.: Polity; distributed by Blackwell, Cambridge, Mass. 1996. Pp. x, 174. \$49.95.
- FELL, A. LONDON. *Origins of Legislative Sovereignty and the Legislative State*. Volume 5, *Modern Origins, Developments, and Perspectives Against the Background of "Machiavellism"*. Book II, *Modern Major "Isms" (17th-18th Centuries)*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1996. Pp. xix, 466. \$75.00.
- FENSKE, HANS, *et al.* *Geschichte der politischen Ideen: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Rev. ed. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1996. Pp. 668. DM 29.90.
- FINSCH, NORBERT, and JÜRGEN MARTSCHUKAT. *Reconstruction and Wiederaufbau in Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 1865, 1945 und 1989*. (Proceedings of the Krefelder Symposium, 1993; Krefelder Hefte zur Deutsch-Amerikanischen Geschichte, number 2.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1996. Pp. 109. DM 21.
- FRIEDMAN, GERALDINE. *The Insistence of History: Revolution in Burke, Wordsworth, Keats, and Baudelaire*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 270. \$39.50.
- GARRETT, STEPHEN A. *Conscience and Power: An Examination of Dirty Hands and Political Leadership*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. x, 198. \$45.00.
- GLAISTER, GEOFFREY ASHALL. *Encyclopedia of the Book*. Foreword by DONALD FARREN. 2d ed. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll or The British Library, London. 1996. Pp. xxiii, 551. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$49.95.
- Gli archivi per la storia della scienza e della tecnica*. In two volumes. (Proceedings of the international conference, 1991; Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, number 36.) Rome: Ministero Per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Centrale Per i Beni Archivistici. 1995. Pp. 732; 742-1337.
- GOLDMAN, ROBERT, and STEPHEN PAPSON. *Sign Wars: The Cluttered Landscape of Advertising*. (Critical Perspectives.) New York: Guilford. 1996. Pp. xiii, 322. Cloth \$44.50, paper \$19.95.
- GRAY, COLIN S. *Explorations in Strategy*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 164.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1996. Pp. xx, 265. \$59.95.
- GREENHOUSE, CAROL J. *A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 315. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$18.95.
- GUTMANN, AMY, and DENNIS THOMPSON. *Democracy and Disagreement*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 422. \$27.95.
- HAAKONSEN, KNUD. *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy: From Grotius to the Scottish Enlightenment*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 386. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$19.95.
- HILBERG, RAUL. *The Politics of Memory: The Journey of a Holocaust Historian*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1996. Pp. 208. \$22.50.
- KEEGAN, JOHN, and ANDREW WHEATCROFT. *Who's Who in Military History: From 1453 to the Present Day*. (Who's Who Series.) New York: Routledge. 1996. Pp. x, 340. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$16.95.
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- KRÜGER, ARND, and JAMES RIORDAN editors. *The Story of Worker Sport*. Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics. 1996. Pp. x, 189. \$35.00.
- LOFLAND, JOHN. *Social Movement Organizations: Guide to*



- Research on Insurgent Realities.* (Social Problems and Social Issues.) New York: Aldine de Gruyter. 1996. Pp. xv, 421. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.
- MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ. *Discourses on Livy.* Translated by HARVEY C. MANSFIELD and NATHAN TARCov. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. liii, 367. \$34.95.
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- NEWMAN, JOHN HENRY. *The Idea of a University.* Edited by FRANK M. TURNER. Assisted by MARTHA McMACKIN GARLAND et al. (Rethinking the Western Tradition.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xxxiv, 366.
- PAPE, ROBERT A. *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War.* (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. vii, 366. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.
- PELIKAN, JAROSLAV. *The Reformation of the Bible: The Bible of the Reformation.* Assisted by VALERIE R. HOTCHKISS and DAVID PRICE. New Haven: Yale University Press; in association with the Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas. 1996. Pp. xii, 197. \$45.00.
- POSTER, MARK. *The Second Media Age.* Cambridge, U.K.: Polity; distributed by Basil Blackwell, Cambridge, Mass. 1995. Pp. 186. \$49.95.
- RUBIN-DORSKY, JEFFREY, and SHELLEY FISHER FISHKIN editors. *People of the Book: Thirty Scholars Reflect on Their Jewish Identity.* (Wisconsin Studies in American Autobiography.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1996. Pp. x, 507. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.
- RYKWERT, JOSEPH. *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture.* Cambridge: MIT Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 598. \$75.00.
- SAMUEL, RAPHAEL. *Theatres of Memory. Volume 1, Past and Present in Contemporary Culture.* Paperback edition. New York: Verso. 1996. Pp. xiii, 479. \$19.95.
- SAPERSTEIN, MARC. "Your Voice Like a Ram's Horn:" *Themes and Texts in Traditional Jewish Preaching.* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, number 18.) Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 522. \$49.95.
- SCHMIDT, JAMES, editor. *What Is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions.* (Philosophical Traditions, number 7.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 563. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$24.95.
- SPRUYT, HENDRIK. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change.* (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Paperback edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 288. \$16.95.
- STEARNS, PETER N. *Millennium III, Century XXI: A Retrospective on the Future.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xi, 193. \$24.00.
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- STROMBERG, ROLAND N. *Democracy: A Short, Analytical History.* Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1996. Pp. 207. Cloth \$62.95, paper \$22.95.
- SUBRAHMANYAM, SANJAY, editor. *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World.* (An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History, 1450-1800, number 8.) Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum. 1996. Pp. xxvi, 397. \$124.95.
- SUTTON, NINA. *Bettelheim: A Life and a Legacy.* Translated by DAVID SHARP. New York: BasicBooks of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xvii, 606. \$35.00.
- THOMAS, HUGH. *World History: The Story of Mankind from Prehistory to the Present.* Rev. ed. New York: HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xvii, 764. \$35.00.
- TULLY, JAMES. *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity.* (The John Robert Seeley Lectures.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 253. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$16.95.

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- COTTERELL, ARTHUR, editor. *The Penguin Encyclopedia of Classical Civilizations.* New York: Penguin. 1996. Pp. xiv, 290. \$19.95.
- DEVEREUX, PAUL. *Secrets of Ancient and Sacred Places: The World's Mysterious Heritage.* Paperback edition. London: Blandford; distributed by Sterling. 1996. Pp. 192. \$14.95.
- GREEN, PETER, editor. *Hellenistic History and Culture.* (Hellenistic Culture and Society, number 9.) Paperback edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 293. \$17.95.
- HUSKINSON, JANET. *Roman Children's Sarcophagi: Their Decoration and its Social Significance.* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 135. \$90.00.
- JOHNS, CATHERINE. *The Jewellery of Roman Britain: Celtic and Classical Traditions.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 246. \$49.50.
- LONIGAN, PAUL R. *The Druids: Priests of the Ancient Celts.* (Contributions to the Study of Religion, number 45.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1996. Pp. viii, 144. \$49.95.
- SABLOFF, JEREMY A. et al., editors. *Exploring the Ancient World.* In eight volumes. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution; in association with St. Remy Press. 1996. Pp. 176; 160; 160; 176; 176; 176; 160; 176. \$19.95 each volume.

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- HUDSON, JOHN. *The Formation of the English Common Law: Law and Society in England from the Norman Conquest to Magna Carta.* (The Medieval World.) New York: Longman. 1996. Pp. xvi, 271.
- PLATT, COLIN. *Medieval England: A Social History and Archaeology from the Conquest to 1600 A.D.* 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 1996. Pp. xviii, 292. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$22.95.
- RUSSELL, JAMES C. *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation.* Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 258. \$15.00.
- SHEEHAN, MICHAEL M., CSB. *Marriage, Family, and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies.* Edited by JAMES K. FARGE. Foreword by JOEL T. ROSENTHAL. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1996. Pp. xxx, 330. \$45.00.

## GREAT BRITAIN

- BAILEY, PAUL. *The Oxford Book of London.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 377. \$25.00.
- BOOTH, MICHAEL R., and JOEL H. KAPLAN, editors. *The Edwardian Theatre: Essays on Performance and the Stage.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 243. \$49.95.
- BOWLER, PETER J. *Charles Darwin: The Man and His Influence.* (Cambridge Science Biographies.) Reprint. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 250. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$15.95.
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# Communications

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*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### TO THE EDITOR:

Reviewer Sara M. Evans is frustrated by my book, *The Movement and the Sixties*. She claims that "Protests . . . come out of nowhere," that there are "many unexplained references," and there is "little attempt to describe the subjective experience of the movement or the interactive effects of race, age, and class" [AHR 101 (June 1996): 940-41]. Finally, I left the "gender specificity of the language unnoted and unanalyzed" in my discussion of the counterculture's theme of "brotherhood."

Nonsense. Not much analysis is needed when you quote the hippie underground papers, pretty obvious; and she should have noted that my chapter is unique because it is based on neglected counterculture documents, not those of the mainstream culture. Moreover, I do not write in fashionable jargon, and perhaps she missed the preface, in which I state, "People of all races and sexual orientations marched, and the gender or race of those demonstrators is mentioned only when it is significant. The focus here is not on one race or gender, but on activism during the decade."

More important, the book is the first to define the 1960s and examine all social activism from 1960 to 1973, and I investigate the numerous reasons for each movement in detail. As for women's liberation, although I examine Evans's own role as an activist and her interpretation in *Personal Politics* (1979), I disagree with her emphasis that the reason for liberation was a few hundred females in the civil rights campaign. While I note that they were important, I agree with another activist, Mary King, who wrote that the most significant reason was the "caste system for women,"

the legal, educational, and employment discrimination that affected millions of women (*Freedom Song*, 1987). That status is described in detail on numerous pages in three chapters of my book, beginning in the 1950s, and does not come "out of nowhere."

What Evans's review does, however, is to demonstrate how much psychological baggage is still carried by 1960s activists. She praises my coverage of the Vietnam War and antiwar movement as "evocative," presumably because "the author himself was a participant." But on other topics, I am on thin ice, for Evans apparently believes that only women should or can write on women's liberation, which leads to the idea that only Hispanics can understand the Chicano movement, et cetera; only they can evaluate "the subjective experience." How shallow, especially when my book is based on years of research in the massive primary sources of each movement along with scores of interviews.

Moreover, the review is so predictable. If the reviewer had been a former Black Panther, Brown Beret, or Red Power advocate, then I would have had "many unexplained references" on their phase of the movement. Since I do not crow about the "leadership" of SDS during the 1960s, nor end the decade with the demise of that organization in 1969, I can only imagine the review that I would have received from a former SDS member.

Every generation writes its own history, and the 1960s generation now is writing the most important scholarship on our era. As Evans should have noted, the real historiographical adversary in my book is not other authors of my generation but the group of older scholars who described 1960s activists as privileged nihilists and the counterculture as Charles Manson. *The Movement and the Sixties* is an overdue corrective.

TERRY H. ANDERSON  
Texas A&M University

### SARA M. EVANS REPLIES:

I can understand that Terry Anderson is unhappy that I did not evaluate his book the way he would have, though one would not guess from his letter that my review was basically positive. His characterizations of



my own work I will leave to others to judge, but I must strongly object to his charge that I believe "that only women should or can write on women's liberation." My main criticism was that he, a man, gave women's liberation and the gender dynamic of the movement short shrift.

SARA M. EVANS  
*University of Minnesota,  
Minneapolis*

## ERRATUM

In the review of Stefano Andretta, *La venerabile superbia: Ortodossia e trasgressione nella vita di suor Francesca Farnese (1593–1651)* (AHR 101 [April 1996]: 522), the title of the book was misspelled. The editors apologize for the error.

THE EDITORS

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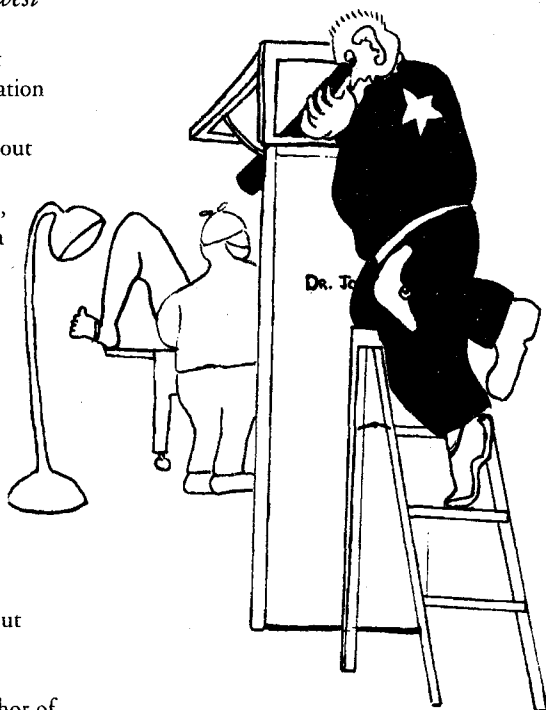
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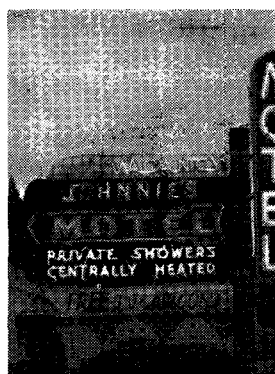
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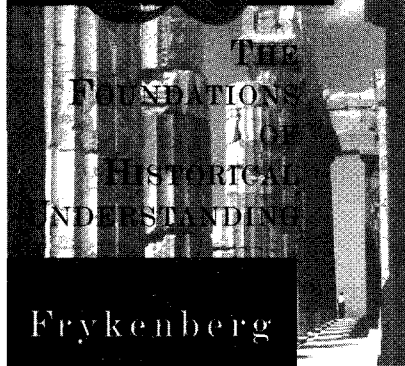


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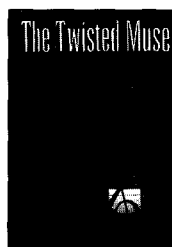
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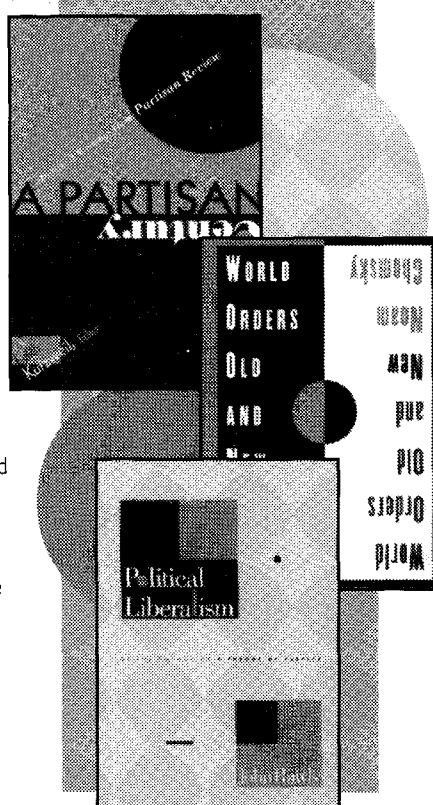
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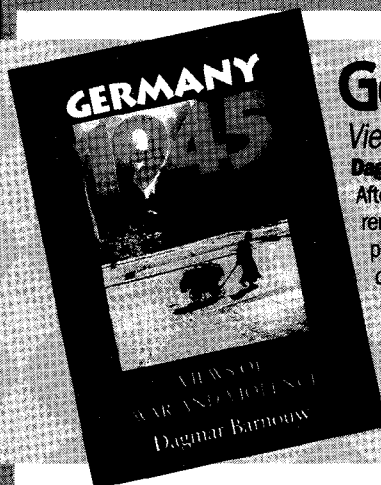
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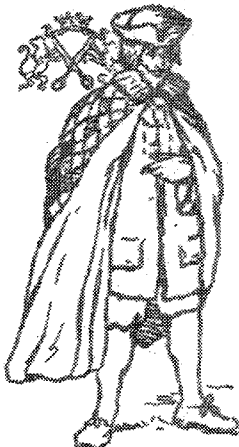
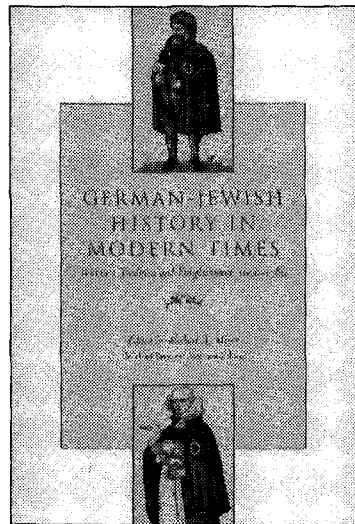


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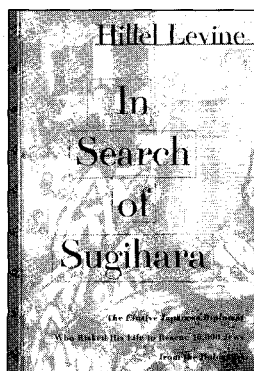
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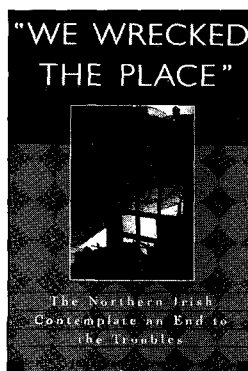
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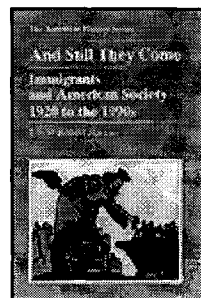
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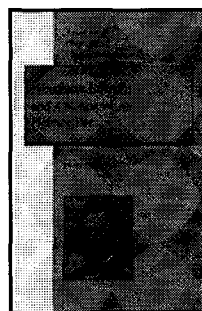
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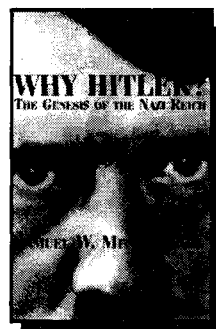
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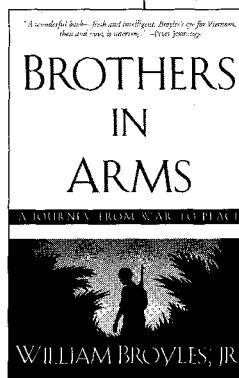
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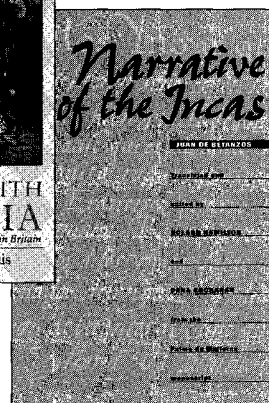
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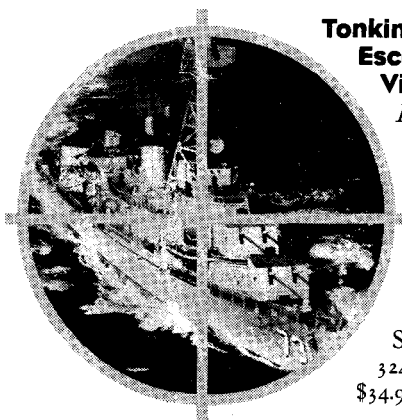
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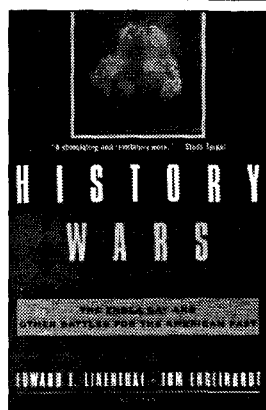
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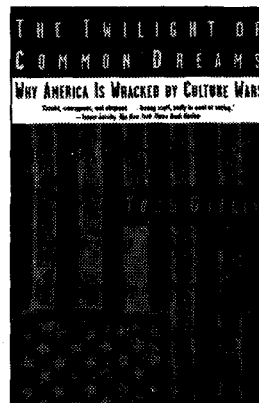
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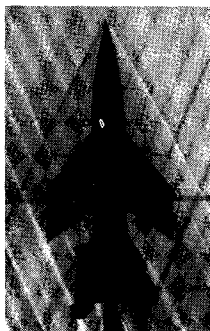
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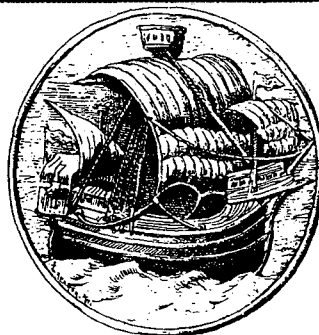
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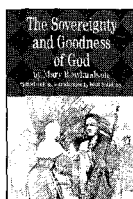
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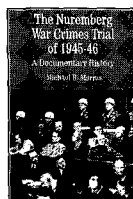
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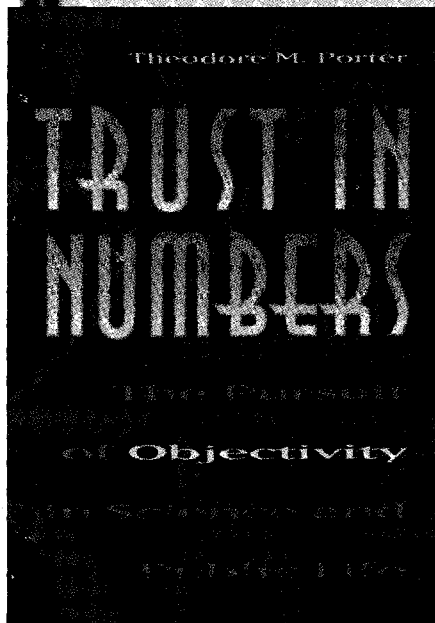
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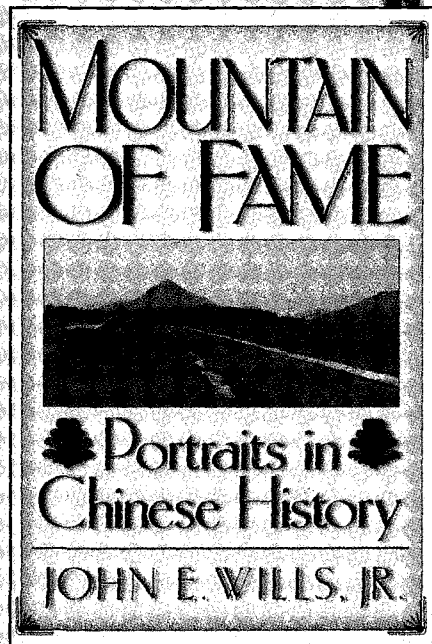
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